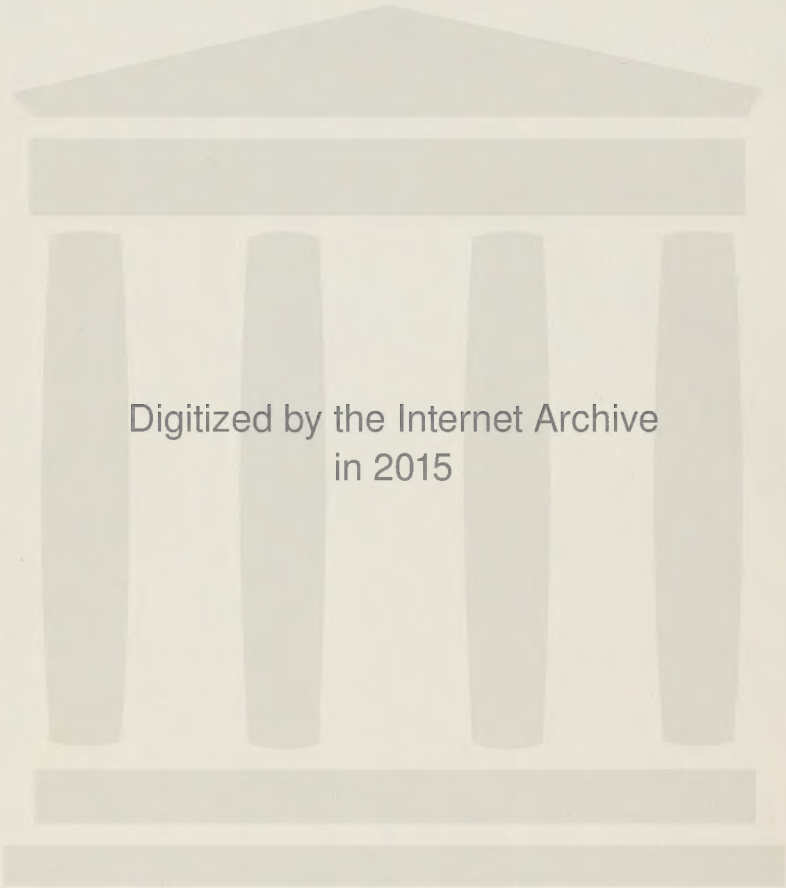
UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES

NATIONAL
LIBRARY BINDERY CO.
ATLANTA


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/chroniclesofokla2819okla

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

25

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES
FEB 13 1951

Spring, 1950
To Winter 1951

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

Volume XXVIII Number 1

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 26, 1893.)

976.6
C557
V.28.No.1

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers

WILLIAM S. KEY, President
EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, President Emeritus
REDMOND S. COLE, 1st Vice President
BAXTER TAYLOR, 2nd Vice President
MRS. JESSIE R. MOORE, Treasurer
GRANT FOREMAN, Director of Historical Research
GOVERNOR ROY J. TURNER, Ex-Officio
DR. CHARLES EVANS, Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Directors

Grant Foreman, Director Emeritus for Life, Muskogee

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1951

Thomas A. Edwards, Cordell — H. Milt Phillips, Seminole
Emma Estill-Harbour, Edmond — George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
Jessie E. Moore, Wayne

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1952

I. N. McCash, Enid — George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Jim Biggerstaff, Wagoner — Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor
Mrs. Frank Korn, Oklahoma City

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1953

W. J. Peterson, Okmulgee — Thomas G. Cook, Buffalo
N. B. Henthorne, Tulsa — Edward C. Lawson, Tulsa
Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Tulsa

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1954

Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa — Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Ponca City
E. E. Dale, Norman — R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee
H. L. Muldrow, Norman

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1955

William S. Key, Oklahoma City — Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City
Baxter Taylor, Oklahoma City — N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City
Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City

POSTMASTER—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter at 301 W. Harrison, Guthrie, Oklahoma, by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are one dollar; life membership, twenty-five dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Secretary.

Entered as second class matter January 11, 1924, at the Post Office in Oklahoma City, under Act of August 24, 1912. Re-entered as second class matter on September 20, 1943, at the Post Office in Guthrie, as required by Act of August 24, 1912.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Printed by Co-Operative Publishing Co., Guthrie, Okla.

96782

* Deceased.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT
EDWARD EVERETT DALE
N. G. HENTHORNE
H. MILT PHILLIPS
GEORGE H. SHIRK
THE SECRETARY

Volume XXVIII **Number 1**

Spring, 1950

CONTENTS

PEACE ON THE PLAINS 2
By George H. Shirk

THE LUTHERANS MISSION AT OAKS 42
By Jens Christian Kjaer

FIRST NATIONAL INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL: THE CHOCTAW ACADEMY
By Ethel McMillan 52

EDUCATION AT STATEHOOD 63
By Oscar William Davison

OKLAHOMA A. AND M. COLLEGE AND OLD CENTRAL 81
By James K. Hastings

SKULLYVILLE AND ITS PEOPLE IN 1889 85
By G. E. Hartshorne, M.D.

MCLOUD, 1895 TO 1949 89
By Klaris Molder

CREEK INDIAN BURIAL CUSTOMS TODAY 95
By Mrs. Irwin A. Watson

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 103

MINUTES 114

PEACE ON THE PLAINS*

By George H. Shirk

The United States Dragoons were created by Act of Congress of March 2, 1833, but with little portent of the great role they were destined to play in the history of Oklahoma.

As is always the case following a war, in 1830 the U. S. Army was in a state of flux and semi-demoralization. The regular army comprised about 6,000 men.[1] The Western Departments of the army, charged with control, exploration and development of the vast public domain in the west, were scattered over 16 posts and totaled 2,555 men.

Sickness, intemperance[2] and desertion were prevalent. Adequate recruiting was a constant problem for the authorities. Army discipline was severe, punishments were often harsh and of a degrading character, and clothing and equipment were still largely "war surplus." The pay of a private soldier was $5.00 per month, with, of course, rations, clothing and similar type allowances.

Life at the western posts was particularly monotonous. The barracks were for the most part crude and poorly furnished, and endless drills and marches were broken only by construction work or by the labor needed to build roads and other installations.

In 1832, the U. S. Rangers were organized and were charged with the duty of patroling and maintaining order along the western frontier.[3] From the Rangers only a year later was formed the Dragoon Regiment.

In his report of November 25, 1832 the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, proposed the establishment of the Dragoons:[4]

> An act of the last session of Congress authorized the raising of six companies of mounted rangers for the defence of the frontiers. Five of these were organized without delay, immediately after the passage of the law; but owing to the absence of the person selected for the command of the sixth with the troops employed under General Atkinson, that company was not brought into service during the active portion of the season. It is now, however, filled, and under orders.

---

* The title is that of the marker placed by the Oklahoma Historical Society in the current historical marker project at the junction of US Highway 283 and State Highway 44, Greer County, marking the July 1834 peace conference of Colonel Dodge. —*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), p. 420.

[1] Statistics are from Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), pp. 1 *et seq.*

[2] The report of Surgeon General for the year ending June 30, 1831, showed 126 deaths in military hospitals, of which 21 were from consumption and 22 from intemperance.

[3] The Rangers were established by Act of June 15, 1832, 4 *Stat.*, 533.

[4] *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, p. 18.

GENERAL HENRY LEAVENWORTH

I have caused a comparative view to be appended to this report, showing the difference of cost between the maintenance of this corps of rangers and of a regiment of dragoons. It will be perceived that the former exceeds the latter by $153,932. The rangers costing annually $297,530, and the dragoons $143,598; an access of expenditure well worthy of consideration, unless there are circumstances connected with the nature of the duties of these corps which give to the rangers, as at present organized, a decided preference over the dragoons. It is my conviction that there are no such circumstances, and that a regiment of dragoons would be more efficient as well as more economical. From the constitution of the corps of rangers, and from the short periods of their service, their organization is but little superior to that of the ordinary militia. Every year there must be a great loss of time in the reconstruction of the corps and in the acquisition of the necessary experience and knowledge. And its constitution is so dissimilar from that of any other branch of the army that a perfect union of sentiment and action between them can scarcely be expected. The want of these must frequently be injurious to the public service.

Regular cavalry are fully competent to the discharge of all the duties required of mounted rangers. In celerity of movement, they will, of course, be equal, and if, (which, however, is doubtful,) the rifle is considered the most efficient arm for mounted troops, operating against the Indians, this weapon can be placed in the hands of such cavalry, and they can easily be trained to its use.

Besides other important objects, it is desirable to preserve in our military system the elements of cavalry tactics, and to keep pace with the improvements made in them by other nations. The establishment of a regiment of dragoons would complete the personnel of our army, and would introduce a force which would harmonize with and participate in the ESPRIT DU CORPS so essential to military efficiency, and so easily and certainly created by military principles.

It seems to be now conceded, and it surely may well be, that mounted troops are absolutely necessary for the defence of that part of the inland frontier in contact with the Indian tribes. Our permanent military posts, garrisoned by infantry, exert a moral influence over the Indians, and protect important and exposed positions. But to overtake and chastise marauding parties and, in fact, to carry on any serious operations against an Indian foe in the level regions of the west, horsemen are indispensably necessary. Presuming, therefore, that some force of this description will be retained, I have the honor to suggest the propriety of the conversion of the corps of rangers into a regiment of dragoons.

The recommendation of Secretary Cass was referred to the Military Affairs Committee of the House. On December 28, 1832, the House committee reported out a bill to establish a regiment of dragoons. The committee report concluded:

A corps of this kind has long been wanted, and it is now generally conceded that mounted troops are absolutely necessary for that part of the inland frontier in contact with the Indians. In addition to our fixed military posts garrisoned by infantry, the means of protecting the frontier, should such a corps of cavalry as here recommended be raised, would be ample and complete. The committee, impressed with the importance of there being attached to the military establishment a regiment of dragoons, report a bill for the purpose.

The bill received favorable consideration, and the Second Session of the 22nd Congress sent to President Jackson "for the more

perfect defense of the frontier." The Act was approved March 2, 1833, and provided for one Dragoon Regiment, composed of 10 companies of 71 men each.[5] The statute reads:

"Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in lieu of the battalion of mounted rangers authorized by the act of the fifteenth of June, 1832, there be established a regiment of dragoons, to be composed and organized as follows, towit: one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, one quartermaster-sergeant, and two chief buglers, one adjutant, who shall be a lieutenant, one sergeant major, one chief musician, and ten companies; each company to consist of one captain, one first lieutenant, and one second lieutenant, exclusive of the lieutenant who is to be adjutant of the regiment; four sergeants, one of whom shall act as quartermaster-sergeant to the company, four corporals, two buglers, one farrier and blacksmith, and sixty privates.

"Section 2. That the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, when mounted, be entitled to the same pay and emoluments as was allowed to dragoons during the war, and when on foot, the same pay and emoluments as are now allowed to the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of a regiment of infantry; and the farrier and blacksmith be allowed the same pay and allowances as are allowed to an artificer of artillery.

"Section 3. That the said regiment of dragoons shall be liable to serve on horse, or foot, as the President may direct; shall be subject to the rules and articles of war, be recruited in the same manner, and with the same limitations; that the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, farriers, and privates, shall be entitled to the same provisions for wounds and disabilities, the same provisions for widows and children, and the same allowances and benefits in every respect, are allowed the other troops constituting the present military peace establishment.

"Section 4. That the President of the United States be authorized to carry into effect this act as soon as he may deem it expedient, and to discharge the present battalion of mounted rangers, on their being relieved by the said regiment of dragoons.

"Section 5. That the sum required to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated, in addition to the appropriations for the military establishment for the year 1833."

Two days later nineteen officers were commissioned.[6] Colonel Henry Dodge was designated as Regimental Commander and Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney was second in command. The cream of all available officer material was utilized, and such junior officers as Lieutenants P. St. George Cooke and Jefferson Davis illustrate the character of the dragoon officer corps.

Recruiting commenced at once, and to prevent any sectionalism, recruits were taken from all parts of the country; one company[7] was recruited from New York City, another[8] from Boston, and

---

[5] Act of March 2, 1833, Second Session, 22nd Congress, Chapt. 76, 4 *Stat.* 652. The Committee report is in *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, p. 126.

[6] *Army Register*, January, 1834. The first increment of officers was commissioned March 4, 1833. The 19 were Col. Henry Dodge; Lieut. Col. S. W. Kearney; Major Richard B. Mason; Captains Clifton Wharton, Edward V. Sumner, Eustace Trenor, and David Hunter; 1st Lieuts. David Perkins, P. St. G. Cooke, S. W. Moore, Ab Van Buren, James F. Izard, Jefferson Davis, Lan P. Lupton, Thomas Swords; 2nd Lieuts. James Allen, T. H. Holmes, J. H. K. Burgwin, and J. S. Van Derveer.

[7] Co. E.

[8] Co. F.

volunteers from New England to Tennessee had soon joined the colors.

Contemporary observers reported them to be far above the average of the recruits of the day. George Catlin, the famous Indian painter, wrote[9] that the regiment was "composed principally of young men of respectable family, who would act on all occasions from feelings of pride and honour, in addition to those of the common soldier."

Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, was designated as the rendezvous point, and by the end of 1833 five companies were complete.[10] Horses were received in October and were issued with a uniformity of color to the units. After witnessing a review Catlin recorded:[11] "Each company of horses has been selected of one colour entire. There is a company of bays, a company of blacks, one of whites, one of sorrels, one of greys, one of cream colour, &c. &c., which render the companies distinct, and effect exceedingly pleasing."

A few weeks later, on November 9, the first formal review was held. It was considered a success, for within a week or two the first five companies were making preparations for their transfer to Fort Gibson. The column left Jefferson Barracks on November 20, and reached Fort Gibson on December 17. A cordial welcome greeted them, and the Post Commander, Colonel Matthew Arbuckle, placed everything possible at their disposal.

Existing quarters were not available, and a wooded site about a mile from Fort Gibson was selected for the winter quarters of the Dragoons. Barracks were built, and the cantonment was named Camp Jackson.[12]

Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth, Commander of the Left Wing of the Western Department, arrived at Camp Jackson early in 1834, and on April 23, held a formal review of the troops. In the meantime, Colonel Dodge, the Dragoon Commander, had been formulating with his superiors the immediate mission of the regiment.

The spring of 1834 saw the five remaining companies[13] assembled at Jefferson Barracks, and by May they were following the same route to the west as traveled earlier by their sister units. On June 2, the last of the companies arrived at Camp Jackson and the regiment was, for the first time, complete.

---

[9] George Catlin, *North American Indians* (New York, 1842) Vol. II, p. 37.

[10] Companies A to E.

[11] Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[12] Hildreth described (p. 85) Camp Jackson: "We are now quartered in large barrack-rooms, built of oak shingles, situated at the outer edge of the wood, upon a high piece of ground which overlooks a wide and lovely extent of country. Each troop has one of these barrack-rooms, or rather barns; for indeed although they answer a somewhat better purpose than our tents toward keeping us from the inclemencies of the weather, still they are, in point of comfort, scarcely equal to a country barn."—See fn. 18.

[13] Companies F to K.

On Tuesday, June 10, General Leavenworth held a formal review of the combined garrisons of Fort Gibson and Camp Jackson; and this ceremony, as spectacular as it must have been, was without doubt the largest and most impressive military display yet seen in that region.

By then, decision had been reached as to the first assignment for the Army's new and elite corps. Some 200 or more miles to the West of the frontier were the Kiowa and Wichita Indians, then referred to collectively as the Comanches and Pawnee Picts. They had not recognized the United States by a treaty of any type. The location of their villages was not definitely known, but, so wrote Secretary Cass,[14] "It is deemed indispensable to the peace and security of the frontiers that a respectable force should be displayed in that quarter, and that the wandering and restless tribes who roam through it should be impressed with the power of the United States by the expedition of a corps so well qualified to excite their respect."

The new and fresh spirited Dragoons were a natural for the operation; so their first mission was agreed upon. They were to visit these tribes, establish relations, and induce delegations from them to return to Fort Gibson for a formal conference. As an incidental project, the regiment was directed to procure the release of a youngster, Matthew Wright Martin,[15] and a ranger, George B. Abbay, both believed held prisoner somewhere on the plains. Cass declared that on the mission the Dragoons would "do honor to the army and render effectual service to the country."

Remarkably enough, there are extant five known journals of the expedition. George Catlin received special permission from the War Department to accompany the regiment and he, together with a friend named Chadwick, were the only civilian observers who made the journey. He made enumerable sketches and drawings along the route, and his records[16] are a fine source of material on the customs and habits of the tribes visited. A Sergeant in Company G, Hugh Evans, who was perhaps the personal orderly of Colonel Dodge, has left his long hand diary. It is available in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*[17] and should be utilized by the reader along with the present journal.

[14] Report of the Secretary of War, *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, p. 170.

[15] The lad was the nine year old son of Gabriel M. Martin, the county judge of Miller County, Ark., and a resident of Pecan Point on Red River. In the spring of 1834 the judge was on a camping and hunting trip in what is now Marshall County, when the party was attacked by the Kiowas, Judge Martin and one of his slaves killed, and the boy kidnapped. (Sidelights on this incident are given in James D. Morrison's "Travis D. Wright and the Leavenworth Expedition," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 [Spring, 1947], pp. 7-14.—Ed.)

[16] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.* The edition here used is the Fourth, New York, 1842, 2 volumes.

[17] Fred S. Perrine, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 3, (Sept. 1925). Hereafter this journal will be referred to as the *Sgt. Evans' Journal.*

James Hildreth was a member of Company B and in 1836 a volume[18] of 288 pages supposedly by him and entitled *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains,* was published. The actual authorship[19] of the book has been a matter of considerable doubt but in any event it was written by one who was obviously well acquainted with the expedition. Another unknown chronicler was a member of Company I. This company was later commanded by Lieutenant Albert M. Lea and while the journal is signed "L—" the authorship has never been determined. It is very similar in style to Sergeant Evans' journal, but being written by one in another company, the two record different day to day incidents. The original manuscript is twenty-eight pages and has been edited and published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.[20]

The fifth and most complete journal[21] is that of the official historian of the expedition, Lieutenant Thompson B. Wheelock, and is the one edited here. Wheelock made the journey as a member of the commander's staff, so of course his chronology is that as seen by one at regimental headquarters, rather than as a member of one of the various companies as were Sergeant Evans, Hildreth, and the unknown Company I soldier.

Our present chronicler, Thompson B. Wheelock, was born in Massachusetts, in July, 1801. He was a cadet[22] at the United States Military Academy from September 24, 1818, to July 1, 1822, when he was graduated, tenth in his class, and appointed a Second Lieutenant in the 4th Field Artillery. On February 18, 1823, he was transferred to 3rd Field Artillery, and on July 22, 1826, to the 2nd Field Artillery. He served on various artillery assignments at Fort Nelson (1823-24), and Fort Monroe (1824-25), Virginia; Fort Washington, Maryland (1825-26); and Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, (1828-29). In 1826-27 he was assigned to instructor duty at West Point.

He resigned from the service on June 30, 1829; and on April 23, 1821, was employed as a professor of mathematics, with salary of $1500 per year, at Woodward College in Cincinnati.[23] He was the first instructor to be employed by the newly organized Woodward

[18] James Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains,* (New York, 1836). Hereafter this will be referred to as the *Hildreth Journal.*

[19] Hildreth enlisted in the Dragoons August 6, 1833 and was discharged June 1, 1834. As the date of his discharge is prior to the Expedition, it is doubtful if he actually accompanied his unit on the journey. See Joseph B. Thoburn, "The Dragoon Campaign to the Rocky Mountains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII, p. 34, (March 1930), where the authorship is attributed to an Englishman, William L. G. Miller.

[20] Pelzer, "A Journal of Marches of the Dragoons," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Iowa City, Vol. VII, No. 3, (July, 1909). Hereafter this will be referred to as the *Co. I Journal.*

[21] *American State Papers,* Military Affairs, Vol. V, pp. 373-382.

[22] The biographical information is from the Association of Graduates, West Point, N. Y.

[23] Clarke, *Old Woodward Memorial* (Cincinnati, 1884).

College, and on October 24 was announced by the school as its professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

With the organization of the Dragoons he saw a chance to re-enter the service; and leaving his teaching post in Cincinnati he was commissioned in the Dragoons as a First Lieutenant on September 19, 1833. He immediately entered upon organization duties and assisted with the recruiting. Following the return from the Expedition to the Wichita Village, he continued in service with the Dragoons, and was killed in an engagement against the Seminoles at Fort Micanopy, Florida, June 15, 1836.[24]

JOURNAL OF COLONEL DODGE'S EXPEDITION FROM FORT GIBSON TO THE PAWNEE PICT VILLAGE

Fort Gibson, August 26, 1834.

COLONEL: In obedience to your instructions I have made, and have the honor herewith to present to you, a journal of the campaign of the regiment of dragoons for the summer of 1834.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

T. B. WHEELOCK
First Lieutenant Dragoons.

Colonel Henry Dodge,
United States Dragoons.

In consequence of the late arrivals of the companies from Jefferson barracks, the regiment did not move as early as could have been wished.

The nine companies destined for the campaign (Captain Wharton's company, "A," marched[25] in May to escort a body of traders to Santa Fe) began their movement from Camp Jackson on the 15th of June, and under the direction of the field and company officers encamped on the west bank of the Arkansas, three miles from Fort Gibson; thence moved eighteen miles westwardly to Camp Rendezvous. Strength of the regiment about five hundred.

---

[24] Cullum, *Biographical Register of Military Academy Graduates.*

[25] On May 9, 1834, Company A was ordered to meet an overland party on the way from Franklin, Mo., and escort the group to Santa Fe. Co. A was ordered to maintain "utmost harmony" between the dragoons and the members of the party, and "should Capt. Wharton Meet the Hostile Indians in Battle He will charge them if possible to do so as the Best possible plan of defeating them". Dodge, *Military Order Book,* quoted in Pelzer, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

ARRANGEMENT OF OFFICERS FOR THE CAMPAIGN[26]

Colonel—Henry Dodge.
Lieutenant Colonel—S. W. Kearney.
Major—R. B. Mason.
Staff—Adjutant—First Lieutenant J. W. Hamilton.
Ordinance officer, &c.—First Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock.
Acting assistant quartermaster — First Lieutenant Thomas Swords.
Acting assistant commissary of subsistence—Second Lieutenant John S. Van Deveer.
Company officers.—Company "B"—Captain Sumner, Second Lieutenant Burgwin, Brevet Second Lieutenant McClure.
Company "C"—Captain Duncan, Brevet Second Lieutenant Bowman.
Company "D"—Captain Hunter, First Lieutenant Moore, Second Lieutenant Steen.
Company "E"—Captain Perkins, Brevet Second Lieutenant Kingsbury.
Company "F"—First Lieutenant Davis, Brevet Second Lieutenant Eastman, 2d infantry.
Company "G"—First Lieutenant Cooke, Second Lieutenant Territt.
Company "H"—Captain Boone, Brevet Second Lieutenant Ury.
Company "I"—Captain Brown, Brevet Second Lieutenant Edwards.
Company "K"—First Lieutenant Izard, Second Lieutenant Shamburgh.

Eight companies (company "K" was left at Camp Jackson to complete preparations for the march) were assembled at Camp Rendezvous[27] on the evening of the 20th June.

June 21.—Twenty-three men, pronounced by the surgeon unfit for the campaign, sent back to Fort Gibson. The regiment took up the line of march for the Washita upon the new road made by General Leavenworth, at eight o'clock in the morning; moved twenty miles southwest; crossed[28] the north fork of the Canadian; encamped one mile thence; difficulty with wagons ascending the bank of this stream; assistance of thirty or forty men required to each. Good water at our camp—great want of it on the road. Sounds of the rapids of the north fork cheering to men and horses. With the command seventy beeves. Face of the country to-day, in general, open, rolling prairie, soil light; a few miles from our halt much timber and stony land.

---

[26] See *Appendix* for biographical data of the officers listed by Lieut. Wheelock.
[27] Camp Rendezvous was in the vicinity north of present Oktaha, Muskogee County.
[28] The crossing was in the vicinity of Fame, McIntosh County.

Agreeably to previous arrangements, four bands of Indians joined us to-day, viz: eleven Osages, eight Cherokees, six Delawares, and seven Senecas. These men are to serve as guides, hunters and interpreters, also as representatives of their several nations, should we, as we hope to do, meet with the Pawnees; and thus open the way to a friendly understanding between these nations. Among these Indians are some of the *elite* of the nations to which they belong.

Dutch[29] chief of the Cherokee party, remarkable for personal beauty, daring character, and successful enterprises against the Osages.

George Bullett, or Pon-da-gne-se, is the principal man of the Delaware party.

Beatte, a Frenchman, who has lived nearly all his life among the Osages, has charge of this band,[30] and is celebrated for his skill as a hunter.

De-nath-de-ago is the leader of the seven Senecas.

We take with us, under conduct of the Osages, two Indian girls. One a Kiowa, about fifteen years of age, captured by the Osages a year or two since; the other a Pawnee prisoner, about eighteen years of age, taken by the Osages five or six years ago.

The restoration of these captive girls to their respective nations will, it is expected, facilitate the intercourse[31] aimed for, conciliate the Indians, and pave the way to desirable treaties.

Camp Cass,[32] June 22.—The command marched at nine o'clock, westwardly, fifteen miles. Captain Brown's company ("I") left in rear on account of breaking down of company wagon—*wagons great drawback to military expeditions.* Route to-day chiefly through timber, here and there small prairies; water scarce; beds of creeks dry. Encamped at the foot of a prairie mound,[33] four hundred feet in height, from the summit of which is seen a magnificent valley, stretching in every direction some twenty-five or thirty miles. We found here good water and grazing.

---

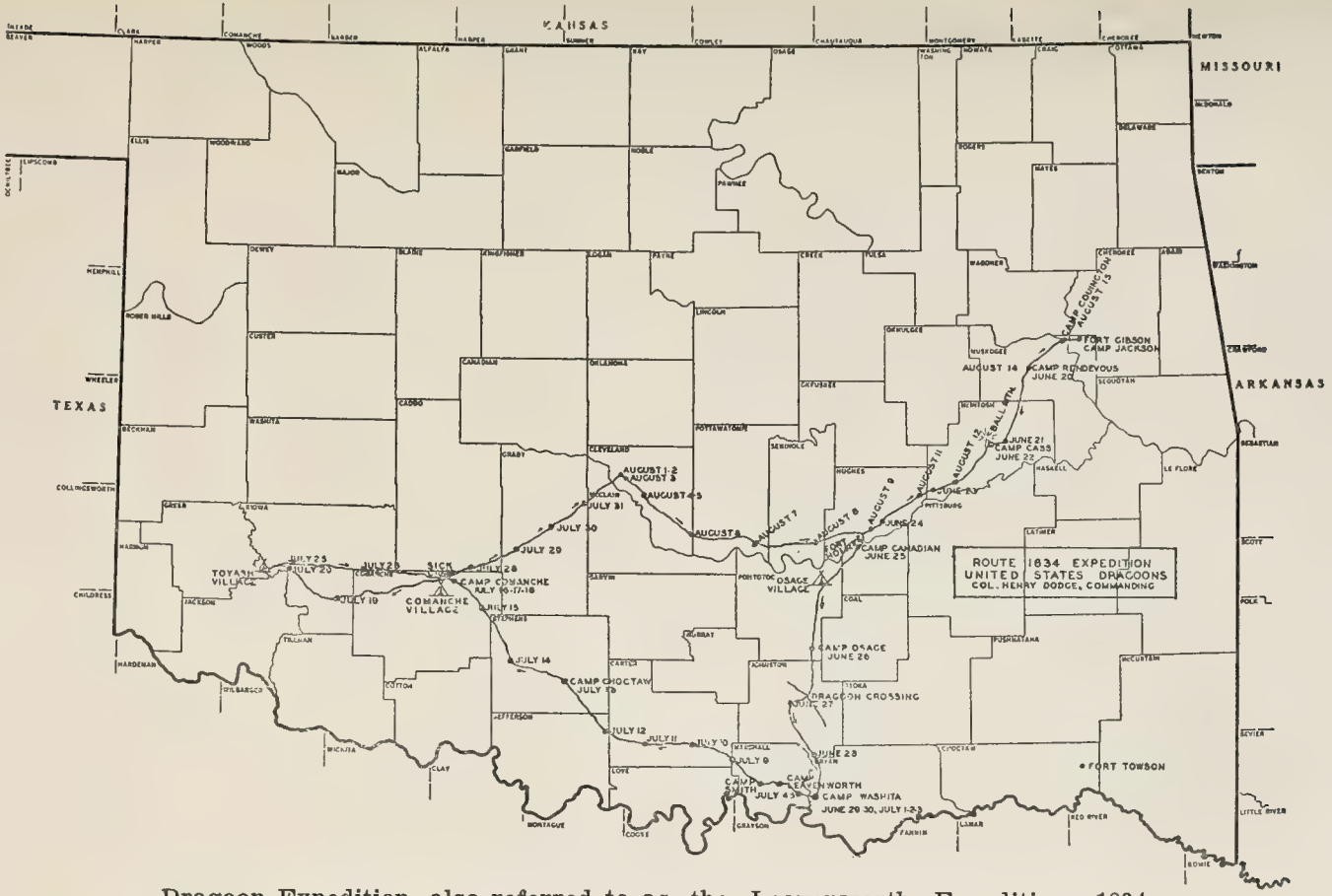
[29] For an interesting biography of Tahchee, or Dutch, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Dutch, The Cherokee", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 3, (Autumn, 1949), p. 252.

[30] Sgt. Evans' *Journal* records that the Osage group joined the expedition on June 26.

[31] "For this purpose several Camanchee and Pawnee prisoners have been purchased from the Osages, who may be of great service in bringing about a friendly interview."—Catlin, *op. cit.,* p. 39. (Wheelock's term "Pawnee" was frequently used in his day, though in error, for the tribe now commonly known as the Wichita. Other names applied to this tribe in early times included Pawnee Pict [or Pawnee Pique], Tawehash, and Taovayas. The combination and abbreviation of the last two names is probably the source of "Toyash" found in Wheelock's journal.—Ed.)

[32] Camp Cass was about 4 miles south of Stidham, McIntosh County.

[33] Ball Mountain, in sections 16 and 17, Twp. 10 N., R. 15 E., McIntosh County.



Dragoon Expedition, also referred to as the Leavenworth Expedition, 1834.

June 23.—Marched from Camp Cass at nine o'clock, west by south, seventeen miles; alternate prairie and timber; water less scarce than before, but warm, of a milky color, and in pools.[34]

June 24.—The advance was sounded at nine o'clock; marched twenty-one miles west by south, halted at four o'clock p. m. and encamped[35] near good water and grazing; excellent spring, impregnated with sulphur and iron. Captain Brown's company joined us this morning; road to-day chiefly through timber; met two infantry soldiers going from the post[36] at the mouth of Little river to Fort Gibson.

June 25.—Colonel Dodge and staff reached Camp Canadian,[37] on the west bank of the Canadian, thirteen miles from last camp, at twelve o'clock; reported to General Leavenworth, whom we found in camp; command came up at two o'clock. Road to-day through open, level prairie, well watered; crossed the Canadian half a mile below the mouth of Little river; Canadian two hundred yards wide, bed nearly dry, low banks; Indian name signifies "river without banks." Near the east side passed Lieutenant Holmes, 7th infantry, with a company of the 7th regiment of infantry. Lieutenant Holmes just commenced building a fort[38] and quarters for two companies. At Camp Canadian another sulphur spring, and good grazing and water.

June 26.—At half past eight o'clock Colonel Dodge and part of his staff and a detachment of about twenty dragoons, and our bands of Indians, preceded the command, and found General Leavenworth at Camp Osage,[39] five miles south of Cave creek; halted at half past five o'clock p. m., thirty-two miles from Camp Canadian. Streams to-day frequent, and abundantly supplied. The regiment, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Kearney, left camp at half-past eight o'clock; left twenty-seven sick men at Camp Canadian, with Assistant Surgeon Hailes and Lieutenant Edwards[40] in charge. Lieutenant Cooke[41] was left here sick. Ten miles from Camp

---

[34] The night of June 23 was spent in the vicinity of Vernon, McIntosh County.

[35] The camp for the night of June 24 was about 12 miles east of Holdenville, in Hughes County.

[36] Fort Holmes.

[37] Camp Canadian, on the south bank of the Canadian, was a few miles north of Atwood, in Hughes County. "We came about one mile on the south side of this river and encamd on the night of the 25 of June 34." *Sgt. Evans' Journal.*

[38] The fort was being constructed by the 7th Infantry under the direction of Lieut. Theophilus H. Holmes, a dragoon officer who later rose to the rank of Lieut. General in the Confederate Army. The post, named Fort Holmes, was occupied only for a short while, and its site is at the present location of Bilby, in Hughes County.

[39] Camp Osage was probably in southern Pontotoc County, a few miles south of Jesse.

[40] Lieut. Edwards, with 23 of the men, rejoined the expedition on July 3.

[41] Lieut. Cooke, upon improving enough to travel, returned to Fort Gibson.

Canadian passed a band of Osages,[42] between 500 and 600 in number, employed in curing buffalo meat, second chief of the nation, "Black Dog,"[43] in command—famous as a warrior; two Osages joined us as volunteers.

June 27.—Left Camp Osage (General Leavenworth in company) at half-past six o'clock; marched twenty-three miles westwardly, and encamped[44] on a creek at the end of a thirteen mile prairie; limestone, excellent streams of water, and frequent; soil in general, since leaving Fort Gibson, light and sandy, but often rich, and well adapted to grain. Crossed Blue river[45] ten miles from Camp Osage; saw in the vicinity much rich iron ore scattered over the surface of the earth. Met with and killed the first buffalo[46] seen since the com-

---

[42] The Osage village was in the vicinity of Allen, in Pontotoc County. *Co. I Journal* gives an excellent description of the village: "We passed a village of Osages a nation which are scarce more civilized than those who have never been treated with. They still retain most of their wild habits, living on game & possessing a vast extent of country almost entirely untilled. They clothe themselves in Buffalo & other skins but during the warm season they go almost naked and paint themselves in the most grotesque and unmeaning figures. The village contained probably three hundred males & females including children. They offered various trifles of their own manufacture in exchange for tobacco & Butcher Knives, many of them accompanied us to our Camp and such trifling articles as they could not obtain by traffick they found means of Pilfering. Their manner of living reminds me of the wandering Gypsies hunting & theft being their principle means of subsistence; during the summer they wander from place to place providing for the day without thought or care for the morrow."

[43] Tchong-tas-sab-bee, or Black Dog, was the Osage chief, second only to Clermont. Catlin reports him as a most striking figure, blind in the left eye, seven feet in height, and weighing in excess of 250 pounds, "standing in height and in girth, above all of his tribe."

[44] The camp for the night of June 27th was a few miles from Reagan, in Johnston County.

[45] The site was long known as the "Dragoon Crossing" on Blue River, and is in Sec. 29, Twp. 2 S., R. 7 E., near Belton, in Johnston County. The iron ore mentioned here was in the region around Bromide, in Coal and Johnston Counties.—Information from Muriel H. Wright.

[46] Gen. Leavenworth, Colonel Dodge, Lieut. Wheelock, and Catlin were the principals in this particular shoot. Leavenworth was injured, and the incident undoubtedly hastened his death. Catlin relates: "General Leavenworth joined me, with too much game expression yet in his eye to allow him more than time to say, 'I'll have that calf before I quit!' and away he sailed, 'up hill and down dale,' in pursuit of a fine calf that had been hidden on the ground during the chase, and was now making its way over the prairies in pursuit of the herd. I rode to the top of a little hill to witness the success of the General's second effort, and after he had come close upon the little affrighted animal, it dodged about in such a manner as evidently to baffle his skill, and perplex his horse, which at last fell in a hole, and both were instantly out of my sight. I ran my horse with all possible speed to the spot, and found him on his hands and knees, endeavoring to get up. I dismounted and raised him on to his feet, when I asked if he was hurt, to which he replied 'no, bit I might have been,' when he instantly fainted, and I laid him on the grass. . . . . From that hour to the present, I think I have seen a decided change in the General's face; he has looked pale and feeble, and been continually troubled with a violent cough. I have rode by the side of him from day to day, and he several times told me that he was fearful he was badly hurt."—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

mencement of the march. Mineralogy of the country, thus far, of secondary formation; sandstone, limestone, freestone and slate.

June 28.—Set out at seven o'clock; marched westwardly twenty-five miles, encamped[47] on Bois d'Arc creek; passed a herd of buffalo this morning, some thirty or forty in number; Indians with us killed six of them. Road to-day chiefly over brushy prairie and through timber, some open prairie; water plentiful and good; character of timber, in general, small—post oak and black jack, and some trees of Bois d'Arc, a wood valuable to Indians for bows—a yellow, elastic wood of great tenacity. Entered the Washita bottom eight miles on the day's route; elm trees, sycamores, and ash. Health of the party good.

Camp Washita,[48] Sunday, June 29.—Marched fifteen miles west by south; reached Camp Dean's camp (two companies of 3d infantry) a mile or two from the Washita, at half-past twelve o'clock; encamped near him. Road to-day through timber and brushy prairie; limestone gave place to-day to red sandstone; saw more iron ore. Delightful spring near Captain Dean's camp. Captain Dean informs us that Pawnees have been seen in the neighborhood within a few days.

June 30.—General Leavenworth declares his intention of commanding in person the expedition to the Pawnee country. Learned that some companies[49] of infantry were to accompany us. Lieutenants Northrop[50] and Steen, with twenty dragoons, joined us from west side of Washita; report Pawnees seen in that direction. (Remained in camp.)

July 1.—The regiment[51] under Colonel Kearney arrived at 10 o'clock a. m. and encamped near the Washita. Our detachment joined main Camp Washita. Forty-five men and three officers sick —Lieutenants McClure,[52] Eastman, and Ury. The surgeon attributes the sickness to exposure in the heat of the day. Seventy-five horses and mules disabled; rapid marching in the heat of the day and

[47] The camp for the night of June 28 was near the Washita River and south of Tishomingo.

[48] In anticipation of his expected arrival, Gen. Leavenworth had ordered Companies A and C of the 3rd Infantry to proceed from Fort Towson to the mouth of the Washita and there erect a temporary encampment. The detachment, commanded by Capt. James Dean, completed its mission, and was there awaiting the arrival of the Dragoons. The site of Camp Washita is now inundated by Lake Texoma, and was south of the old crossing on Rock Creek in Section 21, Twp. 7 S., R. 7 E., Bryan County (Muriel H. Wright, *Some Historic Sites in Southern and Southeastern Oklahoma* [Oklahoma Historical Society, 1931], p. 11). See *Appendix* for biographical data on Capt. Dean.

[49] "We found encamped two companies of infantry from Fort Towson, who will follow in the rear of the dragoons as far as necessary, transporting with waggons, stores and supplies, and ready, at the same time, to co-operate with the dragoons in case of necessity."—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[50] See *Appendix* for biographical data on Lieut. Northrop.

[51] The main body of the regiment had been traveling separately and behind the command echelon since leaving Camp Canadian on the 26.

[52] Lieut. McClure died on July 20, probably at Camp Washita.

poor grazing at night are supposed to have been the causes. (Remained in camp.)

The "note of preparation" is now heard over the camp; all are engaged in making ready for a Pawnee chase.

July 2.—Remained in camp.

July 3.—Preparations for crossing the Washita; a platform upon two canoes fixed for that purpose. Whole day occupied with passage of the left wing; horse and mule lost in crossing. Captain Trenor[53] joined. Osborn, a deserter from company "F", brought in by a party sent in pursuit of him; sutler's wagon arrived; Lieutenants Swords and Van Deveer arrived. Great disappointment in not receiving by Lieutenant Swords horse-shoe nails; sent blacksmiths to Fort Towson to make nails. Lieutenant Edwards arrived with twenty-three men, who were left sick at the Canadian on the 26th ultimo; men chiefly recovered. Lieutenant Cooke had gone back to Fort Gibson on surgeon's certificate of ill health. (Remained in camp.)

July 4.—The right wing of the regiment crossed[54] the Washita. Command encamped about four miles[55] west from Camp Washita. Four horses drowned; last wagon passed over after dark in the evening. The Washita is a narrow stream, about forty-five yards in width; water of a dark red color; banks bold; shores miry; inconvenient landing for horses. Monsieur Beyrick,[56] botanist, etc., joined us to-day, with the view of accompanying the regiment to the prairie. Mr. Catlin, portrait painter, is also with us.

General Leavenworth declares his intention of sending Colonel Dodge with two hundred and fifty men to the Pawnee villages. He changes his determination to command in person. Left sick at Dean's camp, near the Washita, Lieutenants Swords, McClure, and Eastman. Left here—men for duty, and —sick.

July 5.—Change of camp promises to improve the health of the command; fine range for our horses, who have suffered of late for want of good grazing. Our horses in general, though thin, are apparently well able, if treated with care, to perform the campaign before us; spirits of the officers and men good; sanguine expectations of a successful march upon the Pawnees. (Remained in camp.)

July 6.—Moved westwardly eight miles, to Camp Leavenworth.[57]

July 7.—Marched at 4 o'clock westwardly five miles. Major Mason and a party of officers killed several buffalo. General Leavenworth joined us a short time previous to setting out from Camp Leavenworth. Left him there. By his order the regiment was re-

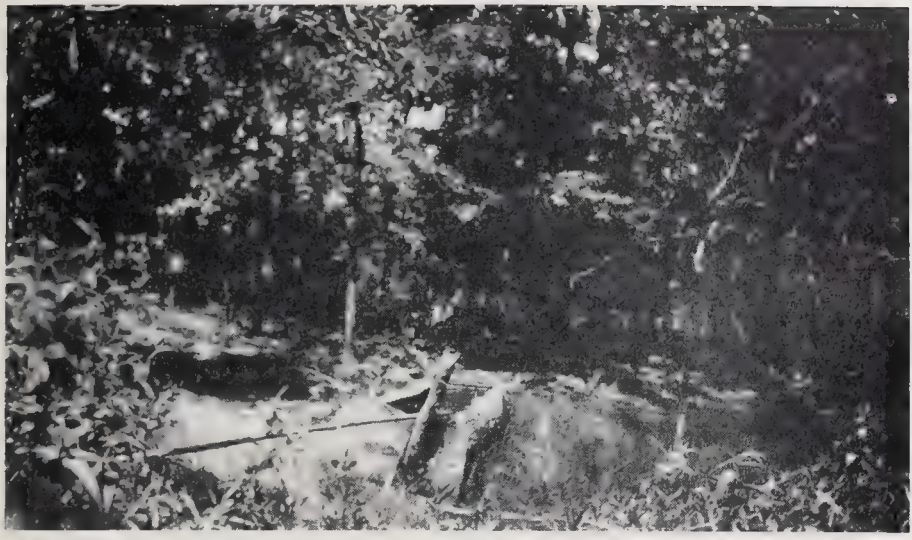
[53] See *Appendix* for biographical data on Captain Trenor.

[54] Both Hildreth and the *Co. I Journal* mention that the crossing was facilitated by a canvas boat covered with "gum Elastick" belonging to Col. Kearney.

[55] The camp for the nights of July 4 and 5 was in the vicinity of Woodville, in Marshall County.

[56] He left the expedition on the 7th of July, and died at Fort Gibson on Sept. 28, 1834.

[57] Camp Leavenworth was in the vicinity of Kingston, in Marshall County.



(Photo by M.H.W., 1930)

Spring at the site of Camp Washita established by Captain Dean, 1834, near crossing on Rock Creek, Bryan County.

(Photo by M.H.W., 1930)

Crossing on Rock Creek near old spring at the site of Camp Washita.

organized. Number of companies six, each consisting of forty-two rank and file. Left one hundred and nine men for duty, and eighty-six sick. Left the following named officers: Captain Trenor in command, Lieutenants Shaumburgh, (sick) Ury, (sick,) Bowman, Kingsbury, and Van Deveer.

New arrangement of officers

Field and staff—Colonel Dodge, Lieutenant Colonel Kearney, Major Mason, Lieutenant and Adjutant Hamilton, and Lieutenant Wheelock, temporarily attached.

Company "B"—Captain Sumner, Lieutenant Burgwin.
Company "C"—Captain Duncan, Lieutenant Territt.
Company "D"—Captain Hunter, Lieutenants Moore and Steen.
Company "E"—Captain Perkins, Lieutenant Davis.
Company "H"—Captain Boone, Lieutenants Izard and Northrop.
Company "I"—Captain Browne, Lieutenant Edwards.
Companies "G" and "K" were temporarily broken up and divided amongst the six companies

The command furnished with ten days' provisions and eighty rounds of cartridges per man; baggage reduced to lowest possible quantity; marched in two columns.

July 8.—Waiting for lost horses. A stupid sentinel last night mistook a horse for a hostile Indian, fired at and killed him; alarmed the camp, and sent off in a *stampedo*[58] the rest of the horses; recovered all save ten. The men of the regiment are excellent material, but unused to the woods. They often discover deficiences in this kind of service. Among the officers are several excellent woodsmen; talent of this kind is exceedingly valuable to the regiment. We found here chalk. (Remained in camp.)

July 9.—The command marched at half-past eight o'clock, northwest course, fourteen miles. Colonel Dodge this morning received instructions from General Leavenworth to send back a field officer to command at Camp Leavenworth. Lieutenant Colonel Kearney was ordered to report to General Leavenworth for that duty.[59] Ten men whose horses were lost on the night of the 7th instant were sent back to Camp Leavenworth.

Soon after starting this morning several persons on horseback were discovered, supposed to be Pawnees.[60] Face of country to-day

[58] The incident must have caused quite a commotion, as it is described in detail in all five of the journals.

[59] Lieut. Colonel Kearney was sent back to Camp Leavenworth, and did not accompany the expedition farther.

[60] ". . . . we had proceeded but a few miles when our flank guard espied a small party of mounted Indians on our left we were immediately ordered to halt & a party of about 40 men under the command of Capt Hunter were order towards them with a Flag of truce having proceeded 2 or 3 miles they sent back word that they could distinguish their white Flag. This however probably was a mistake as we soon lost sight of the Indians & saw no more of them for several days but from this time forward we carried in advance on each side a white flag."—*Co. I Journal.*

high and rolling prairie. Encamped in a small prairie, in sight of a large mound, some three or four miles distant, bearing south 40° west.[61]

July 10.—Cross timbers; course to-day west 16 miles; country rough and broken,[62] with but little water; little rain last night and this morning; cloudy weather during the day; some buffalo killed during the day;[63] not much water at camp.[64]

July 11.—Command divided into three columns; the right column under command of Major Mason, the center column under Captain Hunter, the left column under command of Captain Sumner. Country to-day small prairies, bushy ravines, scrubby oak ridges; want of good water on the road; bad water at camp to-night; several buffalo killed to-day; course to-day west, distance twenty miles.[65]

July 12.—Encamped[66] in a grove of small open timber, near a fine grove; marched at 8 o'clock; course west, distance twelve miles; slips of prairie, timber, and bushy thickets.

Camp Choctaw,[67] July 13.—Passed through the last of the Cross Timbers, and entered upon the Grand prairie; marched at half-past eight o'clock from Camp Choctaw west by north twenty-three miles, and encamped on a creek; highly beautiful country, tolerably well watered; command impeded to-day by sick men in litters; Indians, supposed to be Pawnees, were seen to-day; wild horses in large herds; one of the Indian guides caught one of them; immense herds of buffalo; passed several springs of rock oil, (petroleum.) Command halted at 6 o'clock p. m.; rear guard did not come up until 10—kept back by the sick falling in the rear.

July 14.—Marched at half-past 8 o'clock seventeen miles west; number of sick decreased. The command had advanced about half

---

[61] The camp for the night of July 9 was in the vicinity of McMillan, in Marshall County.

[62] The *Co. I Journal* records this unusual incident on the 10th: "One of the command this morning while riding through the thicket found several pieces of a pair of saddle bags which had no doubt belonged to a citizen of the name of Martin who had been murdered by the Pawnees but a few weeks before on Washitaw River."

[63] The *Co. I Journal* records an interesting circumstance happening on the July 10th buffalo hunt: "When we closed in upon him as near as our horses would approach and at one well aimed fire laid him prostrate and immediately commenced butchering him. In his left shoulder (grown into the flesh) we found the steel point of an Indian arrow which had no doubt been long there as the flesh around it had become completely calloused. . . . ."

[64] The camp for the night of July 10 was in the vicinity of Ardmore, Carter County.

[65] The camp for the night of July 11 was in the vicinity of Wilson, in Carter County.

[66] The camp for the night of July 12 was in the vicinity of Ringling, in Jefferson County.

[67] Camp Choctaw was probably in Stephens County, about ten miles east of Comanche.

a mile, when on a hill to our right we discovered a party of horsemen; our spy-glasses soon determined them to be Indians. Colonel Dodge halted the columns, ordered a white flag, and with it and his staff moved in the direction of the Indians. After some delay, one of the party[68] advanced upon full gallop, bearing a white flag upon his lance; he proved to be a Spaniard, who early in life had been taken by the Comanches. Colonel Dodge received him kindly, and through our interpreter, who spoke a little Spanish, made known to him our pacific disposition. Gradually the whole band, about thirty Indians, came to us and shook hands; they proved to be Comanches; discovered a good deal of alarm and eagerness to convince us of their disposition to be friendly; they rode good horses; they were all armed with bows and arrows and lances, and carried shields of buffalo hide. We inquired where their village was; they answered, "two days' journey," and seemed anxious to conduct us thither. In reply to our inquiries concerning the Pawnees, they seemed not to understand the term; told us the Toyash village was one days' journey from their camp; that they would send for the Toyash chiefs, if we would accompany them to the camp. They signified, however, their desire to have Colonel Dodge wait with his command in their camp, and go on the next day. Colonel Dodge paid no regard to their requests, but showed an indifference to their movements and an independence of them, which had the effect to make them follow *us;* they accompanied us. Found another band, making in all some forty or fifty; they told us that they were a very numerous people. Colonel Dodge told them that *we* were a very numerous people; that more troops were coming behind, with large guns. After we halted to encamp for the night,[69] they came to beg tobacco, and to talk with Colonel Dodge, who informed them "that the President, the great American captain, had sent him to shake hands with them; that he wished to establish peace between them and their red brethren around them, to send traders among them, and to be forever friends." They shook hands with the Osages, Cherokees, Delawares, &c., who were with us, and seemed highly satisfied with their interview with us, and offered to accompany us to the Toyash village. Country to-day beautiful, open prairie; game scarce—two or three deer were killed, no buffalo seen; a herd of wild horses[70] passed near us; pro-

[68] Catlin gives his name as "His-oo-san-ches."

[69] The camp for the night of July 14 was northwest of Comanche, in Stephens County.

[70] Catlin relates an experience he and Chadwick had with the wild horses: ". . . . we agreed that we would try the experiment of 'creasing' one, as it is termed in this country; which is done by shooting them through the gristle on the top of the neck, which stuns them so that they fall, and are secured with the hobbles on their feet; after which they rise again without fatal injury. . . . . , and having leveled our pieces at the withers of a noble, fine-looking iron grey, we pulled trigger, and the poor creature fell, and the rest of the herd were out of sight in a moment. We advanced speedily to him, and had the most inexpressible mortification of finding, that we never had thought of hobbles or halters, to secure him—and in a few minutes more, had the still greater mortification, and even anguish, to find that one of our shots had broken the poor creature's neck, and that he was quite dead."

vision threatens to be scarce; Colonel Dodge anxious to expedite business, lest his men may suffer on this account; one or two horses broke down to-day.

The Comanche is a fine looking[71] Indian, in general naked; some of them wore blankets. The squaws are dressed in deer skins, and are good looking women; among them were several Spanish women, evidently long used to Comanche habits; appearance of a Comanche fully equipped on horseback, with his lance and quiver and shield by his side, is beautifully classic. This has been an interesting day to us; our goal seems in sight; uncertainty of reaching the Pawnees much lessened.

July 15.—Marched at half past 7 o'clock twenty-four miles[72] northwest; severe rain last night; Comanches left us this morning, with the exception of one, who remained as guide; he assures us that we shall reach the Comanche camp to-morrow. Colonel Dodge learns that the Comanches, Kiowas, and the band called by us the Pawnee Picts, but correctly termed, the Toyash, are friends, and to a certain degree allies, and mingle so as to be, except in language, much the same people. The Comanches are, we learn, the largest band, the proudest and boldest; therefore the Colonel has resolved to visit them first; thence to the Toyash village, establish friendly understandings with one or both, or war with one or both, as may be; officers and men on the alert, as if in the atmosphere of war.

July 16.—Marched at nine o'clock, halted at half past 2 o'clock; course north by west, distance twelve miles; an accident occurred in camp last night—Sergeant Cross was shot by a dragoon in the hip. We had marched three or four miles, when we discovered a party of Comanches on our left. Colonel Dodge sent two officers to meet them and shake hands with them. They were a hunting party, some ten or twelve in number; they were brought to Colonel Dodge; the columns were halted; they shook hands with the Colonel and his officers and the Indians; we then moved on together for the Comanche camp; the Pawnee girl recognized an old acquaintance in the captain of this party, and rendered service by interpreting what he said, through the Osages. The Comanche captain informs us that it is but a short distance to their camp; his people wish to be our friends, &c. Two or three miles with our new friends brought us in sight of their camp, situated in a valley. Here we met about a hundred mounted Comanches, who had come out to welcome us, and evidently not a little alarmed. We shook hands with them; the Cherokees, Osages, &c, advanced and performed the same ceremony, when we all moved together for their camp. On arriving at it, they

---

[71] All apparently did not agree. Hugh Evans wrote on first seeing them: "Those Indians are large and corpulent not so tall and elegantly formed as the Osage Indians but much heavier and coarser featured than them."

[72] The camp for the night of July 15 was south of Sterling, in Comanche County.

(From Catlin, *North American Indians*)
Meeting of Colonel Henry Dodge, 1st Dragoons, with the Comanche.

invited us to cross the creek and encamp with them; Colonel Dodge, however, preferred leaving the creek between us and our red friends. This day has been a very interesting one—absolutely so and peculiarly so, as we were anxious, impatient, and uncertain as to the movements of these Indians. Six nations, some of whom had but recently been at war with each other, shake hands together—a form, it is true, but a type, we believe, of a permanent peace that must promote the interest of all. Our camp, "Comanche,"[73] an admirable position—the steep bank of a creek in front, and a ravine bounding the other three sides; habitual form of our camp a rectangle; horses picketed within it at night, and surrounded by a chain of sentinels; orders issued that no man should visit the Comanche camp, nor officer, without special permission. The Comanches have hoisted an American flag over their camp, which contains more than two hundred skin lodges; herds of horses, in all not less than three thousand, are grazing around them; they have been here evidently but a day or two; their chief is absent with a hunting party. We are now in sight of a chain of *peaks,*[74] so called—mountains, bearing south and west; behind these are the Toyash villages. Some of these hills cannot be less than two thousand feet above the prairie at their base. Number of sick, twenty-nine; in litters, four. Our guide,[75] yesterday, was not a little wavering in his disposition to serve us. Colonel Dodge presented him with a gun, which produced a fine effect upon his spirits. He could not *hear* the Pawnee girl; but no sooner was he in actual possession of the yauger, and felt the well-filled cartridge box buckled around his body, than his grave face became wreathed with smiles, his sense of hearing was suddenly restored, his arms sawed the air with signs, and, through the magical influence of the gun, we gained several fragments of useful information. We are exceeding unfortunate in not having an interpreter; our Spanish interpreter, a Cherokee, is very imperfect.

July 17.—Comanche chief still absent. Some of our officers purchased wild horses to-day. A blanket or butcher knife[76] is equivalent to a horse. Waiting to-day for the Comanche chief to return to his camp. Colonel Dodge hopes to be able to induce him to accompany us to the Toyash villages. The Kiowa girl is quite sick to-day. One of the Comanches informs us that their great chief will be here to-

[73] Camp Comanche was probably on Cache Creek, in the northern part of Comanche County, near Apache.

[74] The entries for July 16 are the first to mention the Wichita Mountains. Catlin: ". . . . a magnificent range of mountains rising in distance beyond; it being, without doubt, a huge 'spur' of the Rocky Mountains, composed entirely of a reddish granite or gneis, corresponding with the other links of this stupendous chain." *Co. I Journal* states on the same day: "A chain of Mountains formed entirely of rock of stupendous appearance extend themselves in a distance on the left which from their situation evidently connect themselves with the rocky mountains."

[75] The guide was named "Ish-a-ro-yeh."—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[76] "Of the horses, the officers and man have purchased a number of the best, by giving a very inferior blanket and butcher's knife, costing in all about four dollars!"—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

morrow when the sun is high, and that *he* can talk to the Kiowa and Pawnee girls. Remained in camp.

July 18.—The chief has not arrived. Doubt somewhat the sincerity of the Spaniard who informed us he would certainly come. The Comanches visit our camp and trade with us. Monsieur Beyrick, the botanist, left us on the 7th instant. Number of sick to-day thirty-three. Three officers sick. Waited for the chief until eleven o'clock, when the advance was sounded; marched seven miles westwardly; found a Pawnee Mohaw who has been to the Toyash village, and who promises to guide us thither.

Two miles from camp; command delayed two hours waiting for the litters to come up; six litters, including Mr. Catlin's. Remarkable absence, day and night of mosquitos and flies. A chain of hills five miles from us, bearing south by west; country exceedingly beautiful; soil good; water abundant; grazing excellent. The season is a remarkably dry one, but we have suffered very little for want of good water. Our men seem somewhat discontented on account of the scarcity of game; they are very improvident; brought ten days' provisions on the 7th, with orders to make it last twenty days; have been supplied with a plenty of buffalo meat till within a day or two, yet many of them are entirely out of provisions; plenty of deer in the neighborhood, but no buffalo; out of the buffalo range to-day; our sick encumbered us so much that Colonel Dodge resolves to leave them behind.

July 19.—Marched at eight o'clock for the Toyash villages; command reduced to 183 men; left in sick camp,[77] covered by a breastwork of felled timber, seventy-five men; thirty-nine of these sick; Lieutenant Moore left here sick; Surgeon Findlay for duty; Lieutenant Izard in command;[78] left our jaded horses; marched twenty-three miles southwest; two miles from camp began to ascend hills, apparently a ridge of mountains, running south by east; limestone; curious regularity of limestone upon the first hill passed over; rows of pavement resembling, at a little distance, furrows in a field; road rough, leading over rocky ravines, and close passes in the mountains; our guide seems to have chosen the most uneven and circuitous route; height of these mountains from 200 to 1,500 feet; wagons nor artillery could possibly pass these hills; halted at 3 o'clock, and encamped[79] near a creek; a few miles before reaching our halting place for the night the face of the country changed; secondary formation gave way entirely to primitive rock; mountains of granite, almost wholly without soil; upon the side of one of them

[77] The sick camp was near Medicine Creek west of Apache. The expedition returns to the camp on July 27.

[78] Catlin remained at the sick camp and did not accompany the expedition farther. His information on subsequent events was supplied to him by Chadwick.

[79] The camp for the night of July 19 was in Kiowa County, a few miles north of Mountain Park. See footnote 90.

noticed a shining spot, apparently a waterfall, glistening in the sunlight; an old woodsman astonished us by informing us it was a mass of *salt;* no buffalo, our unshod horses suffered very much to-day; wild horses in abundance, and bears; many deer were seen, a few were killed; scanty allowance of provisions for our men; we march too fast to be able to hunt much on the road; game is now divided among the command with great care; marched in three columns; baggage reduced to three pack horses to each company.

July 20.—The command moved at half past 7 o'clock, west course; halted at half past 4 o'clock, thirty-seven miles; road literally of granite rock for miles; after a few miles struck high prairies, thinly scattered with bushes; then ravines and difficult passes; immense blocks of granite piled on each other from 500 to 1,000 feet in height; many horses gave out to-day; traces of buffalo, but saw none; about the middle of the day's march[80] the mountains became more detached; passed to-day what is called a "dog village." The prairie dog, or "marmot," is an animal somewhat larger than a squirrel, with a head like that of a dog; they live in holes in the ground, about twenty paces apart from each other; five or six miles were covered by the habitations of these little animals. We encamped[81] five miles from the Toyash village, which is situated on a branch of Red river; soon after we had pitched our camp Lieutenant Northrop was directed to pursue and endeavor to bring to camp an Indian who was discovered on horseback; Lieutenant Northrop after some difficulty induced the Indian, who proved to be of the Toyash nation, to accompany him; he was very much alarmed; conversed readily with the Pawnee girl. We behaved kindly to this Indian; assured him of our friendly disposition, and allowed him to return to his village.[82] The Toyash girl is now of very great service as an interpreter. The band not coming out to

---

[80] "This day we struck the waters of the red river which is pacularly situated runing through a rocky mountainous country the water of which is a pure copper couler so verry salty that we cannot use it in drinking or cooking the beach on both sides is covered with pure fine white salt. We also passed today several "dog towns."—Sgt. Evans' *Journal.*

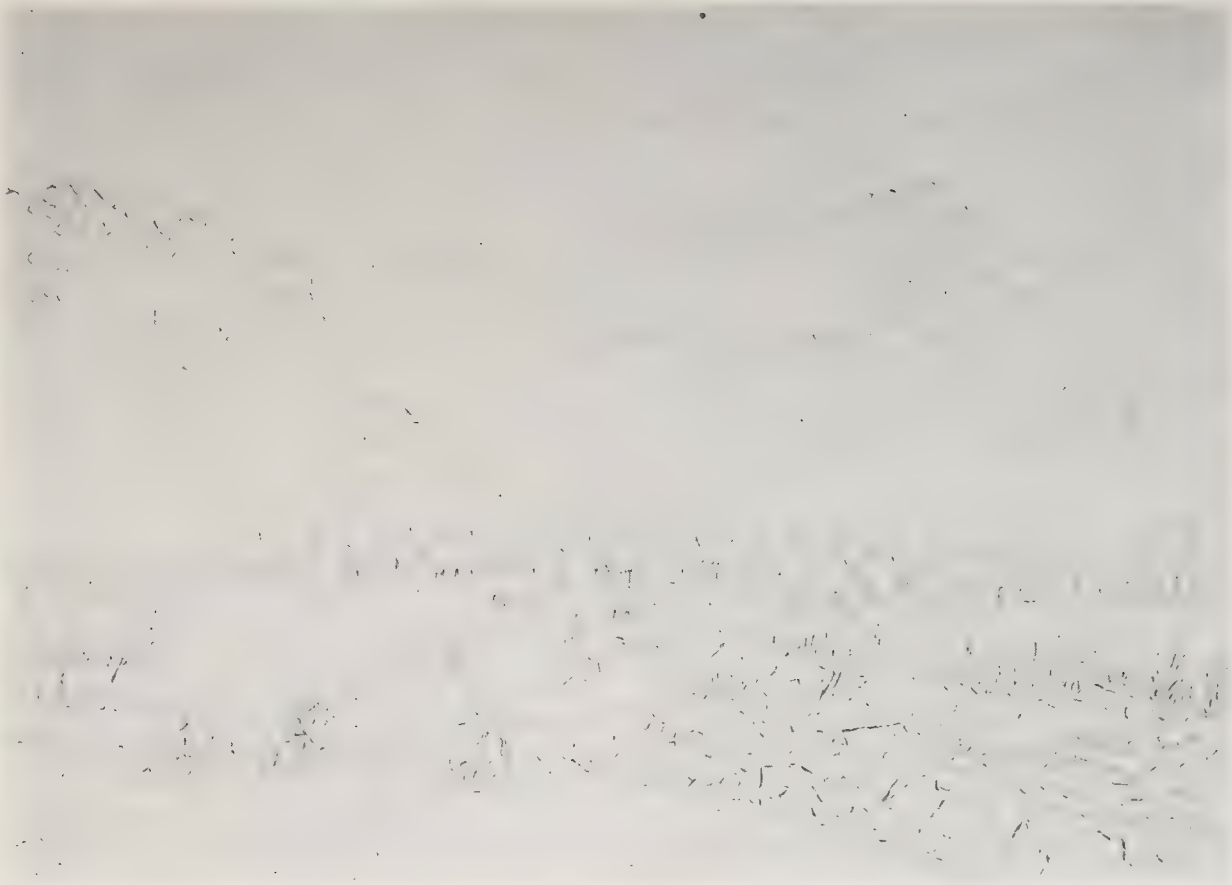
[81] The camp for the night of July 20th was in the southern portion of Twp. 5 N., R 19 W., Kiowa County.

[82] ". . . . we espyed about 2 Miles distant from us leading pack horses pursuit was immediately made by Lt Northrop & one or two osages succeeded in bringing one of them to camp. gave him chase & soon overtook him the Indian seeing his pursuers close upon him stopped and made no resistance Lt. Nortrop drew his pistol and advanced cautiously towards him with it in his left hand and at the same time extending the other in a friendly manner. The Indian was so agitated that he could scarcely support himself the Lt by various tokens of friendship succeeded in bringing him to himself & returned to camp with his prize At the time he was brought in he was still in such a state of trepidation as almost deprived him of speech. Our prisoner the Pawnee squaw was brought before him and they received each other in a most affecting manner. We found him to be a Pawnee he said he had been carrying wood to the village which was about 5 miles distant from him We got considerable information. In the morning we released him & sent him to his friends."—*Co. I Journal.*

meet us to-day convinced us that they had either fled or had determined to make a stand and give us a fight; bayonets were fixed, and every preparation made for a conflict. Water to-day at our camp *salt*. Width of the branch of Red river about 500 feet from bank to bank; water low. Dutch, the Cherokee guide, very ill; the Kiowa girl ill also.

July 21.—The command marched at 8 o'clock for the Toyash village; proceeded a mile or two when we met about sixty Indians who had come out to meet us; shook hands with them, and moved on in company with each other; they stated that the principal chief was absent on a visit to the Pawnee Mohaw's country; passed their cornfields on our way to their town; these fields are well cultivated, neatly enclosed, and very extensive, reaching, in some instances, several miles; we saw also here melons of different kinds, squashes, &c. The Indians discovered a good deal of alarm as we approached their village; frequently halted, and begged Colonel Dodge not to fire on them; Colonel Dodge promised them safety. These Indians are chiefly naked, and are armed with bows and arrows. They have few horses, and seem altogether an unwarlike people. Before we started this morning the uncle of the Pawnee girl rode up to our camp; he embraced his relation, and shed tears of joy on meeting her. We soon reached the village,[83] which is situated immediately under mountains of granite some 600 feet in height; in front of the village runs the river. We counted near 200 grass lodges; these are made of poles fixed firmly in the earth, fastened together at the top, and thatched substantially with prairie grass and stalks from their cornfields; many of these lodges are thirty feet high and forty feet in diameter; in the center of the floor a shallow excavation serves as a fireplace; around the sides are comfortable berths, large enough to accommodate two persons each. We encamped on a fine position, about one mile from the village. Toyash men are less fine looking than the Comanches. Their women are prettier than the Comanche squaws; indeed, some of their girls are very pretty; naked, save a broad garment of dressed deer skin, or red cloth, worn about the middle; some of the men wear coats of red cloth, obtained from the Spaniards of Mexico. Most of our officers visited them on the day of our arrival, and were hospitably entertained. Our own provisions were almost entirely exhausted; we had met with little or no game for several days, and found most excellent fare in the dishes of corn

[83] The site of the "Toyash" or Pawnee Village (now referred to as the Witchita Village) is in Devil's Canyon, Section 12, Twp. 4 N., R. 20 W., Kiowa County. Evans states that the expedition marched through the village, and bivouaced on the other side of the river "for an hour," and then recrossed to the village. James Mooney, who visited the site in 1893, gave its location as "situated on the northeast bank of the North Fork of Red River, about 4 miles below the junction of Elm fork. . . . . It was close to the mouth of Devil canyon, with the river in front and the mountains behind."—James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," 17*th Annual Report*, Bur. Amer. Ethn. (Washington, 1898) p. 266. Mooney reports that on his visit the circular impressions from the dwellings were still plainly visible.



(From Catlin, *North American Indians*)
"Toyash Village," drawing made in 1834. Location now referred to as site of Wichita Village, Devil's Canyon on North Fork of Red River, Kiowa County.

and beans which they dress with buffalo fat; they served us thus liberally, and for dessert gave us watermelons and wild plums. Our men purchased green corn, dried horse meat and buffalo meat; we depended, during our stay with them, on their dried meat and corn, which, with vermilion and articles of clothing, knives, &c., we were able to purchase of them.

The Comanches now began to arrive.

July 22.—At the Toyash village Colonel Dodge and several of his officers met, agreeably to previous notice, the Toyash chiefs and warriors in council.[84] Council being in order, Colonel Dodge proceeded to speak as follows: "We are the first American officers who have ever come to see the Pawnees; we meet you as friends, not as enemies, to make peace with you, to shake hands with you. The great American captain is at peace with all the white men in the world; he wishes to be at peace with all the red men in the world; we have been sent here to view this country, and to invite you to go to Washington, where the great American chief lives, to make a treaty with him, that you may learn how he wishes to send among you traders, who will bring you guns and blankets, and everything that you want. The great American chief wishes also to make peace between you and the Osages; you have been at war with the Osages; and to secure peace between you and the Cherokees, Senecas, Delawares, and Choctaws, and all other red men, that you may all meet together as friends, and not shed each other's blood, as you have done. On our way to your village we met a party of Comanches. We showed to them a white flag, which said to them, 'we wish to be friends.' Their principal men were gone to hunt; we treated their old men, women, and children, with kindness; we gave them presents; they had many horses; we could have taken their horses from them, but did not; we showed to them that we wanted to be at peace with them; they told us that you were their friends; we were glad to hear of it; we have come to your town, and found you as defenseless as the Comanches; we have treated you as we treated them; the American people show their kindness by actions, and not by words alone; we have been told that a white man was taken prisoner by you last summer, that a boy was made prisoner by you last spring; we have come now to require the boy at your hands, for we are told that he is in your town. Give us the white boy, and we will give you the Pawnee girl that we have brought with us; we wish all that has passed to be put behind us—to be forgotten; we wish to shake hands with you and be friends; you must now give me a positive and direct answer in regard to the white man who was taken last summer, and the boy who was taken last spring." (Remained in camp.)

---

[84] The curious thing regarding this report of the speeches of Colonel Dodge and the chiefs is that they are recorded verbatim to those recorded by Sgt. Evans. Either Evans made the original transcript which was incorporated by Wheelock into his report, or Evans had access to Wheelock's material.

The chief, We-ter-ra-shah-ro, replied: "I know nothing of the man who you say was taken last summer; the white boy[85] is here."

Colonel Dodge resumed. "I wish the boy brought to me; I will then give to you the Pawnee girl; this act, together with all the information you can give concerning the man who was taken last summer, will be the best proof that you can give of the sincerity of your disposition to shake hands and be at peace with us. I cannot leave the country until we obtain possession of the boy and gain information respecting the man who was taken last summer. His name was Abby; he was taken between the Blue river and the Washita, about this time last year."

Chief.—"I know nothing of it. I believe they were Comanches who took the man." On receiving some intelligence from one of his friends, the chief continued: "I remember now; the Oways, who live south, did it."

Colonel Dodge.—"Do the Oways hunt on the grounds between the Blue and Washita rivers?"

Chief.—"They hunt there, and I have heard that they took the man Abby, and when they got near their camp they killed him."

Colonel Dodge.—"How far do the Oways live from here?"

Chief.—"They follow the buffalo as the Comanches do; they have a town." Here a pistol was accidently fired in the council lodge, which caused much confusion.[86] It was soon explained, however, and business proceeded. The white boy, who had been sent for,

---

[85] Catlin (quoting Chadwick) *op. cit.*, p. 71, gives a different story as to how they learned that young Martin was in the village: ". . . . until at length a negro-man was discovered, who was living with the Pawnees, who spoke good English; and coming into the council-house, gave information that such a boy had recently been brought into their village, and was now a prisoner amongst them. This excited great surprise and indignation in the council, and Colonel Dodge then informed the chiefs that the council would rest here; and certainly nothing further of a peaceable nature would transpire until the boy was brought in. In this alarming dilemma, all remained in gloomy silence for awhile; when Colonel Dodge further informed the chiefs, that as an evidence of his friendly intentions towards them, he had, on starting, purchased at a very great price, from their enemies the Osages, two Pawnee (and one Kiowa) girls; which had been held by them for some years as prisoners, and which he had brought the whole way home, and had here ready to be delivered to their friends and relations; but whom he would certainly never show, until the little boy was produced."

[86] "A pistol in the hand of a friendly Indian (a Cherokee) was accidentally discharged, it was a sign for general confusion—the Indians as if yet suspicious of our intentions in a moment were prepared and eager for the pray [fray] The squaws by one concent fled towards the mountains and clambered up in all directions, twas a moment that required the utmost calmness & intrepidity to avert the danger that threatened."—*Co. I Journal.*

was brought in and presented to Colonel Dodge; the boy was entirely naked, about seven years of age; his name is Matthew Wright Martin.[87]

Chief.—"I am glad to shake hands with you, with the red men that you have brought with you, the Osages, Delawares, and Cherokees; the principal chief is not here, but you are as gladly received as he would have welcomed you; the chief has gone to the country of the Pawnee O'Mohaws; he believed that you had gone that way. The father of the Toyash girl went with the chief to seek his daughter."

Colonel Dodge.—"How did the Comanches obtain the American flag I saw flying in their camp?"

Chief.—"The Pawnees from La Platte sent two flags—one for the Wacoahs, and the other to the Comanches."

Colonel Dodge.—"Do the Spaniards come here to trade with you?"

Chief.—"They do. They left us not long since, and went west."

Colonel Dodge.—"The Americans will give you better and cheaper goods than the Spaniards do. Tell me, if you know, where the ranger (Abby) was taken, and how he was killed?"

Chief.—"I have inquired, and have learned this day that the Indians who live near St. Antoine, in Mexico, captured Abby, and that they killed him on Red river."

Colonel Dodge."What Indians killed our Santa Fé traders?"

Chief.—"There is a roving tribe of very bad Indians called Wakinas; they range north of the country of the Arkansas." Colonel Dodge here presented the girl to her friends, whereupon they conducted her from the council.

Colonel Dodge.—"I am very much pleased at the exchange of prisoners. I hope the friends of the girl will be happy with her; she is a good girl; I wish her well. I will restore the little boy to his mother; her heart will be glad, and she will think better of the Pawnees; a bright sun has shined on us this day; I hope the Great Spirit will let it shine continually upon us. You have some Osage prisoners; the Osages have some Pawnee prisoners; we will exchange, and give you your Pawnee friends, and you shall restore the Osages to their friends. How many Osages have you?"

---

[87] "They held a long consultation about the boy, and seeing their plans defeated by the evidence of the negro; and also being convinced of the friendly disposition of the Colonel, by bringing home their prisoners from the Osages, they sent out and had the boy brought in, from the middle of a corn-field, where he had been secreted. He is a smart and very intelligent boy of nine years of age, and when he came in, he was entirely naked, as they keep their own boys of that age. There was a great excitement in the council when the little fellow was brought in; and as he passed amongst them, he looked around and exclaimed with some surprise, 'What! are there white men here?' to which Colonel Dodge replied, and asked his name; and he promptly answered, 'my name is Matthew Wright Martin.'"—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Chief.—"There are Osages here; they are men who were raised here, and do not wish to leave us. The Delaware woman and boy that we took died of the smallpox. A great many of the Toyash have died of smallpox."

Colonel Dodge.—"The American President will have a treaty of peace made between you all; then you will meet and exchange prisoners; this will be done when the next grass grows. The Osages who are with the Pawnees, who then wish to return to the Osages, will be able to return; and the Pawnees who are with the Osages can come back to their people."

Chief.—"We wish to have it done soon."

Colonel Dodge.—"The American President wishes to see some of each nation shake hands before him; he will give presents to those who visit him, and fix a permanent peace between their nations. Peace cannot be made with all the tribes till a large white paper be written and signed by the President and the hands of the chiefs. Will your chiefs go with me now to see the American President? I wish also to take with me some Comanche chiefs. The President will be happy to see you, and will make you, as I told you before, presents of handsome guns, coats, &c."

Much demurring among the chiefs.

Colonel Dodge.—"This is the proper time to make peace with the red men and the white men; if you do not seize this opportunity you may not have another. The bright chain of friendship can now be made bright between all the Indians and the white men."

Chief.—"We do not like to pass through the timber; it will be hard for our horses to pass through the thick timber country between us and the white men."

Colonel Dodge.—"There are roads; a big road is now being made."

Chief.—"We have met here as friends, we hope to remain so. The Great Spirit has seen us as we see now the white men, Cherokees, Osages, Delawares, and Senecas, as friends; we hope to remain so."

Colonel Dodge.—"I hope so. How came you by the negro who is here with you?"

Chief.—"This Comanche brought him; he found him on the Red river; you can take him and do as you please with him."

The council here closed.

July 23.—We-ter-ra-shah-ro, and two other principal men, met Colonel Dodge at his tent this morning, and held further talk with him. The four leaders of the bands of Indians who were with us were present at the talk, and participated therein. Colonel Dodge spoke as follows: "Toyash chiefs! I told you yesterday that I wished

to show you the road that leads to the great American captain, and make you acquainted with the Indians that live on the way thither; have you thought of going with me? Our great father wished you to see the red men who live on the way, that you may be the better able to settle all difficulties with them. You shall be well treated; presents shall be made to you, and you shall be sent back in safety. Peace cannot be made unless some of you go; I am not the great captain, *he only* can make peace with you and other red men; I wish only a few of you to go with me; I wish you to go willingly and as friends; had I chosen to force you to go it would have been easy for me to do so; you see I do not wish to force you." After a good deal of consultation, one of the chiefs (a Wacoah) consented to go. Here the following interesting ceremony took place: The boy whom we recovered yesterday is the son of the late Judge Martin, of Arkansas, who was killed by a party of Indians some weeks since; the son was with his father on a hunting excursion, and being parted from him—his death, however, he did not witness, and is now in ignorance of it—the boy relates that, after being parted from his father, the Indians who had taken him were disposed, save one, to kill him; this one shielded him and took care of him in sickness. Colonel Dodge, as a reward for this noble kindness, gave him a rifle, and at the same time caused the little boy to present to him, with his own hand, a pistol. Colonel Dodge now assured the chiefs that they should receive further presents if they would go with him to his country; that he regretted that he had nothing of value with him, but begged them to accept some rifles and pistols, which they did with *much evident satisfaction.* We-ter-ra-shah-ro, and the other chiefs with him, here consulted some time together on the subject of visiting the President. We-ter-ra-shah-ro spoke: "We have been at war with the nations which we see around us to-day; we wish now to make peace with them."

Colonel Dodge answered him: "It is the wish of the President that you make peace with them; that you present to each other clean hands; it is to effect this that I wish you to go with me."

The chief resumed: "We wish much to make peace with the Osages; we have been long at war with them; we wish to see the lands of the Creeks and Cherokees also, to shake hands with all. We want now to hear those Indians who came with you speak to us." The chief men of the four parties now spoke as follows:

Dutch, the Cherokee.—"I am now going to tell you what the chief of the Cherokees bade me say to you if we met as friends. He says to you his people wish to come to you without fear, and that you should visit them without fear. My heart is glad that we are all willing to be friends; a long time ago it was so, there was no war between us. I am rejoiced, and my people will be rejoiced, when they hear that it may be so again. Look at me, you see I speak the truth; I have nothing more to say."

Beatte, leader of the Osage band. "We came for peace; I have brought a few Osages, who were not afraid to come among you, with hearts inclined for peace. We look on our friend (Colonel Dodge) as our father; he is a true father to us all. I hope you will believe all that he says to you, and trust that he will prove a father to you. We wish you to visit our people, to see how we live since the white men have been our friends. They have made us happy; they will make you happy. You should go with our father as he wishes; you must then come and see the Osages. I have said all that I can say."

Monpisha, an Osage youth,[88] spoke to the Toyash men. "We shake hands with pleasure. I am nothing but a boy; my father was an Osage chief. We wish to be your brothers—dogs fight; we wish to be peacable men, and friends. Our good father has made, in coming to you, a great road; we hope it will never be stained with blood. My father told me he was once a wild Indian; that white men taught him to be happy, instructed him how to build houses, raise cattle, and live like white men. I was sent to the white man's school, (missionary school;) was taught to read and write. This will be extended to you if you make peace with white men. Your buffalo will be gone in a few years. Your great father, the President, will give you cattle, and teach you how to live without buffalo."

George Bullett (Pon-da-gne-se) spoke. "When I tell the Delawares that we are friends, and can now hunt without warring together, they will be happy; our children will hereafter be happy, and not fear each other; we will no more fear the prairie Indian, and you will not be afraid of us."

Colonel Dodge resumed. "I am glad to hear what our friends say to you. I must say to you now that I am very sorry that a few of our horses got into your cornfield last night; I shall pay you for the damage done; it is not my wish to disturb your property in any manner. White men will always be just to you. I must also repeat that I regretted that the pistol was accidently fired in the council lodge yesterday; I did not wish to alarm your people; I was pleased with the coolness of your chief; he was not alarmed. I wish you now to consider if some of you will go with me."

The chief signified that they would go home and decide who should accompany the command on its march back, and accordingly left our camp.

Many Comanches arrived to-day; amongst them the principal chief, Ta-we-que-nah, and two other chiefs. Colonel Dodge held the following talk with them in his tent:

---

[88] Sgt. Evans' *Journal* gives his age as fifteen years.

"The great American captain has sent me to view this country, and to offer the hand of friendship to all the red men who are here; he wishes to see you all at peace with each other; he desires you to come and see him, that he may fix a permanent peace with your tribes; he will make you presents, and he will send traders among you who will serve you with a great many things that you want to make you happy. The President, who is a good father to you, wishes to see you at peace with the Osages, Cherokees, Delawares, and all red men. We have endeavored to give you evidence of our friendship; we did so when we passed your camp; you were not at home; your women and children were defenseless; we treated them kindly; we confided in you, too. Our sick men we left behind near your camp."

Ta-we-que-nah replied. "I passed a night in your camp with your sick men; they treated us with kindness."

Colonel Dodge.—"You say that the Indians over Red river are your enemies; they kill you when you meet; these are Mexican Indians, and do not make treaties with our great father, the President; but he will protect you when you make peace with the Osages and other tribes that have been at war against you. The flag that you have came to you from the great father at Washington. The Pawnee O'Mohaws have such a flag, and all other red men who are our friends; whenever you show it you will be known as friends. I was glad to see the flag over your camp."

The chief spoke. "I wish to be at peace with you; there are many bands of Comanches; I shall visit them all this year, and will say to them what you have said to me; they will all be glad to make peace with you. I am an old man now, but never since I was a boy did I kill one of your people. You ask me who killed the ranger, Abby; I can tell you, for I remember when this white man was taken; the Texas Comanches took this white man, and carried him over the Red river, and there killed him."

Colonel Dodge.—"I wish some of you to go with me, that you may see our country, and that peace may be made strongly between you and the red men as well as between ourselves. The Pawnee O'Mohaws met the Osages, and Delawares, and Cherokees on our lands, and there made peace; they were enemies before; they are now friends, and do not hate each other. We wish you to come to us and make, in the same way, peace with us."

Ta-we-que-nah. "You have a girl who was taken from our friends, the Kiowas. I have a Spanish girl; I will give you the Spanish girl in exchange for the Kiowa girl that you have brought with you."

Colonel Dodge.—"I wish to secure your friendship and the friendship of the Kiowas. I wish you to accompany me. I wish

some of the Kiowas to go also; but I do not mean to sell the girl to them; I mean to give her to her relations and friends without price; I will give the girl to her tribe; they shall see how much their friends we are."

Ta-we-que-nah.—"If I go with you I shall be afraid to come back through the timber."

Colonel Dodge.—"I pledge myself that you shall be safely conducted back."

Ta-we-que-nah.—"I cannot go myself; my brother will go with you."

Here the talk was interrupted by a band of some twenty or thirty Kiowas rushing on horseback into camp, and almost into the door of Colonel Dodge's tent; the squaws and children fled in great alarm. The indignation of these Indians against the Osages had kindled to a great pitch, and could scarcely be kept in respectful bounds in their relation to us. The Osages, not many months previously, had murdered a large number of women and children of the Kiowas whilst the men were absent hunting. We held in possession, of which they were informed, a Kiowa girl, who was taken on the occasion of the massacre alluded to; the Kiowas having just arrived, were not aware of the intention on our part to restore the girl, and consequently presented themselves in a warlike shape, that caused many a man in camp to stand by his arms. Colonel Dodge, however, immediately addressed them with assurances of our friendly disposition, and gradually led them into gentleness. They are a bold, warlike-looking Indian. Some of their horses are very fine; they ride well, and were admirably equipped to-day for fight or flight; their bows strung, and quivers filled with arrows. They kept their saddles chiefly. A relation of the Kiowa girl embraced her, and shed tears of joy at the intimation that she should be restored to her father and friends. She proves to be a relation of one of the chiefs. An arrangement was now made for a general council, to be held the next day, between the Comanches, Toyash, and Kiowa nations. (Remained in camp.)

July 24.—At 10 o'clock the chiefs of the council began to assemble at the place appointed for the meeting, which was in a wood about two hundred yards from our camp. The father of the Kiowa girl having learned that she was to be restored, in a speech addressed to the Kiowas, whose numbers every moment increased, gave vent to his joy and praise of his white friends. All came mounted and armed. Many of our officers were present. There were not less than two thousand mounted and armed Indians around the council. Great excitement prevailed among the Indians, but especially with the Kiowas, who embraced Colonel Dodge, and shed tears of gratitude for the restoration of their relative. An uncle of

Wa-ha-sep-ah, a man of about forty years of age, was touchingly eager in his demonstrations, frequently throwing his arms around Colonel Dodge, and weeping over his shoulders, then invoking blessings upon him in a manner the most graceful and ardent. The women came in succession and embraced the girl, who was seated among the chiefs. The council being now in order, the pipes having made their rounds, Colonel Dodge addressed the Comanche chief, who sat on his right, and who interpreted his words to the Kiowas, whilst a Toyash Indian, who speaks the Caddo tongue, communicated with the Toyash men from Chiom, one of our Cherokee friends, who speaks English and Caddo: "I am glad to see together the great chief of the Comanche nation, the chiefs of the Kiowa and Toyash people, and the American officers who are with me. We have been strangers until now. I am glad to meet the captain of the Comanches, (Ta-we-que-nah.) You must be a great man, and have much power with all the tribes around you. I ask you to urge to these Indians what I have said to you; that we are your friends, and that to secure our mutual and lasting friendship, it is better for some of each of you to go with me, as I have before mentioned to you."

Here another band of Kiowas, about sixty in number, rode up, led by a principal man, handsomely dressed. He wore a Spanish red cloth mantle, prodigious feathers, and leggings that followed his heels like an ancient train. Another of the chiefs of the new band was very showily arrayed; he wore a perfectly white dressed deer-skin hunting shirt, trimmed profusely with fringe of the same material, and beautifully bound with blue beads, over which was thrown a cloth mantle of blue and crimson, with leggings and moccasins entirely of beads. Our new friends shook hands all round, and seated themselves with a dignity and grace that would well become senators of a more civilized conclave.

Colonel Dodge resumed. "Kiowa chiefs! I herewith present to you your relation; received her as the best evidence of the sincere friendship of Americans. Our great captain, the President, purchased this girl of the Osages, who took her from your people, and has sent me to restore her to the arms of her friends who love her. The Comanche chief (Ta-we-que-nah) offered me yesterday, in exchange for her, a Spanish girl. I would not accept of his offer, for the delivery of the girl is an act of justice, and is but one of the many acts of kindness that the great American captain will be glad to show to you. You and the Indians who came with us have long been at war with each other; it is time you were at peace together. It is the wish of the President to secure a permanent good understanding among you all. He will send traders among you; you want guns, blankets, &c. The buffalo are becoming scarce; they are less and less every year. You shall have cattle which you can keep with you; you can plant your corn and cultivate the soil, as the Cherokees and other Indians do. Here is a young man (Mr. Chadwick) who

has come out with me to see you, and who will return next summer, and bring goods and trade with you. I now wish you to consider the invitation given you to go with me, and I assure you that you shall receive presents, and be safely conducted through the timber country." One of the chiefs inquired; "Will you go to-morrow?"

Colonel Dodge.—"I wish to go as soon as practicable, as we have far to go. I wish you to visit General Leavenworth, another of your friends, and a captain under the great captain; he wishes to see you; he has never seen you; I should be glad to introduce to him two chiefs from each nation, or one chief and some of the warriors of each people."

Titche-totche-cha, chief of the Kiowas, signified his willingness to go. We-ter-rah-shah-ro, an old chief, 70 years of age, urged his red brethren to rely on the truth of Colonel Dodge's words. "He is a good man," said he, "believe his words."

The father of the Kiowa girl begged Colonel Dodge to accept a present, which the Colonel declined, repeating what he had before said, that he did not wish for ransom or reward; that the child was given to the father as an evidence of the good feeling of his people for them.

Titche-totche-cha spoke. "The American captain has spoken well to-day; the white men have shown themselves our friends. If a white man ever comes to my country, he shall be kindly treated; if he wants a horse, or anything that I have, he shall not pay for it; I will give him what he wants."

The council here closed; we returned to our camp, and left the Indians to decide in regard to accompanying us. It is on all accounts desirable to move from here. Our provisions prove unhealthy for our men, consisting entirely of green corn and dried horse and buffalo meat. The weather has been excessively hot and dry. Our men, many of them sick, are without a physician or medicine; two or three officers are and have been for several days ill of fevers. The Comanche squaws are very troublesome; they steal everything that they can secrete. The Toyash women are infinitely respectable. The difference in these three tribes seems to be somewhat thus: The Comanche is an arrogant, jealous, savage don; the Toyash, a savage farmer; whilst the Kiowa, more chivalric, impulsive, and daring them either, reminds one of the bold clannish Highlander, whose very crimes are made by the poet captivating. This tribe has roamed more towards the Rocky mountains until within a few years past.

July 25.—The chiefs of the three tribes early visited our camp. Colonel Dodge presented them with guns and pistols. Fifteen Kiowas, including the chief, Titche-totche-cha, were the first mounted and equipped, ready to march with us; the Comanche chief, very

cautious and apparently suspicious, deferred till late, when four Comanches, a squaw, and our early acquaintance, the Spaniard, joined us; there was much delay on the part of the Toyash. At length the old chief, We-ter-ra-shah-ro, a Wacoah chief (of a small band, who speak the same language as the Toyash people, and live near their town,) and two Toyash warriors, rode into our camp prepared to move with us.

The command, with the Indians, the white boy, and the negro in company, marched[89] at 3 o'clock, halted at 5 o'clock, and encamped on a creek six miles east.

July 26. Marched at half-past 7 o'clock; our guide, the Pawnee O'Mohaw, who had promised to remain with us, left us; he was no loss, for he had led us over a uselessly long route,[90] over rocks and hills, through deep ravines, all of which our guide to-day, a Toyash, has avoided, and, in place thereof, we have passed through a beautiful valley four or five miles in width, over an open, level prairie, leaving the granite roads on our right and left in the mountains; course to-day east, distance twenty-one miles; water scarce, grass very much destroyed by heat and dry weather; encamped[91] on a stream of good water, good grazing; severe shower of rain, the first that has blessed us for many days; parched corn and dried buffalo meat our fare; health of command tolerably good. From conversation to-day with one of the Indians (Ski-sa-ro-ka, an intelligent Toyash) we learn that their nation lived formerly south; that their oldest men were born there, and that they and the Comanches have long been in habits of friendly intercourse; the Comanches exchange buffalo meat for the agricultural productions of the Toyash; the Comanches not much liked by the Toyash; they cheat them and ride away. The Kiowas, a newer acquaintance, more honest and gentle. The Comanches of Texas a much more powerful tribe than those on this side of the Red river; they are called the Ho-ishe Comanche.

July 27.—Marched at half-past 7 o'clock, course east, distance twenty-three miles; reached the sick camp[92] at 4 o'clock; found Lieutenants Izard and Moore both sick with fevers; also Mr. Catlin very ill; twenty-nine sick men in both camps. Lieutenant Wheelock's

---

89 "Accordingly about half past 2 o'clock we took up the line of march a little S of E a distance of about 8 miles. bearing considerable E of the way we went out. The Indians rode in front alone with the Col. and as I carried Matthew I rode in company with them."—*Sgt. Evans' Journal.*

90 "We no not how to account for our Pawnee Mohaw guide us the rout we went out whether his intentions were honest and he knew not the way, or he wished to decoy us in those intolerable hills of rocks so the Indians might come attack & exterminate us But certain it is he took us through the worst country ever passed over by any troop."—*Sgt. Evans' Journal.* The guide was probably delaying them long enough for word to reach the village of the coming.

91 The camp for the night of July 26 was near Saddle Mountain, in extreme northwest corner of Comanche County.

92 The camp from which the expedition departed on July 19.

servant, left sick on the 19th instant, died in our absence. Our road to-day through a valley; occasional interruptions from timbered creeks and small thickets, until we reached "Roaring river," a short stream,[93] but containing a considerable volume of water; empties into Red river. The Comanches who set out with us, left us to-day on account, as they say, of the sickness of the squaw. The Spaniard, who seems to belong to that tribe more than with any other, remains with us. These Indians seem well contented, and move without restraint, encamping with us at night, and setting out with the command, or after it has marched, as they please. Colonel Dodge and all the officers unable to account for not hearing from General Leavenworth. From the short supplies taken, we have reason to expect to hear from or meet with our wagons; our buffalo meat very short, and no game as yet.

July 28.—Broke up the sick camp, and marched at half-past 9 o'clock, with the whole command, taking again with us the Senecas, who had been left to hunt for the men left at this camp. Excessive hot weather; 43 sick, 7 in litters; course east by north, distance 12 miles. The heat to-day has been over-powering, both to men and horses; water tolerable; course north, from our trace going out; camp[94] to-night about six miles from former trace.

Colonel Dodge sent an express in search of General Leavenworth, to inform him of our return from the Pawnee villages. Colonel Dodge resolves to wait in the buffalo range for orders from General Leavenworth. Deer abundant to-day; one or two killed. One of the men killed a panther yesterday; passed to-day many hills of gypsum.

July 29.—Marched to-day at 8 o'clock, east by north, distance fifteen miles; provisions very short. At 12 o'clock the cry of buffalo was heard, and never was the cheering sound of land better welcomed by wearied mariners, than this by our hungry columns. The command[95] was halted, and some went together; the report of Beatte's rifle, and the fall of a fat cow; halted at 4 o'clock; killed two more buffaloes. Passed to-day more plaster of paris; road to-day over open, rolling prairies, between two forks of the Washita; met a small party of Toyash Indians. Our red friends suffer exceedingly from the heat of the sun; we covered them this morning with shirts.

July 30.—Marched at 8 o'clock; weather excessively hot; course northeast, fourteen miles; course interrupted by frequent deep gullies totally impassable for wagons. Nine miles from camp passed[96] the Washita; good water to-day; encamped on a fine stream; large fishes visible from the bank; timbered creeks, blackjack, elm, and mulberry trees; more gypsum.

---

[93] Probably Medicine Creek.

[94] The camp for the night of July 28 was a few miles north of Apache, in Caddo County.

[95] The camp for the night of July 29 was east of Cement.

[96] The Washita was crossed in the vicinity of Chickasha.

July 31.—Marched at half-past 8 o'clock; men in fine spirits; abundance of buffalo meat; course northeast; distance 10 miles; encamped[97] on a branch of the Canadian; three buffaloes killed this morning; no news yet from express; anxiously looked for; face of country rolling prairie; frequent deep gullies; one of the Kiowas killed three buffaloes with three arrows.

August 1.—The signal for advance was sounded at half-past 8 o'clock; course north by east; distance 15 miles; halted at half-past one o'clock; 10 miles from camp crossed[98] the Canadian; plenty of water to-day; passed the Canadian about 100 miles from our ford going out; abundance of buffalo, immense herds in every direction from the camp; men employed at night in drying meat; officers and men fortunate who have been provident enough to save a small quantity of corn for parching. Camp[99] alarmed this evening by the cry of "secure your horses from the buffalo;" a herd was rushing upon our camp, around which our horses had just been picketed, and had approached within two hundred yards of us, when our mounted sentinels changed their direction, and thus saving us from another "*stampedo.*" We have been fortunate in having had but one occurrence of this not uncommon evil with bodies of horse on the prairies.

August 2.—Rest! Welcome rest for men and horses; occupied in killing and drying buffalo meat for the anticipated march to Fort Leavenworth; probable distance thither 400 miles; our men not unfrequently lost in hunting; in several instances absent from camp all night; our men find an excellent substitute for tea and coffee in a wild sage plant; we still have the advantage of being not at all troubled with flies or misquitos; the nights are so cool that the covering of a blanket is pleasant.

August 3.—Moved[100] a mile at half-past 10 o'clock, for change of grazing and police; our horses are in bad order, so much so that it is feared they may not be equal to a march to Fort Leavenworth; may possibly be compelled to move to Fort Gibson to recruit and shoe them. Little Martin flourishes, and is a great favorite in the command; he is an uncommonly fine boy.[101]

August 4.—The command marched at half-past 8 o'clock, southerly direction, eight miles along the Canadian, in search of buffalo; they have fled from the vicinity of our last camp; passed

---

97 Probably Walnut Creek.

98 The Canadian was crossed near Norman.

99 "This night we Encamped about one mile from the river."—*Sgt. Evans' Journal.*

100 The camps for the nights of August 1, 2, and 3 were in the immediate vicinity of Norman.

101 The opinion was shared by the others: ". . . . little Matthew becoming a great favorite in the command."—*Sgt. Evans' Journal.*

large herds of buffalo; the Kiowas dashed in amongst them and killed, with their arrows, a great many of them; grass very much dried, scarce affording subsistence for our horses. Colonel Dodge has decided on marching to Fort Gibson. The prairie took fire to-day near our camp[102] and was with difficulty extinguished.

August 5.—Rested for the day; men employed in curing meat; the express to General Leavenworth returned. Intelligence from Captain Dean of 3d infantry, announces the death of General Leavenworth; he died at his camp near "Cross Timbers," on the 21st of July; Lieutenant McClure, of this regiment, died at the Washita on the 20th of July; bilious fevers; one hundred and fifty men sick at the Washita.

August 6.—Marched at 8 o'clock for the fort at the mouth of Little river; course southeast; distance, twenty-three miles; road through "Cross Timbers." This is a timbered thicket, small blackjack sapplings so close as to frequently require the axe to make a road for a horseman. Five litters in our train; men in them extremely ill. Colonel Dodge sent an express to Colonel Kearney, who is at Camp Smith,[103] near the mouth of the Washita, directing him to move his command to Fort Gibson; herds of buffalo broke and rebroke through our columns to-day; encamped[104] in timber, in the bottom of a branch of Little river; found excellent grazing in the pea vines; litters came up several hours after the command.

August 7.—Our columns started at eight o'clock; course, south by east; gained eighteen miles; still in the "Cross Timbers," which promise to continue till we strike the road to Fort Gibson; a few small prairies interspersed amongst the severest blackjack thickets. Our route to-day has been on the dividing ridge between the Canadian and Little rivers. Scarcity of water; fortunately found at four o'clock good water and grazing.[105]

August 8.—Marched at eight o'clock, halted at three o'clock; distance, 18 miles; course, east by south; exceedingly warm day; stubborn thickets; crossed and encamped[106] in the bottom of Little river; shallow stream, narrow bed, miry shores, no water from morning till the halt for the night; passed many creeks the beds of which were entirely dry; our horses looked up and down their parched surfaces, and the men gazed in vain at the willows ahead,

---

102 The camp for the nights of August 4 and 5 was between Norman and Noble.

103 The camp established on July 7.

104 The camp for the night of August 6 was several miles west of Trousdale. On this date the expedition passed in the vicinity of the spot which the following summer one of its members, Major Mason, was to select as the site of Camp Mason.

105 The camp for the night of August 7 was near Sacred Heart, in Pottawatomie County.

106 The crossing and the camp were in the vicinity of Sasakwa, in Seminole County.

which proved to mark only where water had been. The timber is larger here; black walnut and sycamore; lime and freestone; the woods abound to-day in plums, and a variety of finely-flavored grapes, no longer any trace of the buffalo; sick report numbers thirty men and three officers.

August 9.—Marched at the usual hour and made twenty miles in a northeast course; cross timbers, but more open than for the last three days; tolerable supply of water; soil sandy; encamped[107] at 4 o'clock in open timber, near where we struck the road from Fort Gibson to the Washita, which was three miles from the post at the mouth of Little river.

August 10.—Dragoon camp "Canadian." We drew from Lieutenant Holmes, commander of the infantry camp[108] "Canadian," at the mouth of Little river, provisions for four days; Lieutenant Holmes well advanced with his buildings; one block-house, and quarters for one company erected; vast many sick; on our sick list thirty. Remained in camp.

August 11.—Marched at eight o'clock; left our sick, whom we brought in litters, at the infantry camp; gained on the road to Fort Gibson 22 miles; our men happy, with pork and flour.

August 12.—Command moved at eight o'clock; express returned from Camp Smith; Lieutenant Colonel Kearney reports many sick; 71 for duty, 41 sick; 8 for duty at Camp Washita, and 70 sick; many of our horses disabled; led by men in rear of the columns; tolerable water, wholly in pools. It is worthy of remark that the mules of the command look better than when we started on the campaign, while it would be difficult to select ten horses in good order. The command ordered to walk and ride one hour alternately; this relieves the horses.

August 13.—Marched at half-past seven o'clock, and reached the Creek settlements at the north fork of the Canadian, 17 miles. The Toyash and Kiowas met the Creeks this evening and shook hands with them; we purchased here corn for our horses; informed here by a citizen that the mother of little Martin has recently offered two thousand dollars for his recovery; she will soon be made happy by his restoration without ransom or reward.[109]

August 14.—We marched at eight o'clock, 20 miles to our former camp, ("Rendezvous.") from whence the regiment started on the 21st of June. Our horses are exceedingly worn, though somewhat aided to-day by the corn we gave them yesterday at the North fork. The season is unfortunately late for grazing; it is only in timber that

---

[107] The camp for the night of August 9 was north of Bilby, in Hughes County.

[108] Fort Holmes.

[109] In September Colonel Dodge sent an officer to Red River and returned the boy to his mother.

tolerable grass is found; extraordinary heat to-day; the breeze comes against the face and hands with an unpleasant heat, so that one turns from it as from the keen blasts of winter; water scarce and in pools; our men present a sorry figure, but one that looks like service; many of them literally half naked; sick list reduced to nineteen.

August 15.—Marched at half-past seven o'clock; an officer was sent in advance to purchase corn; the command marched 14 miles, and encamped[110] three miles from the west bank of the Arkansas. Colonel Dodge and staff, together with the Indians, crossed the river late in the evening, and reached Fort Gibson.

August 16.—Fort Gibson; Major Mason and three companies ordered this side of the river; Captain Sumner and three companies directed to remain in camp on the west side of the Arkansas.

August 24.—Colonel Kearney's command arrived yesterday; great number of sick men, and worn down horses; officers belonging to it are Captain Trenor; Lieutenant Swords, (sick;) Lieutenant Van Deveer, (sick;) Lieutenant Eastman (sick;) Lieutenants Bowman, Ury, and Kingbury; Assistant Surgeon Hailes, (very sick.)

Runners have been sent to the chiefs of the Osages, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, &c., for the purpose of assembling them in council[111] with the Indians who have accompanied us. Our friends from the prairie are in good health, and are apparently contented. Little Martin is still with Colonel Dodge, and the negro we brought from the Toyash village has been delivered to his master.

T. B. WHEELOCK, First Lieutenant Dragoons.

And so ended the Dragoon Expedition in Oklahoma. It was the Dragoons' first assignment and they had performed it well. From the point of view of its assigned mission the Expedition was a success. The Dragoons had established relations with the Plains tribes and had entered into initial understandings; they had brought back to Fort Gibson the tribal representatives needed for an inter-tribal council meeting with U. S. officials; and, in addition, they had learned the fate of the ranger, and had returned young Matthew to his mother.

The success, however, was a costly one. Measured in terms of losses of personnel and individual suffering it was an expensive undertaking. But such is true of most great military achievements. To all those excellent officers and gallant soldiers who were on this noted Expedition, few of whom had ever before been west of the Mississippi, go nothing but the praise and admiration of all of us today.

---

[110] Denominated Camp Covington in the *Co. I. Journal.*

[111] The council convened on September 2, and is likewise reported by Sgt. Evans.

In his report to the Adjutant General dated October 1, 1834,[112] Colonel Dodge wrote:

"Perhaps their never has been in America a campaign that operated More Severely on Men & Horses. The excessive Heat of the Sun exceeded any thing I ever experienced I marched from Fort Gibson with 500 Men and when I reached the Pawnee Pict Village I had not more than 190 Men fit for duty they were all left behind sick or were attending the Sick the Heat of the Weather operated Severely on the Dragoon Horses there was at Least 100 Horses that was Killed or Broke down by the excessive Heat of the Weather the Men were taken with fever and I was obledged to Carry Some of my Men in Litters for Several Hundred Miles."

Major Mason sent three of the companies for much needed rest and recuperation, twenty miles up the Arkansas River in the Creek Nation to a temporary cantonment built by the Dragoons.[113]

After his return to Fort Gibson Catlin reflected:[114]

"What the regiment of Dragoons has suffered from sickness since they started on their summer's campaign is unexampled in this country, and almost incredible.—When we started from this place, ten or fifteen were sent back the first day, too sick to proceed; and so afterwards our numbers were daily diminished, and at the distance of 200 miles from this place we could muster, out of the whole regiment, but 250 men who were able to proceed, with which little band, and that again reduced some sixty or seventy by sickness, we pushed on, and accomplished all that was done."

Little rest awaited the Dragoons at Fort Gibson. The September, 1834, peace conference was convening,[115] which likewise was to be reported by Lieutenant Wheelock, and within a month the Dragoons were again to take to the march, this time to Fort Leavenworth and Fort Des Moines. But all of that is another story.

APPENDIX

Biographical data on the officers listed by Lieut. Wheelock, in the order mentioned by him, from Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army,* Vol. I (Washington, 1903).

Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth. Born New Haven, Conn. 10 Dec. 1783. Attorney. Capt of Inf in War of 1812. Served in New York legislature, and returned to military service as lieut. col. Promoted to colonel and commanded 3rd Inf 1824. Promoted to brig. gen. 25 July 1824. Died 21 July 1834.

Colonel Henry Dodge. Born Vincennes, Ind. 12 Oct. 1782. Col. Mich Mtd Vol 1832, Major, U.S. Rangers 1832, Commissioned Col. U.S. Dragoons 4 March 1833, resgnd 4 July 1836., to become Gov. of Wis. Ter. In 1848 became first U.S. Senator from Wis. Died 19 June 1867.

Lieut. Col. Stephen W. Kearney. Born Newark, N. J. 30 Aug. 1794. Lieut. Inf. 12 March 1812; and served in infantry until commissioned Lieut. Col. of Dragoons

---

[112] Quoted by the editor at the close of the *Co. I Journal.*

[113] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 131.

[114] Catlin, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[115] An account of this important conference with the tribal delegations at Fort Gibson is given in Foreman, *Advancing Frontier, op. cit.,* 131-37.

on 4 March 1833. Promoted to Colonel, succeeding Col. Dodge, on 4 July 1836. Brig. Gen. 1846. Gov. of Calif. 1847. Died at St. Louis, Mo. 31 Oct. 1848.

Major Richard B. Mason. Born Fairfax County, Va. 16 Jan. 1797. First apptd. in 8th Inf 2 Sept 1817. Capt 31 July 1819. Major, U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Lieut. Col, Dragoons 4 July 1836. Col. Dragoons 30 June 1846. Died Jefferson Barracks, Mo. 25 July 1850. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Gen. Richard B. Mason," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March 1941).

Capt. James W. Hamilton. Born Ark. cadet 3 yrs at Military Academy. 1st Lieut. U.S. Rangers. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 19 Sept 1833. Adjutant 5 Feb. 1834 to 8 Aug 1835. Cashiered 15 August 1835. Later commissioned in 2nd U.S. Dragoons. Died 26 Nov. 1837.

1st Lieut. Thomas Swords. Born N. Y. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1825. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Served in Dragoons until 21 April 1846, when trans to QMG. Died 20 March 1886.

2nd Lieut. John S. Van Derveer. Born N. J. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1825. served in 6th Inf until 4 March 1833 when comm. in U. S. Dragoons. Resigned U. S. Dragoons 31 Dec. 1840. Died 4 June 1879.

Capt. Edwin V. Sumner. Born Mass. first appt in 2nd Inf. 3 March 1819. Capt. U. S. Dragoon 4 March 1833. Rose to Lieut. Col in Dragoons. In U.S. army eventually rose to rank of Maj. Gen. Died 21 March 1863.

2nd Lieut. John Henry K. Burgwin. Born N. C. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1826. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Rose to rank of Capt. in Dragoons. Died of wounds at Taos, N. M. 7 Feb. 1847.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. George W. McClure. Born N. Y. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1826. Trans to U. S. Dragoons 14 August 1833. Died at Camp Washita 20 July 1834.

Capt. Matthew Duncan. Born Pa. First appt was Capt in U. S. Rangers 4 Oct. 1832. Capt. U. S. Dragoons 15 Aug. 1833. Resigned 15 Jan. 1837.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. James M. Bowman. Born Pa. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1827. Bvt. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 14 Aug. 1833. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 30 June 1835. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 15 Oct. 1836. Died 21 July 1839.

Capt. David Hunter. Born Washington, D.C. 21 July 1802. Grad Military Academy Capt. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Resigned 4 July 1836 and settled in Chicago. Re-entered army in 1842 as Major, and in 1861 rose to rank of Maj. Gen. Chairman of Military Commission that tried conspirators at Lincoln's Assassination. Died in Washington 2 Feb. 1886.

1st Lieut. Benjamin D. Moore. Born Ky. Midshipman U. S. Navy. 1st Lieut. U. S. Rangers 6 Nov. 1832. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 19 Sept. 1833. Capt. 15 June 1837. Killed Battle San Pasqual, Calif. 6 Dec. 1846.

2nd Lieut. Enoch Steen. Born Ky. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Rangers 16 July 1832. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 19 Sept. 1833. 1st Lieut. 5 March 1836. Capt 31 Dec. 1840. Major, 2nd Dragoons 15 July 1852. Died 22 Jan. 1880.

Captain David Perkins. Born Pa. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1823. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Capt. 4 Nov. 1833. Resigned 2 Feb. 1839. Died 18 Dec. 1848.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Gaines P. Kingsbury. Born Ohio. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1828. Bvt 2nd Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 14 Aug. 1833. 2nd Lieut. Dragoons 31 May 1835. 1st Lieut 4 July 1836. Resigned 15 Oct. 1836. Died 15 August 1839.

1st Lieut. Jefferson Davis. Born Christian County, Ky. 3 June 1808. Grad Military Academy 1 Sept 1824. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Regt. Adjutant 30

Aug 1833 to 5 Feb. 1834. Resigned 30 June 1835, and settled in Miss. Secretary of War under Pierce. President Confederate States of America. Died New Orleans 6 Dec. 1889.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Elbridge G. Eastman. Born N. H. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1827, and served his entire service in 2nd Infantry. Died 6 Oct. 1834.

1st Lieut. Phillip St. G. Cooke. Born Leesburg Va. 13 June 1809. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1823. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Capt 31 May 1835, trans from Dragoons 16 Feb. 1847. Rose to rank of Major Gen. in Civil War. Died Detroit, Mich. 20 March 1895.

2nd Lieut. Burdett A. Terrett. Born Va. 3rd Lieut. U.S. Rangers 10 July 1833. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 7 Nov. 1833. 1st Lieut. 31 March 1836. Captain 21 Feb. 1842. Killed 17 March 1845.

Captain Nathan Boone. Son of Daniel Boone. Born in Ky. 1780 or 1781. Capt. Mo. Rangers. Capt. U. S. Rangers 16 July 1832. Capt. U. S. Dragoons 15 Aug. 1833. Major 16 Feb. 1847. Lieut. Col. 2nd Dragoons 25 July 1850. Resigned 15 July 1853. Died 12 Jan. 1847. (Also, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Nathan Boone," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 [Dec. 1941]; and W. Julian Fessler, "Captain Nathan Boone's Journal," *Chronicles*, Vol. 7, No. 1 [March, 1929].)

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Asbury Ury. Born Tenn. Grad Military Academy 1 Sept. 1828. Bvt 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 14 Aug 1833. 2nd Lieut. 30 June 1835. 1st Lieut. 3 March 1837. Died 13 April 1838.

Capt. Jesse B. Browne. Born N. C. Captain U. S. Rangers 16 June 1832. Captain U.S. Dragoons 15 August 1833. Resigned 1837.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Albert G. Edwards. Born Ill. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1827. Bvt. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 14 August 1833. Resigned 2 May 1835. Died 30 April 1892.

1st Lieut. James F. Izard. Born Pa. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1824. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Died of wounds at Camp Izard, Fla. 5 March 1836.

2nd Lieut. James W. Shaumburg. Born La. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Rangers 28 March 1833. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 19 Sept. 1833. 1st Lieut. 1 March 1836. Resigned 31 July 1836.

2nd Lieut. Lucius B. Northrop. Born S. C. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1827. Transferred to Dragoons as Bvt 2nd Lieut. 14 August 1833. 2nd Lieut. 21 July 1834. 1st Lieut. 4 July 1836. Resigned 8 Jan. 1861. Colonel, CSA. Died 9 Feb. 1894.

Captain Eustace Trenor. Born N. Y. Grad. Military Academy 1 Oct. 1817. Served in 4th Infantry until transferred to U. S. Dragoons with rank of Captain 4 March 1833. Major 30 June 1846. Died 16 Feb. 1847.

Captain James Dean. Born N. H. 3rd Lieut. 4th Inf. 15 August 1813. 2nd Lieut. 28 June 1814. 1st Lieut. 3rd Inf. 31 Oct. 1818. Captain 4 October 1827. Resigned 15 Nov. 1836. Died 1842.

THE LUTHERAN MISSION AT OAKS, OKLAHOMA

*By Jens Christian Kjaer**

Tucked neatly away in the northeast corner of Oklahoma, far from the hectic tempo of large cities and surrounded by stately sycamores, redbud, dogwood, persimmons, and a riot of oaks, lies an old mission whose existence is known to few people. It is known as the Lutheran Mission at Oaks.

The Moravian missionaries who travelled eight hundred miles over "The Trail of Tears," came here in 1842 and began their work on the banks of the silvery Spring Creek. They named their station New Springplace in honor of their Springplace Mission in Georgia, and for fifty-six years the Moravians labored among the Cherokees in what is now Delaware County, Oklahoma.

New Springplace is located half a mile from Oaks, a small community, seventy-two miles east of Tulsa and three miles south of Highway 33. When, in 1898, the Moravian work near Oaks was abandoned, a Danish Lutheran missionary, Niels Laurids Nielsen, who for six years had been living at Pumpkin Springs near Moody, about ten miles north of Tahlequah, was invited to minister to the remnants of the small congregation. Because of his long ministry among the Cherokees of Oklahoma, the main data of his life should be preserved.

Niels L. Nielsen, born on March 22, 1863, in Vorgod Parish, West Jutland, Denmark, had a bleak and poverty-ridden childhood. He was the son of Knud Nielsen, a school teacher who died when Niels was three years old. At the age of eight, he was hired by a farmer as a shepherd boy.[1] His mother, who had to rear five fatherless children, was a devout Christian, and the religious training she managed to give him was a determining factor in his life. When Niels was fourteen, he had a definite religious experience during which "it was as if I heard a voice calling me with Genesis 12:1."[2] This verse, in the King James Version, read: "Now the Lord had said unto Abraham, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee.' "

---

* Jens Christian Kjaer is the former pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in Seattle, Washington. Upon completion of his service as an army chaplain in the Orient, he enrolled in the University of Oklahoma. He majored in history and was granted the M. A. degree in the summer of 1947. Mr. Kjaer has his A. B. from Midland College and his B. D. degree from Western Theological Seminary. He is at present continuing his studies at the University of Washington.—Ed.

[1] N. L. Nielsen, "Our Mission Among the Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma," in G. B. Christiansen, *Recollections of Our Church Work* (Blair, Neb., 1930), p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

These words, which he kept to himself for four years, he understood as a command to him to serve as a foreign missionary. The above noted experience inspired him to seek an education which would help him to prepare for his calling. Working as a gardener for the Moravian Brotherhood at Christiansfeldt, South Jutland, his desire to bring Christianity to the heathen was further strengthened through fellowship "with both prospective and returned missionaries."[3] He was admitted to the training school of the Danish Mission Society at Copenhagen, and it may have been at this institution, while he was considering a possible mission field, that one of his teachers said to him: "Perhaps God wants you to go to the red man in America."[4]

Lack of funds prevented Nielsen from finishing his studies in Copenhagen, and in August, 1888, he set out for America where he arrived at Menominee, Michigan, the following month. Laboring in a sawmill he somehow saved $600.00 which enabled him to enter Trinity Lutheran Theological Seminary at Blair, Nebraska, where he remained for two years, or until the spring of 1892. At this time his attention had been called to the Indian Territory, now eastern Oklahoma. A Dane, Ditlev Nielsen Lerskov,[5] who was living there, married to a Cherokee woman, wrote to the president of Trinity Seminary, Reverend G. B. Christiansen, suggesting the establishment of a Danish Lutheran mission among the Cherokees.

Nielsen had previously fallen in love with the Indians near Menominee, Michigan, and in June, 1892, we find him in Tahlequah where he spent the summer learning the Sequoyah syllabary and "getting acquainted with the natives in the surrounding wood."[6] Though he could not speak their language and had to preach through an interpreter, Nielsen must have won the confidence of his listeners, for they wanted him to stay. Upon his return to Trinity Seminary, Cherokee friends petitioned the synodical board for permission to retain him, and in September, 1892, he opened his first school at Pumpkin Springs in a deserted house believed to be haunted by ghosts which were alleged to be particularly annoying at night. Anyone who might have chosen this house in the hope of scaring off the young missionary was destined to disappointment. The enrollmen grew steadily from eight to about fifty.

The following summer, Nielsen was seriously ill with malaria. He recovered sufficiently, however, to make a trip to Blair, Nebraska,

---

[3] Nana Nielsen, "Niels Laurids Nielsen," in *The Ansgar Lutheran* (Blair, Nebraska), March 10, 1941.

[4] N. L. Nielsen, "Missionary Nielsen's Own Story," in *My Church* (Blair, Nebraska), January, 1945. This issue of *My Church* contains a number of fine pictures which illustrate the Lutheran mission work at Oaks.

[5] A letter from Mrs. Paul Drumright, Tahlequah, January 3, 1947, on file in the office of Superintendent Vammen, indicates that Mr. Lerskov, her grandfather, changed the spelling of his name to *Detlev Nielson Leerskov.*

[6] Nana Nielsen, "Niels Laurids Nielsen."

where on September 7, he was married to Miss Jensine Christensen, his fiancee, who had recently arrived from Denmark. In 1894 he was ordained.

We know very little of the young bride's first reaction to her new neighbors at Pumpkin Springs and to the new and bewildering life to which she was introduced shortly after the wedding. A primitive log cabin, some hickory chairs, a home-made table, odd pieces of china and crockery, and a few other bare necessities were not objects to arouse the enthusiasm of a woman from an old and settled country. She now had a husband and a home, however, and does not appear to have lost any time in meditation upon her strange honeymoon among the Cherokees. One of her friends claim that she immediately "scrubbed the rough walls and floor until they were white, then proceeded to partition the large room with print."[7] She learned to make biscuits, cornbread, and a number of dishes she had never dreamed of in Denmark. There were plenty of vegetables, and the acquisition of a cow made her particularly happy. Fresh milk is very important to a person who has been born and reared in a dairy country.

Reverend N. L. Nielsen enjoyed walking and often covered from twenty-five to thirty miles a day. His wife, however, preferred other means of transportation. Yet, she did not show much enthusiasm for riding a mule which her husband had obtained for a trip across the Ozarks. It was with considerable reluctance that she consented to mount the animal to cross a small river. Some time later, Reverend Nielsen purchased a horse, "Maud," and Mrs. Nielsen enjoyed many pleasant hours in the side saddle riding that faithful carrier. In 1908, the missionary rode on horseback the twenty-five miles to Siloam where he became the proud owner of a brand new top buggy; and before the end of his ministry among the Cherokees, he had acquired an old Maxwell car which is recorded as having been somewhat less than mechanically perfect.

Missionary work among Indians, as many missionaries can testify, is a slow and trying process, and not until 1898 did Reverend Nielsen experience the joy of baptizing his first convert, Anna England. Her name and those of other members of her family are on record at the Oaks Mission.

The Danish missionary did not confine his activities to the immediate vicinity of Pumpkin Springs and Moody, but established a number of preaching stations and schools. One grammar school was operated in Kansas where Mr. Emil Hansen taught for sixty-three days in 1903. The same year, Miss Clara Soholm taught for ninety days at Pumpkin Springs, and Miss Dorothea Jensen conducted a third school at Oaks for sixty-eight days.[8] This brings up

[7] *Ibid.* Probably calico, sometimes referred to as "print," or "prints."

[8] N. L. Nielsen, "Report on the Indian Mission," in the *Annual Report of the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Blair, Nebraska), 1904.

the question of the Moravian Mission at Oaks. Says Muriel H. Wright:[9]

> The Moravian Church continued its work until the passage of the Curtis Act by Congress, in 1898, which provided the first steps leading to the close of the Cherokee government. The village of Oaks having been established about a half mile from New Springplace, Reverend N. L. Nielson, a Lutheran missionary from Denmark, opened a mission school in the village, in 1902, mostly attended by Cherokees.

The invitation to take over the work at Oaks, according to Grant Foreman, had been given to Reverend N. L. Nielsen by the secretary of the Moravian missions at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Reverend Paul de Schweinitz.[10] Nielsen gladly accepted. He had on previous occasions visited the place to collect some debts owed to transferred Moravian missionaries, and he had also preached there. Furthermore, the large number of whites at Pumpkin Springs and Moody made it desirable, from his point of view, to move the headquarters of the Lutheran Mission to Oaks.

Approval for the transfer was received from the synodical board after a visit to Oaks by Reverend G. B. Christiansen, president of the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. The president's visit is recorded as follows:[11]

> February 9, 1902. S.S. opened 11 A.M. J. T. Carroll, Supt. presiding. The Lords prayer repeated by David Mann who heard the primary class and Mrs. Ella Rusk heard the infant class. Collection was 26¢ and 36 answered to their names. Services were announced and Rev. Nielsen occupied the pulpit, followed by Rev. Christiance (sic)., president of the Lutheran Board who was visiting among the congregation. He stated that he would do his part to get a mission school started at New Spring Place. The time occupied by the two Revs. 1½ hours, very cold day, good attendance.
>
> J. T. Carroll, acting Sec.

The promise given by Reverend G. B. Christiansen was kept, and the Mission School was started over sixty children in attendance. J. T. Carroll has this note on the sale of the building in which a public subscription school had been conducted for a few years:[12]

> Sale of the Oaks public school house, Oct. 14, 1902 on the East side at 2 P.M. David Mann cried the house off, the highest bid was $10.50. The proceeds went to the S. S.
>
> J. T. Caroll, Acting Clerk.

Reverend and Mrs. N. L. Nielsen moved to Oaks in 1903, and the school near Moody was discontinued as a Mission School. The school

---

[9] Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace Moravian Mission and the Ward Family*, (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1940), p. 79.

[10] Grant Foreman, "Moravian Influence Still Felt in State," Tulsa *Daily World*, June 3, 1934.

[11] Sunday School Record of New Springplace, Oaks, Oklahoma, p. 169.

[12] *Ibid.*

at Kansas was operated by Mr. Emil Hansen until his resignation on May 1, 1907, the year Oklahoma became a state.[13]

The reports of Reverend Nielsen indicate that there were other denominations which desired to enter the abandoned Moravian field at Oaks, and the old Sunday School records verify his statements. We quote from these reports:[14]

August 31, 1902. S. S. opened 10.A.M. J. T. Carroll presiding. Lords prayer led by Bro. John Smith. The day was threatening with rain, but good attendance. All the teachers were present except Mrs. Mann. Mrs. Jensine Nielsen heard the infant class. Rolls called and fiftytwo answered to their names. Collection was 39¢. Services announced for 11 o'clock, Rev. Crawford present. Text, Loyalty of a Christian, followed by a sermon at 3 o'clock P.M. "How a Christian becomes disloyal." There were 11 or 12 conversions during the 4 days meeting conducted by Rev. G.W. Crawford. Sunday School closed.

J. T. Carroll, Acting Sec.

June 1, 1902. Services were announced after S.S. Several present. Coll. 4¢. Rolled 26 present. Rev. Cummings Sixkiller, Adam Lacy and Hogshooter present.[15]

The small flock chose Reverend N. L. Nielsen as their pastor, however, and on June 28, 1903, the records of the Springplace Sunday School were placed in his hands:[16]

New Spring Place S.S. June 28, 1903. S.S. opened with all officers present except Bessie Smith. Scripture Lesson read by Supt. Prov. Chap. 15., with devotional prayer by Rev. N.L. Nielsen. It was suggested by the Supt. that the old record book of the New Spring Place S.S. be put in the hands of the Rev. Nielsen and that anyone wishing to look over same might call on him. Carried by the usual sign of voting. Collection by contribution and sale of chart $1.35. Seventy responded to the roll call. Services were announced for 11 o'clock A.M. Rev. Nielsen present. S.S. closed by repeating the Lords prayer. . . .

The creation of a public school system was disconcerting to the missionary who believed that his religious work should collapse without schools. In one of his reports, he flatly stated: "If the schools are to be closed, we might as well discontinue the mission."[17] A public school *was* organized in the vicinity of the Mission School, but both were continued until 1932 "when by mutual consent and by an affirmative vote of fifty-seven to one negative, which later became positive, the two were joined by mutual love into one institution."[18] These are the words of Superintendent C. A. Vammen who has been in charge of the Lutheran Mission at Oaks since 1924. This decision, however, was not made without considerable early

---

[13] In 1907 the building used for school and church purposes at Kansas was burned.

[14] Sunday School Record of New Springplace, p. 159.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-11.

[17] N. L. Nielsen, "Report on the Indian Mission," in *Annual Report of the U.D.E.L. Church* (Blair, Nebraska, 1905), pp. 17-20.

[18] C. A. Vammen, *Our Indian Mission*, an unpublished manuscript, p. 6.

friction. By the above vote, the Mission School became the public school of District No. 71, Delaware County.

Mrs. Florence Lamont, Postmaster of Oaks, who for many years has been a very valuable worker in the Mission, recently stated that the first Mission School at Oaks was housed in Israel's Store building, southwest of Ebenezer Lutheran Church. It was rebuilt in 1916. In the late 1920's, it became evident that a new building would have to take the place of the then dilapidated structure. Young trees were growing up through cracks in the floors, and there were other conditions which made it advisable to erect a modern, substantial plant. Such a project, however, called for large expenditures. The depression was emptying the synodical treasury, and the income of churches throughout the nation was declining.

Visitors to Oaks who meet the genial, unassuming Superintendent C. A. Vammen may not suspect him of tenacity and may fail to detect his quiet strength and deep devotion to the children of the forest. It was this Lutheran pastor who, through personal solicitation in the congregations of the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, raised $14,300.00 for the new building. Out of this amount, local gifts, and donated labor there grew a fine brick building with a present estimated value of $40,000.00 It was dedicated in 1931. The High School, started in 1921, was fully accredited in 1928.

Classes in Domestic Science are conducted in a duplex, erected in 1936, which formerly served as living quarters for teachers. A very attractive gymnasium and art building, built of native rock, was dedicated in 1937. It was erected at a cost of $20,000.00 plus donated labor. Of this sum, sponsors contributed $5,500.00 and the Federal Government $14,500.00. The school bus garage, which houses three district-owned busses, was constructed in 1939 as a W.P.A. project.

Prior to World War II, the Mission School had an enrollment of as high as 337 of which 125 were high school students. The exodus to the West Coast and to near-by industrial centers has reduced this number to 230 of which 85 attend the high school. The financial statements of the Mission School show the following expenditures (1946):

Educational Expenditures	$17,069.39
Cost of Transportation	4,322.01
School Lunch Program	2,589.74
Total Expenditures	$23,981.14

Sources of income are state funds, tuition for Indian children, local revenue, and contributions to the school lunch program by the State Welfare Department and parents.

Prior to 1929, the following workers among the Cherokees had been employed by the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church:

Pastor and Mrs. N. L. Nielsen, Mr. and Mrs. Emil Hansen, Miss Marie Christensen, Miss Dorthea Jensen, Miss Emma Soeholm, Miss Clara Soeholm, Mrs. C. L. Lamont, Miss Nana Nielsen, Miss Julia Jensen, Miss Margaret Nielsen, Miss Anna Christiansen, Miss Agnes Petersen, Pastor and Mrs. C. A. Vammen, Miss Hannah Nyholm, Miss Tillie Dorffler, Miss Doris L. Welch, Miss Selma Ericksen, Pastor and Mrs. S. S. Kaldahl, Miss Abelone Nielsen, Miss Julia Bidstrup, Miss Else Petersen, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Andreasen, and Miss Margaret Andersen.[19]

Many of these teachers and pastors have had rich and interesting careers, and their sacrifices and experiences deserve more attention than the scope of this article will allow. Because of their distinguished service among Oklahoma Cherokees, however, a few data on the C. A. Vammen family are in order.

Reverend and Mrs. C. A. Vammen, who since 1938 have lived in their exceptionally roomy and attractive home at Oaks, have raised seven children all of whom have been given an excellent education.[20] Prior to their arrival in Oklahoma, Reverend and Mrs. Vammen had served Lutheran churches in Osakis, Minnesota, and Staplehurst, Nebraska.

Christian Adolph Vammen, born May 2, 1891, at Snaebum per Hobro, Denmark, emigrated to the United States in 1909. In addition to his theological seminary diploma, he holds the degree of Master of Education from the University of Oklahoma.

Mrs. C. A. Vammen, *nee* Tomine Marie Neve, is a native of Ringsted, Iowa. She is the mother of three handsome sons and four beautiful daughters, a devout Christian, a remarkably able cook, and an intelligent lady who more than once during my visit to Oaks in January, 1947, had to serve as the efficient "memory" of the good superintendent.

While the Mission School is an important branch of the Lutheran Mission at Oaks, it is by no means the only notable one. Ebenezer Lutheran Church, and the Children's Home are two other institutions which deserve our attention.

---

[19] Church Council of the U.D.E.L. Church, 25*th Anniversary of Our Indian Mission at Oaks, Oklahoma,* 1903-1928 (Blair, Nebraska, 1928), p. 35.

[20] Adolph N. Vammen, M.D., Oklahoma University School of Medicine, 1944. Priscilla A. M. Vammen, A.B., Northeastern State College, 1942. Warren L. Vammen, D.D.S., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 1947. Ruel E. Vammen, B.S., Northeastern State College, Rachel A. Vammen, R.N., Oklahoma School of Nursing, Alta Katherine Vammen, student at the Oklahoma School of Nursing, and Dorcas Jane Vammen, student at Dana College, Blair, Nebraska. Of these, Adolph and Priscilla Vammen have taught at the Mission School at Oaks, and Ruel Vammen is on the present (1947) teaching staff.

The Ebenezer Lutheran Church, built by Mr. Lars Eskildsen of Hampton, Nebraska, was dedicated in 1913, and Reverend N. L. Nielsen served as the pastor until, in 1924, his wife's health necessitated a change of climate.[21] The chapels at Bull Hollow and Flint were erected in 1929 and 1930 through the generosity of Emmaus Lutheran Church, Racine, Wisconsin, where Mr. C. A. Vammen had taught in the parochial school and interested this Danish-American congregation in the project. Other things which made these chapels possible were a handsome gift by Mr. A. P. Heide of Kenosha, Wisconsin, lumber from Dave Israel's sawmill, and local labor donations.

The pastor of Ebenezer Church (1946) Reverend John C. Romer, was born in Skjoerping, Jutland, Denmark, on February 9, 1886, and at the age of three was brought to America by his parents. For the past eight years, he had served Ebenezer, the chapels, and preaching stations on the Dave Russell farm, about ten miles northwest of Oaks, the Stell Crittendon home, and the Holland School in Adair County.[22] Reverend and Mrs. Romer lived in the new parsonage, rebuilt in 1938, near the home of the Vammens. Mrs. Romer is a teacher in the Mission School where she has served for more than nineteen years.

When I had the privilege of visiting the Romer family, including their twin sons who recently were graduated from the Mission High School, I was particularly interested in the fact that a number of the young people, who have benefitted from the educational and religious program of the Mission, prefer to exchange their marriage vows in the humble church of their childhood, though some of them have to travel from distant cities where they have secured good positions.

The religious work of the Mission is not self-supporting, and the pastor's salary is still provided by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church which before 1946 was known as the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. It was the hope of the pastor and the membership, however, that the congregation eventually will become independent of outside assistance. Considerable progress has been experienced, and the Oaks Women's Sewing Society, which in 1918 had an income of $36.69, in 1946 raised the sum of $461.71, a real achievement where money is scarce and incomes small. Mrs. C. A. Vammen is the president of this group, and Mrs. Florence Lamont the secretary.

The congregation needs a new church building and for the past three years an annual contribution of $500.00 has been raised locally

---

[21] N. L. Nielsen, "Report on the Indian Mission," in *Annual Report of the U.D.E.L. Church* (Blair, Nebraska, 1914), pp. 34-35.

[22] John C. Romer, "Sketch of Oaks Indian Mission," in *Oaks Warrior*, 1945 (n.d., n.p.).

for the church building fund. Contributions to the synodical budget amount to about $200.00 a year.

A mission pastor's work may seem discouraging to those of us who look for speedy and conspicuous progress, and Reverend John C. Romer did not have the spotlight of large city churches nor the headlines of metropolitan newspapers. He had to content himself with the slow but steady growth of Christianity among the inhabitants of the forest. A few hours with the tall, kindly pastor gave me a new appreciation of the problems, methods, and rewards of a missionary to the Cherokees. Pastor Romer died in 1947.

Visitors to Oaks will observe a large frame building across the road from the Mission School. It is the Children's Home where Mr. and Mrs. Christian Gregersen and Miss Jessie Wolf take care of forty-five children and young people whose ages range from three to eighteen years. Originally designed as a home for teachers and as a dormitory for pupils from outlying districts, this structure, which was dedicated in 1921, gradually became a home for orphans, children from broken homes, and a few boarders. In the fiscal year of 1945-46, the cost of maintaining this institution amounted to $7,994.04 of which the Oklahoma State Board of Affairs, under the provisions of H. B. 509, contributed $2,444.16 or $5.22 per month per child for about forty children. The Board of Charities of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church made provisions for $4,837.84, and guardians and others paid $712.04. The cost of maintaining one child is $15.00 per month. Some produce is received from a small farm which is owned by the Mission.

The present facilities of the Children's Home are definitely inadequate, and plans are ready for the construction of a modern stone or brick building. Members of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church have contributed $41,000.00 toward a new home, and citizens of Oklahoma have made gifts which total $5,000.00. To carry out the original plans for the new Children's Home and to provide a structure according to modern standards and the needs of the work would call for an expenditure of $75,000.00. If no unexpectedly large contributions are received in the near future, however, Superintendent C. A. Vammen will make contracts for construction within the means of the Mission.

Reverend and Mrs. N. L. Nielsen who pioneered this noble and unselfish work terminated their labors at Oaks in 1924. Mrs. Nielsen sobbed all through the night before their departure, and as long as they lived, the hearts of these two missionaries remained with their Cherokee friends. For five years, Reverend Nielsen served the Ebenzer Lutheran Church at Audubon, Iowa, until he retired from the active ministry. Mrs. Nielsen passed away at Elkhorn, Iowa, in 1934, and Reverend Nielsen finished his long and eventful life in

New Brunswick, Canada, on February 9, 1941. They were both buried in the Danish Lutheran Cemetery at Elkhorn, Iowa.

Reverend N. L. Nielsen's time at Oaks was a period of pioneering, and Reverend C. A. Vammen's has been one of expansion. At the present, the Lutheran Mission at Oaks has eighteen people on its payroll: nine teachers, one pastor, three social workers, one janitor, and four bus drivers. The total expenditures for the fiscal year of 1945-46 amounted to $35,904.83, divided among the three branches of the Mission in the following manner:

Total Educational Program	$23,981.14
Children's Home	7,991.04
Indian Mission	3,929.65
Grand Total	$35,904.83

The records and results of fifty-four years of Danish Lutheran missionary and educational endeavors in Delaware County speak their own eloquent language.[23] It seems certain that the documents and the life of the Mission at Oaks, the lore and traditions of the region, and the poetry of the somber forest and its inhabitants could furnish more than sufficient material for a fascinating volume on life and achievements among the Cherokees of Oklahoma.

[23] The above article was completed after two visits to the Lutheran Mission at Oaks where the author was permitted to examine all the records of the mission. He wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. E. E. Dale, Research Professor in the History Department of the University of Oklahoma, for valuable suggestions and generous assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

FIRST NATIONAL INDIAN SCHOOL: THE CHOCTAW ACADEMY

By Ethel McMillan

After some research in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society which had led to the realization that the first school for Indian boys beyond the elementary level was located in Scott County, Kentucky, near Georgetown, further interest led to the library of the University of Kentucky. Here data of such value was found concerning this early venture in education that an effort was made to locate the site of the school.*

Following with care the directions gathered, the way led through that ideal farming area of Central Kentucky over roads first built soon after the War of Independence as macadamized pikes, today as modernized highways, they are still bordered by those self-same sturdy stone fences now bedecked by lichen and moss but intact. Soon the gateway of a rolling blue grass pasture was reached and there on a not distant rise stood one of the five original buildings which had housed the Choctaw Academy. Not far away was another, both of which were constructed of limestone with heavy oak window frames, shutters, flooring, and doors under good wooden shingle roofs.

Just this side the second structure had stood the two-story brick house around which the school had centered, its fireplace still standing and its foundation now doing service for a modern frame house. Above on the left the land rises and there until a few years ago were evidences of where had stood the other two stone buildings which completed the housing of the Academy.

---

* The writer wishes to express her gratitude and acknowledgment for the assistance furnished by the University of Kentucky from first enquiry through the search for materials, and making possible the visit to the site escorted by Ezra L. Gillis, Director of the Department of Source Materials. Courtesies were far beyond that which could have been expected, even to supplying a camera.

Acknowledgment is also due Horace G. Gaines, son of the family who owns the Kentucky farm where the Academy site is located. He pointed out the location of the buildings no longer standing, took the pictures, and otherwise extended every consideration.

The original letter bearing the signatures of Thomas Henderson and Richard M. Johnson, used as an illustration in this article, is a part of the Choctaw Indian collection and library belonging to Mr. Lee F. Harkins, of Tulsa. Much appreciation and thanks are given Mr. Harkins for his interest and kindness in the loan of this rare original item.

In the compilation of this article, the writer wishes to acknowledge, also, the history of this famous Indian school (listing the names of many Indian students there who became leaders in the Indian Territory) in Carolyn Thomas Foreman's interesting contributions, "The Choctaw Academy," published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vols. VI (No. 4), IX (No. 4), and X (No. 1).

Choct: Acady 9th Aug. 1831,

To all good people of the United States as well as to all red skins who may see this

Be it remembered that on this day the brave White Cloud 2nd Chief of the Ioways has given evidence to the Americans that he has listened to their advice and council and has brought to this Academy some children from that tribe to be taught and instructed in the arts of civilized life — that he and his friends who accompany him are the first from his region of country who have appeared here and for which he is entitled to the kind consideration of all white and red men and in token thereof has rec'd a Medal from us

Given under our hands the date above

Tho Henderson Secty & Supt

Rh. M. Johnson

(From the original in Lee F. Harkins Collection)

Letter written from the Choctaw Academy, August 9, 1831, bearing signatures of Thomas Henderson and Richard M. Johnson.

Nearby was found the land-mark so often mentioned in references to the school and known as the "Blue Spring." And blue it is as it rises out of the depths and fills a wide quiet pool, well walled with steps leading down from two sides.[1] A clear stream, also deep blue, issues and finds its ways among over-hanging trees through a pasture typical of this far-famed region where quiet cattle graze, oblivious of the fact that more than a century ago hundreds of Choctaw and other Indian lads, from that faraway section later known as the Deep South, roamed the same area even as they, and drank from the same blue stream between lessons given by an excellent school master, unaware that for many of them this environment was to determine their careers as leaders among their own people with recognition in affairs of state. All of which was to directly influence the culture of the State of Oklahoma.

After having returned to the highway, or pike, close by near a settlement known as Great Crossings, a comfortably placed Baptist church, built well of brick and cared for with due respect, made one consider whether this might not have been the very building in which these youths worshipped, for they did attend church each Sunday and their school was sponsored by the Baptist churches of Central Kentucky, known as the Elkhorn Association, as well as by the national Baptist group.

And why had the name Great Crossings been applied to this well-to-do neighborhood? In the accounts read, one had observed with curiosity that Choctaw Academy was located near a place of this strange name. It must be noted that to Kentucky came the first settlers who had the hardihood to break through the eastern mountains and that this well favored region was the game preserve of those who had held the prior claim. Hence wild game was abundant, so much so that the buffalo roamed through at will and made a roadway, or trace, in their migrations from the far south north of the Ohio River, which at this point crossed a branch of the Elkhorn River. It was indeed Great Crossings for the vast herds that had passed as well as for the youths just come.

But whence came this school? What purpose did it serve? Of these questions the first pressed hardest for answer.

A great wave of religious enthusiasm rolled over this section of Kentucky soon after the arrival of the first settlers, for these earnest people sensed that their young folks must be saved from the infidelity being rapidly spread by the then prevailing influence of the French who had recently so gallantly come to our aid in the War for Independence. From 1790 to 1801 this fervor increased until it culminated in great revival meetings. As a result ardent interest

[1] This spring is said from earliest references to be bottomless. Reliable information states that during a recent drouth (1947) from this source came the water supply for nearby Georgetown.

spread not only to our own people on the rapidly expanding frontier, for they were in need of religious direction, but to the Indians; for now that British influence among them was no longer supreme, concern for their welfare arose. By 1800, the Baptist church was ready to assume obligations not only for sending missionaries to the frontier but to the Indians. The Elkhorn Association made up of all the Baptist churches of the Great Crossings area led in the movement. A few years later the stimulating influence of Luther Rice, a great missionary leader recently returned from India where he had labored in association with the renowned Adoniram Judson, so inspired them that they influenced the Board of Directors of the Kentucky Baptist Society to write to the various government agents among the Indians suggesting that the English language be introduced in preparation for the teachings of Christ and that they use their influence to have some of the Indians send their children among the whites to be schooled.[2]

As a result of this invitation by 1818 at Great Crossings in the home of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, an Indian school was in progress. By the next May the Western Monitor, issue of May 18, 1819, states that, "The Baptist Missionary Society meeting which was scheduled to meet at Frankfort on the 2nd, has been postponed to the thirty-first at the home of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, when the young Indians will undergo an examination."[3]

Meanwhile a second invitation had been extended through the Indian Agents to parents to send their children to this region for instruction.

The movement spread as is evidenced by the Baptist Association of Missouri having presented a petition in December of 1818 to the House of Representatives making known their desire to assist in schooling the Indians and requesting "Aid and assistance."

---

[2] "In 1816 the Board of Directors of the Kentucky Baptist Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen . . . . wrote a circular letter to the Indian Agents suggesting the introduction of the English Language among the Indians and so far as practicable habits of civilization as preparation for spreading the gospel among them."—Leland Winfield Myer, *The Life and Times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson* (Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 346.

"The Baptist Church. . . . at Great Crossings, Scott Co., Ky, was organized on . . . . May 28, 29, 1785, seven years before Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a State, while it was yet a part of Fincastle County, Va."

* * * * *

"'At a church meeting held at the Big Crossing on Saturday and Sunday, the 28th and 29th of May, 1785, present Brethren Lewis Craig, John Taylor, Richard Young, Samuel Deadmon, as helps called for, who proceeded to constitute the following members into a church, to be called the Church at the Great Crossing, when the Philadelphia confession of faith was adopted; Wm. Cave, James Suggett, Sr., Robert Johnson, Thomas Ficklin, John Suggett, Julius Gibbs, Robert Bradley, Bartlett Collins, Jemima Johnson, Susanna Cave, Sarah Shipp, Caty Herndon (or Bohannon), Jane Herndon, Hannah Bradley, Betsey Leeman, Betsey Collins.'"—J. N. Bradley, *History of the Great Crossings* Baptist Church (Georgetown, Ky., 1925), pp. 7-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

In the following February Colonel Johnson, now a Representative in Congress from Kentucky, likewise presented a petition from the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions under direction of the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination of the United States expressing their intention of establishing schools for the Indians and praying for encouragement and financial aid. Further influence was likewise exerted by the missionaries themselves which resulted in its being stipulated in treaties between several tribes and the federal government that generous portions of their annuities should be set aside for the education of their children in mission schools. The most notable of these was that of the Choctaws concluded on January 26, 1825. This provided that the President should apply annually for a term of twenty years six thousand dollars from their annuities for the education of their children. Soon thereafter "the chiefs requested to have this applied at some point 'distant from the nation'." To this desire the War Department acceded.[4]

As a result of this agreement, the Choctaw chiefs and other leaders of their nation at once requested their agent, William Ward, to seek the aid of some missionary society in the education of their children at a place distant from the nation, for in competition with the white man they had concluded that survival depended on becoming learned in his wisdom. That same judgment made them know this would be most readily achieved by sending their ablest sons to live in their midst, be schooled in their knowledge and become proficient in its application.

Letters were written to Jacob Creath, head of the Baptist Missionary Society of Kentucky and to Colonel Richard M. Johnson who had already made a beginning in establishing such a school. Colonel Johnson replied offering for a certain sum "to receive and educate on his Blue Spring farm near Great Crossings in Scott County, Kentucky, such boys as the Indians (Choctaws) might send."[5] After due consideration of this offer by the War Department and the acceptance of a plan for the school from the Baptist Board of the General Convention, an agreement was reached and William Ward, their agent, duly authorized to see that a certain number of boys

---

[4] "At the beginning of the 19th Century discouragement from warfare with the whites had brought the realization that the only way to compete with them and survive was to become learned in their wisdom. So in the treaties educational provisions began to appear."—Mrs. Shelly D. Rouse, "Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw Academy, a Forgotten Educational Experiment," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1916, Columbus, p. 88.

[5] Myer, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

were chosen and arrangements made for their being escorted to the appointed place.[6]

In Colonel Johnson's correspondence is a letter in which he referred to the spacious buildings in which the boys would live and work and stated that their arrival was expected on October 15, 1825.[7]

Thus the Choctaw Academy came into being, for though later representatives from other tribes were in attendance, it was essentially a school of the Choctaw Nation, fittingly bearing that name, and when their support was withdrawn it ceased to exist.

Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson was one of the sons of Robert Johnson and Jemima Suggett Johnson who migrated from Orange County, Virginia to Kentucky in 1779-80. The parents came as far as Wheeling on the Ohio River and were delayed until severe winter passed and they were able to travel by water to the site of Louisville. Here Richard M. was born in 1780 while his father was north of the Ohio with General George Rogers Clark helping to subdue the Indians. On the return the family moved to Bryant Station in Central Kentucky which was a stronghold for early settlers who were willing to risk much for a chance to live in this highly desirable region. Here the mother with her five children went through the siege when for days the Indians in large numbers lay in wait for their certain surrender; for the water supply, an ample spring, was outside the stockade and food stores were nearly exhausted.

---

6 "The Baptist Board of Missions was another valuable ally. The Baptists had been pioneers of religion in Kentucky; shepherded by men of ardent piety, untiring zeal, indomitable energy of character and vigorous and well balanced intellects, in every way fitted to the then state of society in a wilderness beset with every danger and privation, they were the first ministers to the brave, daring and noble spirits who settled and subdued this country. . . . Therefore, it was deemed good policy to put this popular denomination in charge of the new venture. The names of the School Board and the Board of Visitors which it appointed are mentioned in many of the histories of the times. . . . . All were conscientious men of position and of sturdy life and principle from Dr. Staughton, Secretary of the Baptist Board at Washington, to James F. Robinson, a governor of the state—men of rugged individualities."—Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

7 Description of Buildings as taken from report of Reverend Thomas Henderson in his first quarterly report of the Choctaw Academy and Missionary station, November 1, 1825, Jan. 31, 1826. (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4 [Dec. 1928] p. 457):

"He writes that there are five buildings—the first he describes as '. . . . The Academy a two story stone house, 44 feet long and 24 wide, divided into four equal rooms, two above stairs and two below stairs. . . . ' he mentions the good fireplaces and the four windows of twenty lights in each room and adds that the rooms would accommodate from 100 to 120 students.

"There is one frame house, situated near the academy, with a good garden and outhouses, suitable for a family. There is a 'large three story house, situated near the Academy, thirty feet long and twenty wide, with two fire places, and a good Franklin stove, well calculated for the dining and lodging rooms.'

"He describes two other stone houses, two stories in height which were used for lodging pupils and states that: . . . 'All of the aforesaid houses are well plastered and finished off in good style and most admirably constructed for comfort and convenience.'"

(Photo, 1949)

The Blue Spring, at site of Choctaw Academy, Kentucky.

(Photo, 1949)

Old building, probably first class rooms, at site of Choctaw Academy, Kentucky.

(Photo, 1949)

Old dormitory building, Choctaw Academy site, in Kentucky.

(Photo, 1949)

View of pasture and old stone fence at site of Choctaw Academy in Kentucky.

When there was no more water this mother proposed that each woman with buckets walk out to the spring, fill them and return, counting on the chivalry of the enemy not to molest them. It was agreed and led by the person who a few months before had borne the babe who became Colonel Richard M. Johnson, the daring deed was accomplished. The Indians under the spell of admiration for such heroism that night quietly withdrew. Soon it was deemed safe to go to their own lands and this family established themselves at what was even then known as Great Crossings in the heart of what is today spoken of as the Bluegrass.

Robert Johnson early showed himself to be a man of ability worthy of confidence. Very soon after settling on his own farm he turned its cultivation over to a responsible person and answered the demand to survey the neighboring areas now being rapidly organized into counties with boundaries to be defined, townsites to be laid out, farms to be located and road lines to be run. This gave opportunity for acquaintance with and selection of choice portions of land for himself and ere long ownership. Thereby the foundation of the family fortune was laid. Meanwhile a highly respected place in the esteem of the countryside had been attained and Robert Johnson had become a leader in religion and in education, also chosen to represent his people in the state legislature.[8]

In such a setting Richard M. Johnson grew up surrounded by the best advantages that a rich land occupied by a well endowed, determined people could offer. Transylvania University in nearby Lexington gave him unusual advantages for a community so recently transplanted. Further opportunities opened and soon admission to the practice of law was had. In rapid succession came political preferment as representative in the state legislature and as congressman.

While in Washington declaration of the Second War for Independence brought the decision to volunteer to raise a regiment and offer himself for service in the Northwest. This resulted in his becoming the hero of the Battle of the Thames for he was credited, though not without dispute, with killing Tecumseh, the Indian chieftan and prophet whose loss ended the resistance of the Indians of the Northwest. Kentucky responded by making him its idol and extending the office of U. S. Senator without opposition. The next step was that of the vice presidency under Van Buren. But Colonel Johnson's great ambition for the presidency was not to be attained.

Yet these preferments with the resulting opportunities were not the source of his greatest contribution but rather his acceptance of the offer to take over the responsibility for the education of the Choc-

[8] "Colonel Robert Johnson (the father of Colonel Richard M., James and Major John T. Johnson) . . . . was distinguished for that high-toned integrity and courage which marked the age and country in which he lived."—Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, Ky., 1877), p. 705.

taw Indian youth[9] For this cause early environment had given special understanding and vital interest, for he had experienced with his father and an older brother James as leaders in Great Crossings church the awakening in missions and the development of the movement under the influence of the able leaders of that day. Concern for this movement had been kept alive through the years so that when William Ward with the authority of the War Department made the offer there was but one answer.[10]

The vision of the zealous pioneer ministers and that of their ardent followers, the co-operation of the Indian leaders, the underwriting of the United States Government, and the faith of the lads themselves would have come to naught had Richard M. Johnson been less right in the choice of the teacher who was to bring to a culmination that which had been wisely undertaken and followed through unfalteringly. Into whose hands was to fall this ultimate responsibility? Herein was to be answered our third question: What purpose did the school serve?

It is quite likely that the selection of the master for this school had been made before the acceptance of the superintendency for that person was none other than Thomas Henderson, for the ten years now closing pastor of the Great Crossings Baptist Church, whose numer-

---

[9] "Colonel Johnson with his brother James was now suffering financial distress, for on learning that the government was sponsoring an exploration of the Yellowstone country and the Missouri River they had agreed to furnish steamboats and provisions for the expedition; serious losses resulted."—(Klyde H. Young and Lamar Middleton, *Heirs Apparent*, New York, 1948, p. 115.) This furnished another reason for sponsoring the Academy in that there was a chance for remuneration.

[10] On October 28, 1825, Colonel Johnson wrote to Thomas L. McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs: "The nation of Choctaws determined on this measure, without any solicitation on my part, and without my knowledge; but since they have determined to send their cihldren here, I feel a deep interest for them."

The *Kentucky Gazette* of November 4, 1825 mentioned the Choctaw Academy in these words: "We are informed that the chief men of the Choctaw Nation have sent to the care of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, twenty-one youths, to be educated. . . . . We also understand that very good arrangements have been made to accommodate them—and the object is to manage them in every respect as if they were the sons of respectable farmers—they are to be taught by the Rev. Thomas Henderson who it is believed possesses high qualifications to manage them, and to prepare some of the most promising to graduate in Transylvania University."

A Georgetown paper of November 4th, carried the following notice: "We have been informed that twenty one Indian children, from the Choctaw Nation have just arrived at the Blue Spring, the residence of Col. R. M. Johnson for the purpose of receiving an education. Notwithstanding there are at the same time sixteen or eighteen Missionary establishments in the Nation, yet after a consultation with Agt. Col. Wm. Ward, formerly of this county, the parents of these children preferred sending them to the Blue Springs, a position in every way calculated to promote their comfort and happiness; both from the locality, convenience and house room, and the deep interest which Col. Johnson has ever taken to ameliorate their condition, together with that of the oppressed and illiterate of every country. The Rev. Thos. Henderson who is well fitted for the task from his learning, piety, and industry is to be the teacher of the school. Those who feel a missionary spirit will find a field at home for their munificence."—Myer, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

ous abilities, admirable qualities of character, and unfailing common sense had been well sounded. Upon him was to devolve not only instruction but for long periods administration, since Colonel Johnson's duties in Washington permitted nothing less. So with assurance we find the newly chosen superintendent writing to the Secretary of War: "I have engaged a man of uncommon merit . . . . a preacher of the gospel, eminent for his literary talents and attainments and his amiable disposition; a man of business, industrious in his habits, dignified in his deportment, and conciliatory in his manners."[11] Certainty of teaching ability above the commonplace was also expressed elsewhere.

The fact that Thomas Henderson surveyed part of the territory of Missouri for the government as well as contributed to such needs in the growing settlement of Cincinnati indicates that he may have come west as a surveyor from his home in Albermarle County, Virginia, where he had been liberally educated.

Evidence of his integrity as a young man is shown by the terms of the will of John White, also of Albermarle County, who therein provided for the freedom of his slaves and their colonization on land in Kentucky; this provision to be carried out by Thomas Henderson, who fulfilled the trust by purchasing two hundred acres of land along Green River, deeding it to the freedmen and their increase and seeing that they were settled thereon.

So, it was a man of proven worth who was to take over the experiment. In October, 1825, twenty-one Choctaw boys carefully chosen from the mission schools, all still east of the Mississippi River, arrived at Blue Spring farm to find buildings ready, furnishings completed, text books selected, courses of study planned, regulations made in detail from food to articles of clothing, servants agog, and school master profoundly moved in contemplation of the serious obligation; for not only were the abilities of these youths to be developed and their usefulness assured but meanwhile the Office of Indian affairs of the War Department, the Board of Baptist Mis-

[11] Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

sions, the chiefs, the parents, and Colonel Johnson were to be satisfied, as well as the committee of examiners.[12]

Orders from Washington declared that school should open at sunrise and continue till sunset with only Saturday afternoon off for care of rooms and clothing and writing home. Sunday was devoted to Bible study and devotions, fortunately the opportunities of the well established church were at hand. Thomas Henderson spent the evenings in his own home directing the older boys for two hours in the study of astronomy, book-keeping, and surveying. Singing societies, a band and a Napoleon Society were organized. The latter for the purpose of learning the manners and customs of polite society. After a few years it was apparent that shops for instruction in black-smithing, shoe-making, wagon-making and tailoring should be introduced; for as the school grew it became the more evident that not all would become professional men, also that their people were more and more needing knowledge in skilled labor.

As an increasing need for more teachers arose the authorities in Washington sent down an expert in inaugurating the Lancasterian plan recently originated in Lancaster, England, whereby the older boys were to teach the younger. Afte due experiment it became evident that the adult teacher could not be thus replaced. The forward look of Mr. Henderson and his good judgment is shown by this making use of the now common practice of taking youth to summer camp. For recreation and widened experience they for two weeks in summer repaired to not far off Sulphur Spring, which

---

[12] "The clothing of the students was a uniform of mixed dark-grey and of blue and white and is thus described in instructions:

1 Frock or rifle coat woolen cloth	$12.00
Coat (summer) of colored domestic cotton	4.00
2 Pair woolen pantaloons to correspond with coat	8.00
2 Pair cotton pantaloons for summer coat	5.00
4 shirts	4.00
2 pair shoes or Moccasins	4.00
4 Neck handkerchiefs	1.50
1 Black Leather Stock	.50
2 Pair Woolen stockings for winter	.50
1 Hat for dress wear	2.50
1 Cap of linen or cloth for common wear	.50
Total	$42.50

. . . . The books used were Emerson's Readers, Pike's Arithmetic, Kirkham's Grammar, the American Spelling Books, Olney's Geography, Tytler's History, Blake's Philosophy, Colburn's Algebra and Gibson's Surveying."—Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

later became a watering place of note as well as for a time the situation of the school when the wood supply failed. Further evidence of aggressiveness is shown in the use of the modern day practice of a self-governing system then known as the Lycurgus Court, wherein the use of the grand jury and court plan of procedure was used. Its success further attests the marked ability of the instructor. As the good work progressed more and more boys came, not only the full quota from the Choctaw Nation, but other tribes pressed for privileges until at times two hundred were in attendance.

Chiefs of the tribes and visitors of national distinction, among them President Van Buren and General Cass, came to find what more than satisfied their expectations—young men schooled in the classics and other skilled in the manual arts. The day for examinations by the Committee of the Board of Missions was often made a gathering time for the community far and wide and great were the commendations. These were often held in the grove where the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette, on his American tour, was celebrated the year the school opened.

The great blow came when the scourge of cholera swept the country in the summer of 1833. Fortunately Colonel Johnson was present, for Thomas Henderson went down early in the onset. Had anyone previously doubted the interest of the superintendent and his ability to stand by when school master, students, and faithful slaves were stricken, this occasion would have proven otherwise. Physicians and all others assisting were amazed at his fortitude and skill. In spite of all that was done seventeen boys were sacrified. There is evidence on the farm today of where they were laid to rest, their graves carefully marked with native limestone.

During the twenty years of the Academy's activity young men who became lawyers, physicians, ministers, teachers, translators, artisans—all understanding the white man and learned in his wisdom—returned to their people as bearers of good will ready for leadership in solving the problems pressing for attention.[13]

[13] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December, 1928), pp. 472-473, 476-477 and Vol. IX, No. 4 (Dec. 1931), pp. 407-410. Names of students are given.

Then why did Choctaw Academy pass? Immediately comes the answer that removal of the Choctaws and other Indian tribes from the East to their own territory, meant the re-establishment of the mission schools and their natural outgrowth in Armstrong, Spencer and other notable schools in the Indian Territory which made this honored institution unnecessary. The thoughtful person will sense a more vital reason on understanding that two years before it closed, its loved master had insisted on release (for strength was failing) and that when no worthy successor was found, Choctaw Academy had served its day.

No, not its day only, for Oklahoma is now its heir, rich in the wisdom brought by these bearers of light which their forefathers saw they could receive only "by being schooled at a distance from home," and handed down first by them and on from father to son into your hands and mine.[14] Thus Thomas Henderson, Richard M. Johnson and their sponsors and co-laborers were benefactors of today's Oklahomans.

[14] "Choctaw Academy . . . . . The Chief Patrons of the school were the Choctaw and Chickasaw who sent at tribal expense so many of their promising boys that the school roll amounts almost to an index of the subsequent leaders."—Lester Hargrett, *A Bibliography of Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947) p. 19, fn.

EDUCATION AT STATEHOOD

By Oscar William Davison

When Oklahoma was admitted into the Union in 1907, an educational system had been developed which was superior to that of most pioneer states. The rapid settling of Oklahoma by people who had come from states which already had gone through the pioneer period in education, and the establishment of national systems of education among the Five Civilized Tribes years earlier, gave Oklahoma an advantage over other states which went through a much slower pioneer period.

Oklahoma's school endowment is one of the largest in the nation. Early territorial officials profited from mistakes made in other states, and took steps to safeguard the state school lands. In Oklahoma Territory from two to four sections of land had been set aside in each township for public schools. In general, sections 16 and 36 were reserved for the common schools, and section 13 for the colleges. Higher institutions also have received a part of the proceeds from section 33, originally reserved for penal and charitable institutions, but in 1911 earmarked by the legislature as a "Public building fund." Where sections 16 and 36 were not available, because they were already homesteaded or were a part of Indian holdings, Congress in the Organic Act of 1890 provided for other lands of equal size to be substituted. These were called "common school indemnity lands."

Five per cent of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands within the state also were reserved for Oklahoma's permanent school fund. At statehood Oklahoma received over 3,000,000 acres from the federal government for the school fund. Since no public lands could be provided in Indian Territory, because by treaty they belonged to the Indians, Congress appropriated $5,000,000 in lieu thereof for the use and benefit of Oklahoma's common schools. The income from this appropriation and from the school land sections of western Oklahoma made up the permanent school fund.[1]

[1] *Public Education in Oklahoma*, a report of a survey of public education in the state of Oklahoma, made at the request of the Oklahoma State Educational Survey Commission, under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Education: Henceforth cited as "1922 Survey Commission"; Dan W. Peery, "History of Oklahoma's School Endowment," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935) pp. 381-390; Oliver Hodge, *The Administration and Development of the Oklahoma School Land Department* (Oklahoma City: Prompt Printing Company, 1937) pp. 11-17; *Enabling Act, State of Oklahoma*, 1906, Secs. 7-11; *Organic Act of Oklahoma Territory*, 1890, Sec. 18.

Territorial Governor Barnes gave Governor George W. Steele, first governor of Oklahoma Territory, full credit for not allowing the school lands to lie idle until the Territory became a State. In other territories much of their school lands were wantonly destroyed, or were left lying idle until the Territory became a State, thus losing considerable revenue. Valuable timber was almost completely stripped from school lands in some states.

"Ohio, with no precedents from other states, adopted a short-sighted and ruinous policy of sales and perpetual leases. With a school land endowment of a million and a half acres, her constitution contained no provision to guarantee the safety of this enormous trust and it became at once the prize of organized plunder."[2] Thousands of acres were leased perpetually for as low as ten to twenty-five cents an acre. Then these funds which eventually totalled $4,250,000 were borrowed by the State as a perpetual loan and promptly spent! "The people are today grinding out by taxation a yearly interest of $250,000 on this fund. Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin each has its story of folly and loss."[3]

Governor Steele went to Washington where with others he persuaded Congress in 1891 to pass legislation permitting immediate leasing of these lands. In 1891 $4,500 was received from lease rentals, and $21,662 was received in 1892. In 1894 an act of Congress was passed creating a board for leasing school lands, composed of the Governor, Territorial Secretary, and Territorial Superintendent of Schools. This board appointed William Blancoe as Secretary. In 1895 lease rentals amounted to $54,665 and in 1898 to $121,383. By 1900 the income from school lands aggregated nearly $1,000,000. In 1901 funds received totalled $150,177, and in 1904 rentals brought in $220,177.

By statehood many valuable improvements had been made on the school lands by some 20,000 lessees, and an income of approximately $1000 a day was accruing to the school funds. No other territory had ever secured any revenue from her school lands. Oklahoma, meanwhile, earned over two million dollars above all expenses on her lands before statehood.[4]

Further safeguards to the school endowment were written into the constitution in 1907. The language of these safeguards is as follows: "The principal shall be deemed a trust fund held by the State and shall forever remain inviolate. It may be increased, but

---

[2] F. S. Elder, "Oklahoma School Lands," an address to the state legislature, given at Norman, February 21, 1899, 4 pp., bound in *Oklahoma School Herald,* XV, No. 1 (January, 1907).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] John T. Butcher, "The Administration of the Common School Endowment of the State of Oklahoma," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1928, pp. 22, 23; Hodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17; Territorial Governors' Reports, 1892-1906, ***passim.***

shall never be diminished. The State shall reimburse said permanent school fund for all losses thereof which may in any manner occur, and no portion of said fund shall be diverted for any other use or purpose.''[5]

The School Land Commission was to have charge of the endowment. The constitution provided that the ''Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction and the president of the Board of Agriculture shall constitute the Commissioners of the Land Office, who shall have charge of the sale, rental, disposal and managing of the school lands and other public lands of the State, and of the proceeds derived therefrom, under rules and regulations prescribed by the Legislature.''[6] The commission secretary has actual charge of administering the affairs of the land office.

After statehood the policy of the legislature changed, and some school lands were sold. Many bitter political battles were fought over this question. Attempts were made before statehood to force the sale of the school lands. In 1901 a powerful bloc of lessees were urging the legislature to sell the school lands. Some of the arguments used by this group are summarized in a monograph issued by John Golobie, Guthrie publisher and for many years a state senator from Logan county. He stated that:

"Those who made the run were running for homes and independence, and not for leasing privileges.

"They improved the land not dreaming the state might adopt a non-sale policy.

"History of school land in the entire northwest territory shows a sale policy.

"It was not the policy of Congress that the state should keep her lands.

"The state has lost much in taxes from lack of improvements of school land.

"Renters rob the fertility and timber.

"Lessees do not pay as much in rental as their neighbors do in taxes.

"The scheme of state ownership is socialistic.

"State tenantry and serfdom and poverty go together.

"Opponents argue the funds will be stolen and point to Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. 'Tis true the funds were stolen in these states but the state, being liable, is paying interest on the stolen funds and the schools are as well off as if the money were really invested.

"If the lessees are a troublesome political factor now they will become more so until the lands are sold."[7]

---

[5] *Constitution of Oklahoma*, Sec. II, Art. 11.
[6] *Ibid.*, Sec. XXXII, Art. 6.
[7] Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32.

In spite of the powerful arguments used by the lessees, the territoritorial legislatures refused to sell any school lands.

That the teachers of Oklahoma were becoming able to make their influence felt over the state, was demonstrated in the election of 1908. A proposal to sell all the State school lands was submitted to a vote of the people. Most teachers over the state united in a drive against the bill. The measure was defeated at the polls. "Oklahoma teachers proved that they are a force to be reckoned with," when a majority of them vigorously opposed this bill."[8]

But the Second Legislature after statehood authorized the sale of lands in sections 33, which had been reserved for the colleges, of indemnity 33, and the New College lands. "*The Oklahoma School Herald* and the teachers in general felt that the sale of the school lands under the former initiative bill would have been wrong, but the present bill which has passed both houses of the second session of the Oklahoma legislature to sell certain of the school lands, but to leave untouched the public school lands, heritage of the children of Oklahoma, seems to be a reasonable solution of the school land problem."[9]

The Third Legislature authorized the "sale of sections 16 and 36, common school land, and sections 13 and 33, indemnity, including Greer County, section 13."[10]

The lessees with sixteen families in every township, organized and became strong enough to elect many of their candidates to the Legislature. In 1909 and 1910 these representatives threatened to block all legislation until their bill, which provided for the sale of school lands, was passed.

In 1910 oil was discovered on State school land. The School Land Commission attempted to retain mineral rights on land sold. A lessee brought suit, and in 1915 a decision was rendered in favor of the lessee. Thus millions of dollars of income from mineral wealth was lost to the school children of Oklahoma through the sale of school lands from 1909 to 1915.

Immediately after this decision, the school land commissioners took all unsold land off the market. Nearly a million acres had been sold. But from 1915 to 1928 only four farms were sold. The State has refused to sell any oil royalty on state school lands. Many profitable leases have been made. In the Garber field the State received $800,000 for one quarter section of land for the renewal of a lease. Many attempts have been made since 1915 to force the school land commission to sell the lessees the remaining school lands.

---

[8] Editorial, "The School Master in Politics," *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVI, No. 20 (December, 1908) p. 3.

[9] Editorial, *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVII, No. 31 (March, 1909) p. 3.

[10] Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

In 1921 in Stephens County the lessees filed a test case to force such sales. They won in district court, but lost in the State Supreme Court and in the United States Supreme Court. Since then the once-powerful organization of lessees has not been active.[11]

The State Constitution adopted in 1907 authorized the levying of five mills upon the assessed valuation of any district in the state for the public schools. It also provided that not to exceed ten additional mills could be voted by the people of any district for school purposes.[12] The district system of local control adopted by the Oklahoma territorial legislature of 1893 was retained. In fact, since the laws of Oklahoma Territory were extended over Indian Territory at statehood, the school laws of the Oklahoma Territory portion of the state became the law for the whole state. The office of State Superintendent was made elective, along with that of many other state officials.

The special census of 1907 showed a population of 1,414,177. Of these 691,766 were in Indian Territory, and 722,411 in Oklahoma Territory. This was four times the population of any other state at the time of admission.[13]

C. N. Haskell, Muskogee, was elected first State Governor, and E. D. Cameron, Sulphur, was elected first State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Haskell had taught school several years in Ohio, and during his administration was friendly to education. Cameron had served as third Superintendent of Oklahoma Territory. Soon after statehood Cameron predicted a future for education in Oklahoma in the following glowing terms: "With our splendid school fund, which is rapidly increasing, we will soon be able to offer teachers better salaries in Oklahoma than can be paid in any other state of the union. . . . . The day is not far distant when our state will have the richest, as well as the best system of public schools in the whole United States."[14]

Sadly, we must admit that his rosy predictions for education in Oklahoma have fallen far short. It was impossible for him to forsee the vast increase in the number of pupils who soon would be attending the public schools. Neither could he vision the great shift to come in the tax base, from local to State sources, following World War I. Nor could he foresee the huge loss of local revenue in the 1930's, following the rapid decline of assessed valuations, and enactment of the Homestead Exemption Law in 1933.

---

[11] Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-101.

[12] *Constitution of Oklahoma*, Art. X, Sec. 9.

[13] Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma*, p. 3. Henceforth cited as Foreman, *History;* Roy Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma*. p. 256.

[14] *Second Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1908, p. 74.

In 1908 Superintendent Cameron reported that the "work of organizing the new counties into convenient districts has been carried forward rapidly and is now nearly completed." In what was formerly the Indian Territory 2,200 rural school districts had been formed, and all would have buildings by June 30, 1909, Cameron wrote. He stated also that: "The main thing in building and fostering a great rural public school system is local school pride and sentiment in favor of the schools among our own people. I hope our people will not hesitate to vote bonds to build school houses, and that large grounds will be provided . . . . ." He then estimated that over a million and a half dollars would be spent on new building construction by the end of the fiscal year. He reported that 9,891 teachers would be needed the following year, with salaries ranging from $75 to $200 per month for male teachers, and from $50 to $90 monthly for female teachers. Terms ran from three to nine months. At an average of six months, which is generous, yearly salaries ranged from $450.00 to $1200 for men, and $300.00 to $540.00 for women.

School districts in the Indian Territory had been made large because of so much non-taxable land owned by the Indians. Superintendent Cameron was a strong advocate of the larger administrative school units. He gave his views on this matter as follows:[15]

> It is the opinion of this department that experience has shown that the average school districts in that part of the state formerly known as Oklahoma Territory are too small for the best school work. . . . . We have laid off much larger districts in the new counties in that portion of the state formerly known as Indian Territory. . . . . In some of these districts we will put into operation the plan of conveying the children to and from the school every day.

Unfortunately, however, far too many small school districts were formed. "Oklahoma is cursed with the district system of school administration in its extreme form." The state constitution and statutes were modeled after neighboring states, which had in turn modeled theirs after those first established in the New England colonies. "As a matter of fact the district system is an appendage of the practice which developed and then was discarded as outmoded about 1850 by Massachusetts." Boston once had 500 different school districts within its boundaries, "each having its own board of education, levying taxes, selecting the teacher and supporting its own school system!" Horace Mann showed that such a system was archaic and inadequate as early as the 1840's and through his influence the state of Massachusetts adopted a better administrative system.[16]

---

[15] *Second Biennial Report of the State Superintendent*, 1908, pp. 5, 6, 73, 74.

[16] Arnold E. Joyal, *The Reorganization of Local School Administrative Units, With Special Reference to Oklahoma*, a public lecture given at Norman, Oklahoma, December 26, 1946, pp. 1-5.

Some new states, unfortunately, copied the Massachusetts system before it was changed by the legislature in the 1850's, notably Illinois. Oklahoma's constitution is similar to Illinois'. "Thus Oklahoma and 25 other states are still cursed with a system which was designed to meet the needs of the Puritans in colonial days."[17]

With the coming of improved methods of transportation, people in Oklahoma eventually began to realize the mistake that had been made. Most rural schools contained only nine square miles. Superintendent Cameron reported in 1908 that 5,641 rural schools had been formed in the state. This did not include city and graded schools.[18]

According to Dr. Wm. C. Bagley, the inadequacy of the rural schools of the country is evidence of the failure of the present educational system. "In the first place," he says, "the system of rural education is notoriously inadequate. The proportion of illiteracy in our rural districts is twice as high as in our urban districts. The problem of illiteracy is a problem of rural education."[19]

When our early settlers founded the district school, the course of study was built to carry the "Three R's." Through years of enriching the curriculum, it now must carry a load of 14 subjects. A teacher can average only 19 minutes a day to each class when she is compelled to teach all eight grades. Naturally she cannot be a specialist in any field. The pupils are denied the services of skilled primary instructors and of specialists in the intermediate and junior highschool grades.

Unlike many other states, Oklahoma's constitution apparently left out very little so far as regulations, restrictions and limitations are concerned. State Superintendent Cameron, in the annual president's address at the State Teachers' Convention at Oklahoma City in 1909, said:[20]

> It is the only constitution in the world that provides for the teaching of Agriculture, Horticulture, Domestic Science, Road Building and Stock Feeding in all the schools of the state. . . . . I believe that this wave of industrial education that has spread over the United States in the last few years, finding its culmination in Oklahoma, the youngest state, is the greatest blessing to come to the people of this republic since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. . . . . The teaching of Domestic Science in all our schools will have a tendency to arrest the wild wave of restlessness that has come over the women of our country and will bring them back and fix them more firmly in the sphere where God intended for them to dwell. . . . . It is not so much from the intellect of man as from the heart of women that our people must be elevated. Domestic Science. . . . includes all of those things that go to make a home bright and sweet and beautiful. . . . . "

---

[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Second Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1908, pp. 5, 6.
[19] *U. S. Chamber of Commerce Bulletin*, November 21, 1922, p. 39.
[20] *Third Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1910, pp. 31, 32.

The idea of teaching occupational subjects was not limited to Oklahoma, however. The United States Commissioner of Education recommended in his 1906 report that "Special provision be made for the training of teachers in agriculture and other industrial arts."[21] Other states have left such provisions to the statutes or state education boards.

Oklahoma's constitution "contains a mass of material which should have been left to the legislature or to administrative agencies. . . . . In some directions, no substantial progress can be made until constitutional obstacles have been removed." But this will only be possible when the legislatures divorce politics from the administration. Until then, "the Constitution will have to be used for the protection of certain agencies, under which different conditions should be provided by statute."[22]

The state constitution provided for a three and one-half mill statewide ad valorem levy, but none of it was earmarked for schools. County highschools and the common schools were allowed a maximum of two mills per county, with not to exceed one mill to be used for county high schools. Regardless of wealth or need, the constitution forebade any school district from voting more than 15 mills for school purposes, except for bonded indebtedness. Here again a limitation was provided; no district could vote bonds for erecting public buildings in excess of "five mills on the dollar of the assessed value of the taxable property in such county, city or school district." Neither could any indebtedness be incurred "exceeding in any year, the income and revenue provided for such year, without the assent of three-fifths of the voters thereof," nor could the total indebtedness, including cases requiring such consent, exceed five per cent of the assessed valuation.[23]

The Constitution pledged the people of Oklahoma "that the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools was to be a function of the government of the State:"

> The Enabling Act sets forth that provisions shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools, which shall be open to all the children of the state and free from sectarian control; and said schools shall always be conducted in English: Provided that nothing herein shall preclude teaching of other languages in said public schools; and provided, further, that this shall not be construed to prevent the establishment and maintenance of separate schools for white and colored children.

---

[21] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XI, No. 3 (January 1, 1903) p. 3.

[22] The Brookings Institution, Report on *A Survey of Organization and Administration of Oklahoma*, 1935, p. 6. Henceforth cited as *Brookings Report*.

[23] *Constitution of Oklahoma*, Art. X, Secs. 9, 10, 26.

"The Enabling Act is higher law than the State's Constitution, for the Constitution had to be framed in accordance with it." The Constitution repeats this section word for word.[24]

Other states had similar provisions on education. Pennsylvania's constitution provided in 1890 that "the legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide, by law, for the establishment of schools throughout the state. . . . ." Massachusetts had set up a system of elementary and secondary schools, and had founded a college by 1647. Thus we see that the states were assuming the obligation of providing for free public education even in earliest colonial times. But some states have provided for education far better than others.[25]

Oklahoma's constitution set up separate schools for Negroes, but stipulated that these should be equal to schools provided for the white race. The constitution reads: "Separate schools for white and colored children with like accommodations shall be provided by the legislature and impartially maintained."[26] Although some people might doubt that Negro schools have been provided and maintained "with like accommodations," Oklahoma has consistently provided a better separate school system than other southern states. Negro teachers are on the same state salary schedule as white teachers, and have been since adoption of the state schedule by the legislature in 1935.

J. A. McLauchlin, president of Central Normal, Edmond, evidently overlooked the faults of the state constitution. Addressing the 1909 teachers' convention, he said:

> We are not only really and truly proud of Oklahoma City—the enterprising and progressive—but we are equally proud of our entire State, the great Baby State, which in its infancy, has crushed in its constitutional grasp, the monster coils of the corporation reptile as the infant Hercules did crush with his baby hands the huge serpent that came to disturb his slumbers. Here in Oklahoma, the enemies of the people are barred out at the very threshold. That old scare-crow wail "Unconstitutional," "Unconstitutional," so long and successfully flaunted in the very faces of the people of other states, awakens no terrors in the minds of our people. For how can a thing be unconstitutional when it is written down in the constitution itself—a document approved by the people of Oklahoma and proclaimed by the president of the United States.
>
> In the matter of education, we are forging to the front. The commission sent over from England to investigate the schools of the different states, reported that Oklahoma had the best school system in America. We are proud of this and the progress made since that time. But, friends, there are yet many improvements that ought to be made.

---

[24] John F. Bender, *Problems in Financing the Common Schools of Oklahoma*, p. 3; *Constitution of Oklahoma*, Art. I, Sec. 5; *Enabling Act, State of Oklahoma*, 1906, Sec. 3, Art. 5; *Oklahoma School Herald*, Editorial XVII, No. 5 (May, 1909) pp. 17, 18.

[25] Bender, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-8.

[26] *Constitution of Oklahoma*, Art. XIII, Sec. 3.

McLauchlin then asked for payment of teachers salaries for all twelve months, "beginning July 1st, of each year—thus adding 33 1/3 per cent to their salaries."[27]

New educational problems in higher education were created at statehood. A natural rivalry existed for a few years between old Indian and Oklahoma Territories. No sooner had statehood been proclaimed than residents of Eastern Oklahoma demanded establishment of colleges equal to those already in existence in the former Oklahoma Territory. But the first legislature was too busily engaged in vitalizing the constitution to establish all these new schools. A great clamor arose, because the "party in power" had promised the voters at least three new colleges for eastern Oklahoma. S. M. Barrett, editor of the *Oklahoma School Herald,* wrote that he was hopeful the next legislature would not be niggardly in appropriations for educational purposes nor dilatory in establishing additional colleges so badly needed.

Editor Barrett also urged the establishment of a state board of education; a county board of examiners; increased wages for county superintendents, assistants for superintendents of populous counties; and three year teachers' contracts. With the latter, Barrett wrote, a teacher could feel that he is really a part of the community, and he could identify himself with the community's interests. "He could feel pride in building up permanently the cause of education in his district; and many of the cheap devices for present popularity and many of the errors committed in the name of public opinion would be avoided, while the schools would be placed upon a firmer foundation." Barrett pointed out that the Oklahoma Education Association had recommended all these proposals, and concluded by asking, "Will the legislature ignore the request of ten thousand teachers?"[28]

Although the First Legislature failed to establish any additional normals, provision was made for the establishment of the Industrial Institute and College for Girls, which the Second Legislature (1909) located at Chickasha; the School of Mines and Metallurgy at Wilburton; the Oklahoma School for the Deaf, at Sulphur; the Oklahoma School for the Blind, at Ft. Gibson; the Whitaker Orphan's Home at Pryor Creek, and an orphan's home for colored children at Taft. These schools which were established after statehood did not receive any federal land grants. Provision was also made for the establishment of agricultural schools of secondary grade in each of the supreme court judicial districts.[29]

The First Legislature also vitalized Section IV of Article 13 of the Constitution, which provided for compulsory school attendance of children between the ages of eight and sixteen. Section VII,

---

[27] *Third Biennial Report of State Superintendent,* 1910, pp. 54, 55.
[28] *Oklahoma School Herald,* XVII, No. 1, (January, 1909) pp. 3-5.
[29] *Oklahoma Sess. Laws,* 1908, Chap. 70, Arts. 1-7.

Article 13 of the Constitution also was vitalized, provided that agriculture, horticulture, stock raising and domestic science should be taught in the common schools of the state.[30]

Following another provision in the constitution, the first legislature created a state textbook commission, with authority to adopt a "uniform system of textbooks, registers, records and school apparatus for use in all the grades of the public schools up to and including the twelfth grade." Heavy penalties were imposed for violations of the law. An exchange provision was included in the law. With each new adoption "the contractors shall take in exchange the respective books and receive the same in exchange for new books at a price not less than 50 per cent of the contract price. Such exchange period shall not continue longer than one year from the date of contract." No publishers were to charge a higher price for books sold in Oklahoma than was charged in any other state.[31] Members of the first State Textbook Commission were: Governor C. N. Haskell; T. F. Brewer, Norman; J. D. Benedict, Muskogee; N. E. Moore, Marietta; J. H. Barnes, Enid; D. B. Collums, Stillwater; and C. B. Belt, Norman.

The Commissioners of the Land Office were authorized to manage the school land funds.[32] Provisions were made for setting up separate or minority schools and school officers for the white and colored races. Penalties were provided for violation of this law.[33]

The first legislature also provided for assessing property as follows:[34]

> All property shall be assessed at its fair cash value . . . . at the price it would bring at a fair voluntary sale . . . . and any officer or other person authorized to assess values . . . . who shall commit any wilful error in the perfection of his duty, shall be deemed guilty of malfeasance and upon conviction thereof, shall forfeit his office and be otherwise punished as provided by law.

A school teachers' union was organized at Guthrie April 8, 1909, in the auditorium of the Ione Hotel. Its objects were "to protect the material interests of the professional teachers." President W. L. Ross of the Northwestern Normal, Alva, was elected president, and Professor P. W. Swartz of Purcell, secretary.[35] Evidently the union was short-lived, as little more is found concerning it.

---

[30] *Ibid.*, Chap. 3, Art. 3, Secs. 1-21; Chap. 34, Art. I, Secs. 1-6.

[31] *Second Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1908, pp. 147-151; *Constitution of Oklahoma*, Art. XIII, Sec. 6; *Oklahoma Sess. Laws*, 1908, Chap. 77, Art. VIII, Secs. 1-29.

[32] *Oklahoma Sess. Laws*, Chap. 76, Art. 2, Secs. 1-7.

[33] *Ibid.*, Chapter 77, Art. 10, Sec. 1-9

[34] *Ibid.*, Chap. 71, Art. I, Sec. 1.

[35] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVII, No. 1 (January, 1909) pp. 305.

The second legislature, recognizing the need for additional school funds, passed a bill providing for a state school tax of one-fourth of one mill.[36]

Three normal schools were established, at Ada, Durant, and Tahlequah, and the Eastern University Preparatory School was located at Claremore.[37] Several other institutions also were established, for the deaf, blind, colored orphans, and others. All are shown in the table in the *Appendix*. Phillips University opened at Enid September 17, 1907, as Oklahoma Christian University. It was re-named Phillips University in 1913 in honor of T. W. Phillips, congressman and author from New Castle, Pennsylvania. Phillips and Dr. E. V. Zollars, first president, were co-founders of the school.[38] Private and denominational institutions established by statehood are shown in the *Appendix*.

The first president of Northeastern Normal was D. Frank Redd, Muskogee, U. S. Supervisor of Schools for the Cherokee nation. Redd resigned his federal office from June 30, 1909 to take the position. A. S. Wiley served as acting president from April 19 to July 1, 1909.[39]

Charles W. Briles was the first president at East Central, serving from 1909 until 1916. The first president of Southeastern was Mark Egbert Moore of Marietta. He came to Durant on June 14, 1909, where he found only a few placards in store windows with the following announcement: "Southeastern State Normal, Headquarters Chamber of Commerce Building."[40]

In all, the Second Legislature created 16 new state institutions and made the following appropriations: Durant, $100,000.00 for buildings and $100,000.00 for maintenance; Tahlequah, $45,000.00 for buildings and $100,000.00 for maintenance; Ada, $100,000.00 for buildings, nothing for maintenance; the third, fourth and fifth district agricultural schools, buildings and maintenance, $60,000.00; Panhandle district agricultural school, building and maintenance $20,000.00; University preparatory school at Claremore, buildings

---

[36] 1922 *Survey Commission*, p. 17; Oklahoma Sess. Laws, 1909, pp. 3-5.

[37] *Oklahoma Sess. Laws*, 1909, Chap. 36, Arts. 6-10.

[38] 10-40-100, Phillips University Bulletin, XLI, No. 8, Enid, Oklahoma, August, 1947; I. N. McCash, "History of Phillips University," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947) pp. 181-185.

[39] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVII, No. 3 (September, 1909) p. 25; 1922 *Survey Commission*, p. 142.

[40] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVII, No. 3 (September, 1909) p. 16:

"But when the sun sank on the oak and pine of the fair Southeast on that Monday evening, it went down on the greatest enrollment in the State, and the greatest normal school of Oklahoma was launched—perhaps the greatest school ever built in the history of the world in a single day! So things are being done in this empire of the Southeast. . . . . The purpose of the school is not so much to graduate students as it is to reach every teacher in the public schools."

$65,000.00, maintenance $35,000.00; Girls' Industrial School, Chickasha, building and maintenance, $100,000.00; School for the Deaf, Sulphur, maintenance, $60,000.00; School for the Blind, Ft. Gibson, maintenance $45,000.00. The others were penal and eleemosynary institutions.[41]

The second legislature repealed the Territorial Act of March 8, 1901, which had authorized the establishment of a county high school in each county with a population of 6,000 or more.[42] However, provision was made for continuing schools already organized, but these later also were eliminated. Only a few were ever established; records show that Logan, Alfalfa, Okfuskee, Choctaw and Creek counties had such high schools. Possibly there were others.

A bill was passed setting county superintendents' salaries at $800 per year in counties of less than 10,000 population, ranging up to $1800 in all counties with a population of over $40,000.[43] Employment of clerical help and travelling expenses also were allowed county superintendents by the Second Legislature.[44]

In 1908 a special law was passed by the Legislature authorizing consolidated school districts. Voters of any two or more adjacent districts could by majority vote of each district unite to form a consolidated school. Unorganized territory and legally organized school districts with a population of one hundred or more persons could also organize consolidated schools.[45] A number of districts acted at once and voted to consolidate. Mrs. Mary Niblock, county superintendent, Ardmore, reported that "consolidated schools solve our greatest problem in school work, to my mind, and I am in favor of as many as I can get in my county."[46]

Kiowa county reported two districts organized, with others "being talked of in many parts of the county." J. T. Stripling, Pawnee county principal, who was reared in a rural district, wrote, "I . . . . know the defects of the rural schools. I consider the consolidated school one of the much-needed improvements for the country child's education. . . . . Our school is composed of three districts. It was one of the first schools in the state to organize under the law."[47]

Rogers county followed state superintendent Cameron's suggestions and organized the county into large districts. "Having the power to regulate the size and dimensions of school districts, county

---

[41] *Ibid.*, XVI, No. 10 (April, 1909) p. 3; *Oklahoma Sess. Laws*, 1909, Chapter 36, Arts. 6-10, *passim.*
[42] *Oklahoma Sess. Laws*, 1909, Chapt. 36, Art. 3, Sec. 1.
[43] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVII, No. 3 (September, 1909) p. 4.
[44] *Ibid.*, 1922 *Survey Commission*, pp. 18, 19.
[45] *Third Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1910, pp. 327-329.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 331-332.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 336.

superintendent B. H. Hester divided the county into thirty-eight districts. Usually a county has about 125 school districts."[48] Topography and wealth served as the basis for division:[49]

"One of the fundamental ideas was to distribute the corporation wealth of the county as evenly among all districts as possible. About the way the plan worked out in practice was that Hester drew an imaginary line in any direction which presented the least resistance. If he found the line tending to cross an unabridged stream, he drew it in and started downstream. That was cheaper than building a bridge and safer than swimming school children across swollen streams in time of high water.

"Having established district lines, the next step was to secure the buildings. In the last two years the county has been enriched by the addition of about twenty-five new buildings. Of this number eighteen have high school courses, and others will follow as fast as pupils have advanced far enough to require it."

Some of the consolidated schools had only one central building where all grades were taught, while in others a highschool was erected in some central location with grade or wing schools left in the outlying territory. Most consolidated districts eventually furnished transportation; wagons were used at first.

Teacher institutes were set up by the legislature, to provide teacher training during vacation. The law provided that county commissioners in each county appropriate up to $200 for holding these institutes. Three institutes were possible, each lasting a month, during June, July and August. They were held mostly in county seat towns and in the colleges. Separate institutes were to be provided for Negroes. Here teachers studied to pass an examination for county and state certificates.[50]

The state textbook commission set up a uniform system for keeping school records. "The Systematic School Register and Record, adopted for use in the High Schools of Oklahoma by the Text Book Commission, consists of Form No. 2, Book of Credits; No. 3, Book of Credits; No. 4, Term Book Sheets; No. 5, Term Book Binder; No. 6, Individual Record Card. . . . . Orders may be made of the Oklahoma Book Company, of Oklahoma City, the State Depositors, or through any local dealer."[51]

J. D. Benedict, federal supervisor of Indian schools, Muskogee, deplored the over-emphasis being placed on preparing students for college, when only ten per cent of the high school graduates ever attended college. He urged beginning teachers, especially, to give more attention to the teaching of reading. A pupil can never be too successful in arithmetic and other subjects until he learns to read, Benedict wrote. He recommended the teaching of civic, so students

---

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 337, 338.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 363-364; *Oklahoma Sess. Laws*, 1908, Chap. 77, Art. 7, Secs. 1-17.
[51] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVII, No. 1 (January, 1909) p. 9.

would become more interested in their local, state and national governments, and thus become better citizens. Character building should be stressed, and music, domestic science, manual training, and agriculture should also be emphasized, he said. "A teacher should give himself fully," he urged, and live such an exemplary life that character would be taught by following his example.[52]

Bethany-Peniel College was founded at Bethany in 1909 as Oklahoma Holiness College. Five colleges were merged to produce Bethany-Peniel. Four were from neighboring states, the fifth was Beulah Heights College, which had been founded in 1906 near Oklahoma City. H. H. Miller was the first president of Bethany-Peniel.[53]

State Superintendent Cameron in his third biennial report December 1, 1910, recommended state aid for the common schools. He suggested adoption of Campbell Russell's plan for a statewide tax on public service corporations, the proceeds to go to schools, or some similar uniform statewide levy for education. Cameron also requested provision for a highschool inspector under supervision of the state superintendent, recommended five member school boards elected at large in cities of the first class, asked for free textbooks, and urged passage of a stronger compulsory attendance law. There were other recommendations, one of which if followed might have helped materially to develop manufacturing in Oklahoma. He explained it as follows:[54]

> That appropriation be made for the establishment and location of a first class Textile School somewhere in the state. This school to teach manufacturing and to be the nucleus from which our people will be taught the art of turning the various raw materials, of fabrics, cotton, wool, silk, flax, hemp and jute into hosiery, knit goods, felt goods and wool hats, cordage and twine, laces, braids and embroideries and cloths of all kinds. We have other industrial schools and it occurs to me that Oklahoma, with her millions of acres of cotton land and untold wealth of coal and gas and unlimited water power running riot and going to waste must become one of the great states of the Union. Therefore, an industrial school to train our people as manufacturers and to teach them how to utilize the forces that God has placed in our hands in the most important educational work remaining before us.

Over forty years have passed since Superintendent Cameron made this recommendation, but thus far no State textile school has been established. Only a bare scratching of the surface has been made in the establishment of manufacturing plants as suggested. Possessing an abundance of raw materials—natural gas, oil, forests, agricultural products, coal and water—the State has allowed much of its natural resources to be stripped almost to the point of depletion and shipped out of the state.

---

[52] J. D. Benedict, "Some Thoughts Concerning Our New State School Work," *Oklahoma School Herald*, XVI, No. 5 (May, 1908) pp. 4, 5.

[53] Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168.

[54] *Third Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1910, pp. 427, 428.

Some of these products are returned as manufactured articles, at a huge loss to the State in labor, freight costs, profit, and in taxes which would accrue to the schools and other agencies of government if factories were established all over the state.[55]

According to the Oklahoma Educational Directory, in 1948-49 there were eleven state owned senior colleges; seven State owned junior colleges; six independent senior colleges; one independent specialized school (Spartan College of Aeronautical Engineering); four independent junior colleges; and eleven municipal junior colleges operating in the state.

APPENDIX

COLLEGES ESTABLISHED BEFORE STATEHOOD
A. STATE SUPPORTED

School	Location	Date Established	Date of Actual Opening
Central State Normal	Edmond	1890	1891
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College	Stillwater	1890	1891
University of Oklahoma	Norman	1890	1892
Northwestern Normal	Alva	1897	1897
Colored Agricultural and Normal	Langston	1897	1898
University Preparatory School	Tonkawa	1901	1902[a]
Southwestern Normal	Weatherford	1901	1903

[a] Abolished by Governor Williams veto of appropriations in 1917; reopened in 1919.

[55] Tables are given in the *Appendix* showing the various schools established in the state. These include both State supported and private and denominational schools, established before and after statehood, with location, date established, and date of actual opening.

B. PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL

School	Location	Date Opened
Shawnee Indian Training School	Shawnee	1874
Sacred Heart Abbey	Asher (near)	1876
Bacone College	Tahlequah	1880[a]
Lady of Good Counsel School	Lehigh	1883
St. Elizabeth's Cathedral	Purcell	1888[b]
El Meta Bond	Minco	1889[c]
Catholic College of Oklahoma for Young Women	Guthrie	1889[d]
Rainy Mt. Boarding School	Gotebo	1891
Eufaula Boarding School	Eufaula	1892
Henry Kendall College	Tulsa	1893[e]
Oklahoma Presbyterian College	Durant	1894[f]
Kingfisher College	Kingfisher	1895[g]
Holy Family School	Tulsa	1899
Ardery College	Guthrie	1901
St. Mary's Academy	Ponca City	1901
Baptist College	Blackwell	1901[h]
Lawton Business College	Lawton	1902
Perry S. D. A. School	Perry	1902
I.O.O.F. Orphan's Home	Checotah	1902
Epworth University	Oklahoma City	1903[i]
Draughans' Business College	Oklahoma City	1903
Tulsa Business College	Tulsa	1903
Southwest Baptist College	Hastings	1903[j]
Selvidge Business College	Ardmore	1904
Hill's Business College	Oklahoma City	1905
Cordell Academy	Cordell	1905
Beulah Heights College	Oklahoma City	1906[k]
Oklahoma Christian University	Enid	1907[l]

[a] Bacone was moved to Muskogee in 1895.
[b] Abandoned in 1948.
[c] Opened at Silver City, near Minco, 1889; moved to Minco, 1890. School disbanded May 20, 1920.
[d] Also known as St. Joseph's Academy.
[e] First founded at Muskogee, then moved to Tulsa in 1907.
[f] First founded as Calvin College at Durant, name changed to Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls in 1907.
[g] Kingfisher College was closed in August, 1922.
[h] Abandoned in 1913 and absorbed by Oklahoma Baptist University.
[i] Moved to Guthrie in 1911 where it was called Methodist University of Oklahoma. Moved back to Oklahoma City in 1919 as Oklahoma City College. The name was changed to Oklahoma City University in 1924.
[j] Name changed to Hastings Baptist College in 1907. School moved to Mangum in 1912; abandoned in 1914.
[k] United with Oklahoma Holiness College, Bethany, in 1909; became Bethany-Peniel College in 1920.
[l] Re-named Phillips University in 1913.

STATE SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED AFTER STATEHOOD

School	Location	Date Established	Date of Actual Opening
Industrial Institute and College for Girls	Chickasha	1908	1909[a]
Oklahoma School of Mines and Metallurgy	Wilburton	1908	1909[b]
State Orphans Home	Pryor	1908	1908
Cameron State School of Agriculture	Lawton	1908	1909
Connell State School of Agriculture	Helena	1908	1908[c]
Murray State School of Agriculture	Tishomingo	1908	1908
Haskell State School of Agriculture	Broken Arrow	1908	1908[d]
Conners State School of Agriculture	Warner	1908	1909
Panhandle State School of Agriculture	Goodwell	1909	1909
Oklahoma School for the Deaf	Sulphur	1909	1909[e]
Northeastern State Normal	Tahlequah	1909	1909
Southeastern State Normal	Durant	1909	1909
East Central State Normal	Ada	1909	1909
Eastern University Preparatory School	Claremore	1909	1909[f]
Northeastern School of Mines	Miami	1919	1919[g]

[a] Became Oklahoma College for Women in 1916.
[b] Abolished by Governor Williams' veto on appropriations in 1917; reopened in 1919.
[c] Abolished by Governor Williams' veto of appropriations in 1917; building since used intermittantly as orphans' home or state training school.
[d] Abolished by Governor Williams' veto of appropriations in 1917; never reopened.
[e] First opened as contract school in West Guthrie January 1, 1898. Moved to Sulphur in 1908.
[f] Abolished by Governor Williams' veto of appropriations, 1917; reopened in 1919 as Oklahoma Military Academy.
[g] Name changed to Northeastern Oklahoma Junior College in 1925; to Northeastern Oklahoma A. and M. College in 1943.

OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE AND OLD CENTRAL

By James K. Hastings

The Founders' Day session of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the auditorium of Old Central on Oklahoma A. and M. College campus at Stillwater on May 26, 1949, with President Emma Estill-Harbour in the chair. Some Oklahomans may be interested in knowing something of the interesting history of the College and that meeting place, so some of it follows.

I was homesteading in the west end of Payne County in the summer of 1890 when a neighbor and I came to Stillwater, the county seat, one day in July, I think it was, and learned that a mass meeting of some kind was being held in Swope Hall, at the corner of Main and Ninth, where the present Douglas Building now stands. I was delayed by some business on the street until the meeting had begun, but when I stepped in the door the late R. A. "Bob" Lowry had the floor and was saying "The bars are down." Later it developed that the meeting had been called to advise the one who was to represent Payne County in the coming first Territorial Assembly that the county would work with Logan County in her efforts to get the territorial capital, in hopes that in this way Payne County would have Logan County's help in getting some territorial plum.

Mr. Lowry had made some such motion and it had met opposition, but later carried and was followed religiously. When the question came up later as to what to ask for, the credit should go to the late Hays Hamilton of Stillwater for he it was that suggested the location of the Agricultural and Mechanical College and Experiment Station here.

Original Oklahoma, opened on April 22, 1889, was cut into six counties, Payne, Logan, Kingfisher, Cleveland, Canadian and Oklahoma.. In the First Legislative Assembly there was a disposition to grab all of the territorial institutions for these six counties, so when any two like Payne and Logan joined forces, they had considerable power and later traded for more help.

When the First Legislative Assembly met, after much horse trading, the college and station were assigned to Payne County on the condition that the citizens furnish eighty acres and put up $10,000 with which to build the first college building, later known as "Old Central."

At the next regular election, the question of bonding the county for that sum was voted on and was a flat failure. It got only one

vote in my home precinct and I cast that vote, for I had two younger sisters that must have an education and this seemed the solution. The person that cast that vote was worked over when the vote was counted and when enough had been said, I admitted that I had cast it. We should not judge too harshly the homesteaders of that day for different reasons. Most of them were desperately poor and some emigrants from older states had come from sections that had voted bonds to get a railroad built into their county and had had to pay the bonds though the road was never constructed.

On May 4, 1891, voters in Stillwater approved a proposition to issue the bonds, and they were issued on June 8. A locating committee appointed by the Governor reported on July 11 that of the two sites offered, Stillwater was better than Perkins. Stillwater's bonds were found to be technically illegal and were burned in the presence of the Board of Trustees of the town on January 19, 1893.[1] In the meantime, July 26, 1892, a municipal election was held at which the bonds were voted. They sold for less than par, and after the credit of the town was exhausted, the amount was $352 short of the sum required. Business men of Stillwater gave their personal security for the $352 and loaned it to the town.

Then came the letting of the contract for the new building. That day the regents had inspected the farm in the forenoon and had taken luncheon with the farm superintendent, whose home was north of the present power plant. I had business with one member of the board and saw him after their meal. On coming back to town I met eight or ten men with their light coats flung over their arms and one or two with a roll of plans of the proposed building. They let the contract that afternoon. Imagine if possible how much that building would cost if built today. It would be many times the sum paid for it.

The first president of the College was Robert J. Barker of Crescent, Logan County. He was a farmer and a Short Horn cattle breeder, as well as a member of the First Legislative Assembly. The way that he was chosen president was illustrative of the politics of that day. Some one got through a bill which provided that the President of the College should be the President of the Board of Regents. This worked backward as well as forward, so that when the regents had been chosen by Governor George W. Steele and had elected one of their number President of their body, he was automatically President of A. and M. College. As a college president he could be classed as a good Short Horn breeder. Let me explain that even college men of that day had not the faintest idea of the possibilities of the school.

---

[1] An account, listing contemporary sources on how the $10,000 was raised, is given by B. B. Chapman, *The Founding of Stillwater*, pp. 141-145.

Annual Meeting of Oklahoma Historical Society, May 26, 1949, at Old Central, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater.

Instructors chosen before the A. and M. College opened were A. C. Magruder of Mississippi, George L. Holter of Pennsylvania, and Edward F. Clark, a local school man who looked after the student body in a supervisory capacity. The College was formally opened on December 14, 1891, in the Congregational Church with an enrollment which by the end of the first session reached 76 students. The students were about junior high school level. Prior to the completion of Old Central in 1894, school was held in the various churches of the town, but one year or term was about all any one church could stand the wild birds among them. Students were hard on buildings and pews. Magruder was of the family that supplied a General Magruder to the Confederate army in the Civil War. He taught Agriculture, as it was called in that day, but it included Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Dairying and Horticulture. To add to his chores he was also a lay reader in the Episcopal Church. Later "Alec," as he was called, studied medicine and became an M.D. and practiced in Colorado.

George L. Holter was a precise little chap that we all loved. He came to teach Chemistry and be Station Chemist. He could see farther into the future than the rest of us and bluntly told us, what we later realized, that we were breaking out too much grass land. He it was that brought John Fields to the state.

When asked once if he would take over the teaching of a class in Physics, Holter answered, "I can hold the book." The night after Holter was married some of his boy students brought up a small cannon and parking it on his lawn, fired it, breaking much of the window glass. The next morning when the class met, he handed the boys a bill from the town glazier that quoted the cost of the glass and labor in replacing it. The boys reached pretty deep but found the sum indicated before the class proceeded.

The long lines of milk trucks today waiting to unload their grade A milk at the Stillwater processing plants remind me of Holter's distress when he found a brown sediment in his bottled milk. He spoke to me about it but being unable to enlighten him I suggested that as a chemist he ought to be able in the laboratory to find what caused it.

Pay for faculty members of that day would not tempt a country school teacher in this modern high priced day. One regent, who was a grain and cotton buyer at Guthrie, complained that he could get a good stenographer in his office for $75.00 a month and he could not see how faculty members should ask more. Also there was not the present tenure in office, for at times then, even the President of the school was hired for a year at a time.

There were some fine men on the faculty in the old days as there are now but there was one purely political appointee who

aspired to shine all the time. He thought that he should be permitted to lead convocation and did but he did not know the Lord's Prayer. So one of the good sort would sit behind him and coach him quietly when he came to a halt. Finally, at the end of the term, the politician was assured that he had better take time out and learn that prayer for he would get no more help on it.

Old Central was begun in 1893 and finished the next year. It is told of a former Governor of Oklahoma, J. B. A. Robertson, that when he was a young man and freighting from the small station of Wharton on the Santa Fe, near Perry, to his home town of Chandler in Lincoln County, in territorial days, that he would of two roads choose the one that would bring him in sight of Old Central for by that road he would get to see a brick college building in the territory.

Mrs. Hastings and I attended a teachers' institute at Old Central in the summer of 1896. The County Superintendent, Miss Olivet M. Thornley, employed two teachers from Central Normal at Edmond and Professor James Means of the Stillwater schools to conduct it. The director was Miss Maude De Cou. She probably taught elocution at Edmond and one evening she gave us youngsters from the prairies and sticks of Oklahoma a real treat, for she gave us Dicken's *Tale of Two Cities.* Fifty-four years have rolled over my head since that evening yet I can still hear the rumble of the trumbils over the cobblestones of the Paris streets and see the old French women knitting beside the guillotine and watching the heads roll into the basket. I might add for the benefit of Oklahoma University that the bell in the tower of Old Central still had its clapper and we did not at that time have to ask the consent of the University if we might ring the bell.

Following that institute, I signed a contract to teach a seven-months school in my home district in the west end of Payne County. I was to draw the magnificent sum of $30.00 a month. I have many times thought probably that was all my teaching was worth. I might add that in the summer following, a young woman who was later County Superintendent taught a two-months term for the smaller children for the sum of $20.00 a month in our school building. My old school contract is still in existence and will be placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

SKULLYVILLE AND ITS PEOPLE IN 1889

*By G. E. Hartshorne, M.D.**

On May 26, 1889, fresh out of the Medical College of the University of Maryland, I hung out my shingle as "Physician and Surgeon" in a small Indian Territory village. The post office was Oak Lodge; but the community was known far and wide as Skullyville, a name coined from *iskulli,* Choctaw word for "money," and *ville,* French word for "town." It was here the Choctaws came to receive their payments from the United States Government soon after their migration to the West (1831-34).

Skullyville was located in the county of the same name, with the Arkansas River its northern boundary and the State of Arkansas its eastern boundary, joining two other Choctaw counties on the south and west. This area is now situated in the north end of LeFlore County, Oklahoma. The village was on the old Fort Smith and Fort Towson road, fifteen miles southwest of Fort Smith.

It was the first seat of the Government's location of an agency for the Choctaws in 1832, during the removal from their old homes in Mississippi and Alabama.[1] The first agency building stood until September 23, 1947, when it was accidentally destroyed by fire. It was originally three large hewn oak rooms with a gallery, or hallway, between the south and middle rooms, and a great stack rock chimney between the middle and north rooms. There was also a fireplace in the south room, with its rock chimney. The front entrance was a flight of seven steps leading to the gallery; another set of steps on the north led to the end of the long porch which shaded the entire front of the building.

---

* George Ewing Hartshorne, M.D., a native of Iowa, graduated from the Medical School of the University of Maryland April 18, 1893; completed a special course in the Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat College of Chicago in 1900, and attended clinics in the University of Austria at Vienna, Austria, in 1913. He first came to the Indian Territory in 1869 when his family resided for a time in the Cherokee Nation, in what is now Nowata County. After his marriage to Miss David Cornelia McCurtain, daughter of David Cornelius and Rebecca (Krebs) McCurtain, he made his home and practiced at Spiro until he located in McAlester in 1901. After World War I, during which he served as an eye specialist, he moved to Tulsa where he has continued his profession.—Ed.

[1] This post office was first established as Choctaw Agency on June 26, 1833, Francis W. Armstrong, Postmaster. Name changed to Scullyville on August 16, 1860, Francis E. Williams, Postmaster. The spelling "Scullyville" rather than "Skullyville" appeared on Post Office Department records. Name of post office changed to Oak Lodge on December 22, 1871, Henry W. Fannin, Postmaster.—George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 194, 219.—Ed.

Fifty yards to the northeast was a large, ever-flowing spring which was a deciding factor in the location of the agency. The spring is a boon to travelers to this day. Other factors were the presence of two other springs within a mile, the nearness of the Fort Smith-Fort Towson road, and of the Arkansas River only three miles distant, where a landing stage might be located.

In 1892, Thomas D. Ainsworth was making his home in the agency building when he discovered that leakage in the north room roof had rotted several of the logs there. He had this room, with its stack chimney, razed, and the outer walls of the other two rooms weather-boarded. New roofing, flooring and ceiling was added, and a new frame room built back of the south room, the gallery extended to run full length. Every stick of lumber and every red cedar shingle that went into the building was hand sawn and every nail hand wrought on the grounds.

One mile east of the agency was New Hope Seminary, a boarding school accommodating one hundred Choctaw girls, established in 1842 by the Choctaw Council and placed under the management of the Methodist Church. Seven miles north, Fort Coffee Academy was also established for Choctaw boys in the same year.[2]

A hundred yards from the Agency site is a cemetery wherein still stands a large sandstone monument with the date, 1832, engraved upon it. In this quiet, shaded retreat lie the remains of most of the Choctaws who have died in the vicinity since that early day. Here lie many of their slaves, too. And later on white people, renters and transients, laid their loved ones to rest here. Three of the five McCurtain brothers, members of a prominent Choctaw family, are buried in Old Skullyville Cemetery.

Mail came to Skullyville daily by hack, about eleven o'clock in the morning when the rivers were not too high, and returned about one o'clock in the afternoon. The post office then forwarded pouches of mail twice a week by horseback on two Star routes, to the west.

All merchandise, cotton and other produce was hauled overland to and from Fort Smith by ox and mule teams, at the time I moved to Skullyville, as river traffic had all but ceased some years before. Later, in 1895, the K. C. P. & G. (now Kansas City Southern) railroad from Kansas City to Port Arthur, Texas, relieved the strain and drew merchants to its station two miles west, at Spiro.

In 1889, all but a dozen of the people of Skullyville were Indian. There were about eighty-five men, women and children living within a half-mile circumference.

---

[2] Fort Coffee Academy for boys was established by the Choctaw Council in 1842, and placed under the supervision of Methodist missionary teachers. The school was housed in the abandoned buildings of old Fort Coffee which had been the principal U. S. military post on the Arkansas River from the time of the abandonment of Fort Smith in 1834 to its re-establishment in 1838.—Ed.

Home of John Garrett Ainsworth, erected at Skullyville in 1868.

Thomas D. Ainsworth conducted a large general store with the aid of his brothers, J. B. and J. T. Ainsworth. His cotton gin and corn mill were operated by Ed Baker, a white man. Ainsworth had, besides, large land holdings. Garrett Ainsworth (a cousin of T. D.) and his father, "Uncle" Spence Ainsworth, ran another large merchandising establishment, and had river bottom farms. E. W. Fannin, brother-in-law to the Ainsworths (T. D., J. B. and J. T.) operated a general store together with his bachelor brother John. He also dealt in livestock and owned bottom farmland.

Isom Watkins owned farms, dealt in cattle and ran a small store. He had, besides, a gin and a corn mill, operated for him by a Mr. Ellis. There were three blacksmith shops: one owned by J. P. Earp and Providence Chapman, one by Louis Hamby, Mr. Ellis' son-in-law, and one by "Old Man" Triplet.

Dr. Riley Foyil was the only physician there prior to my arrival. He also held the office of Oak Lodge postmaster, with Miss Lulu Donaldson as his assistant.

J. F. Tibbitts, an early white settler, had a general store. John Quinn, a retired gentleman from Ireland, lived on the main street with his Choctaw wife.

Near the cluster of stores lived Mrs. W. W. Ish and her family, Ed Bowman and his grandmother, Mrs. Blair, Mrs. Landers (Dr. Foyil's widowed sister) and her son, Mrs. A. W. Donaldson and her family, and the J. F. Tibbetts. At the edge of the ring, on the big road leading west, lived W. G. Kayser and family; he was a cattleman and landowner. On the east side of the village, on a road leading to the Poteau River, lived Mrs. M. A. Bower and family; Dr. Foyil and family, including his bachelor brother-in-law, Jim Stone; the W. W. Watkins family and the Robert Ward family.

Removed as we were from large cities and Eastern civilization, it may be thought we lived a dull life with nothing to break the routine of sowing, planting, trading and housekeeping. There was, however, lively social activity which, of course, often took in visitors from neighboring communities; and which always included the teachers at New Hope, since there was a dearth of unmarried young ladies in Skullyville.

Nearly every family employed Negro domestic servants, leaving the mistress of the house with some free time for recreation. There were card games, and dances a good many evenings. There were picnics, fish fries, horseback jaunts and "fortnightlies." Singers and lecturers of note and traveling stage troups, as well as fairs and circuses, drew us often to Fort Smith.

Godey's Ladies Book was not unheard of in our community; and our young maids and matrons sashayed about beautifully and stylishly

attired in the latest Parisian fashions. If they were not, themselves, adept at the needle, Fort Smith boasted dressmakers of skill and flair, as many a yellowed photograph will attest.

As a doctor, I find it interesting to remember that the general stores, in addition to carrying everything needed for farming and stock raising, also sold drugs—some of them deadly—over the counter, to anyone. They stocked quinine and calomel, of course, for combating the prevalent malaria, and paregoric for the ubiquitous "tummy ache." But strychnine could be bought also, and arsenic, laudanum, and morphine! It is refreshing to remember that these were used for legitimate purposes.

Nothing much remains of Skullyville now. All the stores, gins and blacksmith shops were torn down years ago, as were several of the homes; but some of the latter are still occupied by descendants of the original owners.

New Hope Seminary was destroyed by fire the last night of 1896. Where stood Fannin's store and the post office, the U. S. Highway now crosses almost at a right angle on the old wagon road. Strangers in cars and busses, speeding through, would never guess that the little gravel hill between two small creeks had been the business site of one of the Indian Territory's richest and most aristocratic communities.[3]

But Skullyville is still a very real place in the memory of the few old timers left, and their descendants. Most of those who were heads of families when I went there have long since passed away. I can think of only one now living, Mrs. Ed Bowman, née Gertrude Moore, now living in Spiro.

Of the "younger set," many have moved away. Most of those who remained in the vicinity, live now in Spiro, a few miles from their old homesteads. Of those, I may mention a Thomas D. Ainsworth's daughter, Jessie, who married Mrs. Ish's son, Edgar Moore, and daughter; Ella, who married Frank Tibbitts, Junior; Pauline Fannin Hickman, daughter of E. W. Fannin; Henry Fannin's widow, Florence; and Lena Moore, youngest daughter of Mrs. Ish, who married R. V. Smith, a newcomer to Spiro, all living in Spiro now.

---

[3] The Committee on Marking Historical Sites in the state, representing the Oklahoma Historical Society in co-operation with the State Highway Commission has erected two historical markers indicating the sites of the Choctaw Agency and old Fort Coffee, on U. S. Highway No. 271 about a mile east of the present town of Spiro, in Le Flore County.—Ed.

McLoud, 1895 to 1949

*By Klaris Molder**

At one time all the land between the North Canadian and the South Canadian rivers belonged to the Creeks and Seminoles that were two of the Five Civilized Tribes. By a treaty with these Indians following the Civil War, the western lands of these nations was ceded to the government for use in locating other tribes from other parts of the United States.[1]

The Potawatomi were allotted lands in severalty south of the North Fork of the Canadian river in what is now Pottawatomie county. Their surplus lands were opened to settlement, along with those of the Sac and Fox and Iowa tribes, September 22, 1891.

On May 25, 1895, the Kickapoo reserve lands lying in the already organized Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties of Oklahoma Territory were opened to settlement. The Kickapoo reserve lands assigned to the Kickapoo Indians by Executive Order August 15, 1883, lay directly south of the Iowa reserve between the Deep Fork and the North Fork of the Canadian river. They relinquished their comman lands, September 9, 1891. Congress ratified the Kickapoo agreement March 3, 1893 and each member of the tribe was allotted eighty acres. Two years passed before allotment for the Kickapoo was completed, and their surplus lands were opened to white settlement by proclamation of Grover Cleveland. The Indian reservations in the western part of Indian territory automatically became a part of Oklahoma Territory by provisions in the Organic Act of 1890.

Two men who played no small part in the history of McLoud were Ewers White and John Seikel. Ewers White had much influence with the Potawatomi. He came from Fredonia, Kansas to the opening of "Old Oklahoma," April 22, 1889, as deputy U. S. Marshal. An early day postmaster at Tecumseh, he later owned thousands of acres in the fertile valley between McLoud and Dale. He was appointed U. S. Marshal under President Coolidge. He died at Oklahoma City, May 25, 1925 from exposure received in line of duty.

---

* Klaris Molder (Mrs. J. C.), whose home is at Sulphur, Oklahoma, was born in the Kickapoo country north of McLoud, the daughter of Douglas and Mary (Lincoln) Kerr, pioneer settlers who had staked a claim at the opening of the Kickapoo lands on May 25, 1895. As a writer, Mrs. Molder has had articles, and feature stories published in leading newspapers of Oklahoma and in magazines with a national circulation. She has dedicated her story of McLoud to her mother, Mary Lincoln Kerr, and other pioneers who have made it a substantial, enterprising community.—Ed.

[1] Reservations in the former Creek and Seminole cessions were assigned the Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Iowa, Sac and Fox, and Pawnee tribes from Kansas. The Potawatomi Reservation lay between the Canadian and the North Fork rivers, extending west from the Creek and Seminole boundaries to the Indian Meridian.—Ed.

John Seikel came to the Potawatomi country from Shawnee County, Kansas in 1892, when there was nothing but Indian villages in the Canadian Valley. He probably has been in McLoud longer than any other person. He has always been an influence for the good of the town. John Seikel and his sons, and his brothers, Mike Seikel and Leo Seikel have always been prominent in the business life of the town. John Seikel was in the gin business in 1907. He was a hog buyer for twenty five years and established a general merchandise store in 1923 in the building where it is now. He owns the building erected by Craddock and Allen. John Seikel has twice been mayor of McLoud. John Seikel's wife was Miss Anna McMamara. She was primary teacher at Dale when she married John Seikel in 1901. Mrs. Mike Seikel is an early day citizen of McLoud who came from the Potawatomi side of McLoud. She was Miss Amy Means.

Settlers in the Kickapoo country who had a part in the history of McLoud were the Bill Russell's of the White community; the J. L. Roughton's of the Dewey community; and the Douglas Kerr family who settled in the Buck community. Mrs. Charles Clinard is a daughter of Bill Russell; Mrs. Ike Dodrill and Mrs. Tom Hill, daughters of J. L. Roughton.

It was the merging of the settlers on Kickapoo lands north of the river with the pioneers in the Potawatomi country south of the river and the coming of the railroad that started the town. It actually started on the Kickapoo side. T. J. O'Shaughnessy, Public Relations Director for the Chicago Rock Island and Pacific railroad company, has this to say:

"Our east-west line through Oklahoma was started in the year 1890 by a corporation known as Choctaw Coal & Railway Company which constructed a line between Wister and McAlester in order to open up coal properties which it had acquired under lease through the Department of Interior, principally from the Choctaw nation of Indians. This corporation also constructed a line of railroad between Oklahoma City and Fort Reno, and in the year 1893 was commencing the gap between McAlester and Oklahoma City, between which points is the town of McLoud.

"However, the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company did not make a success of developing its coal properties and went into receivership in 1893. The following year a group of eastern capitalists became interested and through foreclosure sale, acquired the coal mining property and the railroad as then constructed. Principally, because all of the properties were located in Indian territory and under the control of the United States government, the reorganized railroad was chartered in 1894 under an Act of Congress which permitted the reorganizers to chose their own corporate name. The name selected was the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad Company. This new company then proceeded to prosecute the construction of the railroad between McAlester and Oklahoma City and opened the line for operation on October 1, 1895, on which date between the points named, a through service of freight and mixed trains was put into effect, through passenger service being established at a later date.

"The Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad Company was leased to the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company in March, 1904. This lease was continued through the years until terminated by our recent reorganization January 1, 1948. The new Company—Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific—was authorized as part of the reorganization plan to dissolve the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad Company, and in the recent session of Congress, in June, 1948, a special Act was passed voiding the congressional charter of the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf. Consequently, this east-west line through Oklahoma is now simply a part of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company."

The original townsite of McLoud was owned by Edward J. Kelly and deeded to McLoud Townsite Company June 21, 1895. The townsite was surveyed by J. C. Wilkinson, and it is interesting to note that the certificate of survey was acknowledged by Cash Cade, an 89'er pioneer of Kingfisher County, and later resident of Shawnee, Pottawatomie County.[2] The original plat was filed June 22, 1895; the Craddock Addition filed December 3, 1901; Mendonca Addition, April 14, 1902; Rosedale Addition, January 30, 1918; High School Addition, February 25, 1947 and amended plat out lot addition, filed April 4, 1947.

A petition for a city election was filed June 2, 1896 and the election held June 30, 1896; incorporation was declared July 7, 1896. The town of McLoud actually started with the Indian village on the Kickapoo side of the river.

George Rose started the First National Bank in 1896. The town's only bank, The Bank of Commerce, was organized September 12, 1901. The first directors were Charles E. Billingsley, president; M. Laupheimer, vice president; H. E. Green, cashier; J. C. Hodges and P. O. Sullivan. It was chartered for fifty years May 1, 1907 as the Bank of Commerce. Directors were J. Edd Craddock, Emmett Craddock, A. H. Young, secretary. George Boggs was President, and Sam Whitson, Cashier. According to the minutes, the president was allowed a salary of one hundred dollars a month. January 5, 1918 Willard Johnson, Shawnee, became president and J. C. Miller, McLoud, cashier. Ike D. Barrett, managing officer of the bank since 1926, was elected president, January 7, 1937. On April 11, 1949, there were $792,429.20 on deposit in the Bank of Commerce, McLoud. Directors are Ike Barrett, Essie Barrett, Edgar Ellsworth, Jr. and Lee Melton.

---

[2] The original townsite of McLoud commenced at the section corner of the southeast corner of the southeast quarter of Section 9, Township 11, Range 3 East, Indian Meridian, Oklahoma Territory, running fence along the south line of said quarter section for 2929 feet to south half of said quarter section 2640 feet to the east line of said quarter section, thence south along east line of said quarter 4370 feet then to the south line of the Choctaw railroad right-of-way, thence easterly along the south line of the same right-of-way to a point where said line intersects the south line of Section 10, Township 11, Range 2 East, thence west along south line of said section 1470 feet to place of beginning."—Records in Office of County Clerk of Pottawatomie County, at Shawnee.

The earliest newspaper obtainable in the preparation of this article was a copy of *The Weekly Observer,* dated September 21, 1906.[3] It was a consolidation of *The McLoud Sunbeam* and *The McLoud Standard.* Items of interest from *The Weekly Observer* were that the silver-tongued orator, T. P. Gore, was scheduled to speak in Hollis Hall, McLoud. In the city Democratic primary, J. M. Howard and A. J. Carlton tied; J. W. Hatfield 38 and J. C. Mooney 18; J. A. Stidham 35 and E. Myers 18; Ben Venable 32 and Walter Franklin 18. Winners were to be delegates to a convention for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

Jess Barnett had bought the Staley Butcher shop; W. P. Ravelette advertised as a house mover; W. S. Beesley had been visiting J. W. Cook; the Catholic Ladies were serving a dinner to help buy a cemetery site at Riverside; there was a column of local news from Minneha; the Rock Island advertised excursions to Colorado. In a local interest column, Wardie Proctor had gone to work for O. H. Plater; Dr. J. I. Lyons' team had run away, and the buggy was a wreck. J. L. Nations was looking over Platt National Park in the Chickasaw country; Tom Hayes had malaria fever. The First National Bank, with Tom Hollis, president and L. B. Heliker, Cashier, advertised a general banking business with a capital of $25,000.

Dill Barnett was manager of the Farmers Market House in the old Seikel building. There was a Whittet studio; and Mesdames Enlow and Gray were to have a grand opening of Millinery; Arthur Hollis was Worshipful Master of the Masonic lodge; Goldie Kennedy, Noble Grand of the Rebekah, and W. Bourke, Noble Grand of the IOOF; R. M. C. Hill, Commander of the Maccabees. All lodges met in Younkman Hall. J. A. Mendonca sold wagons. J. W. Terry had a farm for sale. And Chill Tonic ads were plentiful.

Sam Elzo had the first theater and also the first roller rink. The theater was called "Rex." Breckenbridge Glass and Scott Yates built the first telephone system in 1903. It is said that Dr. R. C. Kaylor had the first automobile.

Mrs. Mattie Ross was pastmaster under President Grover Cleveland; and Marsh Younkman, postmaster under President McKinley. Dr. Charles Craddock was one of the early mayors of the City. The Corner Drug Store, now owned by Courtney Lisle, was started by Dr. J. I. Lyons at the opening of the town. It was later owned by J. C. Mooney and Dr. J. Frank Cox. Lisle has owned the drug store since 1920.

Much of the town's social life has centered around the Eastern Star. Beatrice Chapter No. 91, was instituted by Shawnee Chapter at Masonic Hall, June 19, 1907, with Fannie Post, Oklahoma City,

[3] Copy of *The Weekly Observer* for September 21, 1906, has been placed in the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Klaris Molder.—Ed.

instituting officer. Mrs. Carrie Boggs was Worthy Matron and J. W. Hatfield, Worthy Patron. Charter for McLoud chapter No. 193 was granted February 12, 1909.[4]

January 17, 1948 McLoud Masons celebrated their fiftieth anniversary in fitting ceremony. The nucleus of McLoud Masonic lodge was one instituted at Dale and moved to McLoud June 22, 1899. A charter was granted McLoud Lodge No. 126, February 10, 1909. There were eighty charter members. A list would duplicate the men's names found among the Eastern Star charter members.[5]

The oldest church building in McLoud, still in use, is the Methodist, built in 1897. It was called the Arcadia charge of Oklahoma Conference of Indian Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Ben Venable, owner of the town's first hotel, hauled rock for the foundation of the church. There was no money for pews, and each family bought their own. The Reverend O. T. Noble was the first pastor, followed by J. E. Desch. The Reverend Amos, father of Mae Rose, formerly Mrs. Ewers White, was pastor in 1906. Some of the charter members were the Venable family, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Mary Craddock and Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Gillis. The Catholic Church was built in 1903. John Seikel has been a member of the board of trustees since it was organized.

The first school was a frame building where Mrs. Ike Dodrill now lives. School board members in 1908 were John Seikel, Edd Craddock and George Boggs. A $16,000 bond election for a new building was in 1909. A red brick building was erected at the south end of Main street. In 1920 this building burned. Bonds were again voted in 1921 and teachers held school in churches till the new building was completed. At the state school land sale in 1920, John Seikel bought the school lease and deeded the site where the building stands to the district. One of the early school superintendents was George Johnston. Mrs. Josephine Roseberry was the first principal of the consolidated school. An early day teacher of the community who might be mentioned here was Charles Holtzman, the

[4] Charter members for McLoud Chapter were: Mr. and Mrs. T. L. Courtney, Mrs. J. B. Allen, Mrs. R. F. Anderson, Mrs. Minnie L. Brown, Mrs. H. L. Brown, Mrs. Lou Craddock, Mrs. Goldie Franklin, Mrs. Minnie Fry, Mrs. Myrtle Glass, Mrs. Monta Hayes, Mrs. W. H. Hollis, Dr. R. C. Kaylor, Mrs. Abbie Kohler, Mrs. Rachel Proffitt, R. M. Proffitt, M. J. Smith, J. E. Son, Mrs. Pearl Stowell, Mrs. Amanda Wallingford, Mrs. Mamie Young, Mrs. Lyons, Mrs. Emma Hollis, Mrs. Dixie Yates, Mrs. America Hayes, Mrs. Emma Hatfield, Mrs. Idella Hayes, Mrs. Etta Grocian, Mrs. Ada Anderson, Mrs. Susan B. Allen, Mrs. Verna Oliver, Mrs. Lucy Hampton, Mrs. Dora Hayes, Mrs. Lillie Son, Mrs. Alice Younkman, Mrs. L. A. Hampton, M. A. Younkman, A. E. Grocian, George Boggs, J. W. Hatfield, Ella Kaylor and Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Hayes. The writer was initiated into McLoud chapter No. 193 February 23, 1918.

[5] Others not named there include Brack McGlathery, George Monroe, Otto Loessin, George Prince, John Phillips, Bill Russell, Frank Routh, George Stowell, Clinton Shreve, Dillard Saylor, William Wanhoozer, Nathaiel Whittet, Chris Kohler, James Kennedy, William Jarvis, Thomas E. Cooley, Arthur Cole, Otto Baade, William Beesley, Ezra Bullard, William Baade.

writer's first teacher. He attended normal school at Chandler and studied under J. B. A. Robertson who later became Governor of Oklahoma. Charles Holtzman's son, Glenn, was the first baby delivered by Dr. R. M. C. Hill after he established practice in McLoud.

The Garner family was among the earliest families. Isaac Newton Garner, owner of the first lumber yard and father of Mrs. R. C. Kaylor came in 1900. He built and lived for years in the house now owned by the widow of Douglas Kerr, Mrs. Mary L. Kerr. The writer was married in this home on May 20, 1923.

The Rooker family came to McLoud from the Potawatomi side. They had come to the river bottom near Dale from Blue Springs, Georgia in 1901. Since 1920 Fred Rooker and Dewey Rooker have been prominent business men in McLoud.

Mrs. Walter Franklin owns the post office building and the Owl Drug Store. She came from Wapanucka, Indian Territory in 1899 as Goldie Kennedy. She married Walter Franklin in 1908. Walter Franklin had staked a claim on the Kickapoo side. Dr. R. C. Kaylor has maintained an office in the Owl Drug store since he came out of school and started practice in 1900. Dr. Charles Craddock and Dr. Emmett Craddock were first owners of the Owl Drug Store.

Hayes Brothers (Charles, Tom and Richard) were early day merchants. They came from Arkansas and worked for Craddock Brothers till the Craddock building burned in 1900.

The first census gave the town a population of 787. The 1949 population is about twelve hundred, two hundred of which are Negroes. It is on U. S. Highway 270, has had electricity since 1912, gas since 1928 and water and sewerage since 1928.

The town of McLoud has no bonded indebtedness. It boasts the softest water and the lowest taxes in the state. There are forty-five businesses exchanging goods for profit. At different times it has been a state leader in hog market, cotton, sweet potatoes. Now the big industry is blackberries and bids fair to continue.

The annual Blackberry festival was held on July 4, 1949, in Memorial park that was donated to the town by John Seikel in memory of War dead. Thousands participated in the double celebration. Sixteen-year old Patsy Harwell, Tecumseh, reigned as Blackberry Queen.

The festival opened with a parade of beautifully decorated floats, headed by the American Legion with music by Harrah High School Band. Typical of a McLoud Fourth of July celebration was an Indian stomp dance, and the usual fireworks.

As an advertising stunt, the McLoud Chamber of Commerce, headed by B. M. Seikel, sent President Harry S. Truman a crate of blackberries on June 28, the peak day of the harvest. They reached the president by overnight-air-freight. On June 29, 1949, McLoud made the front page of *The Daily Oklahoman* with a story about the President receiving the blackberries.

CREEK INDIAN BURIAL CUSTOMS TODAY

*By Mrs. Irwin A. Watson**

Students are taught in their social study classes about the customs and traditions of the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, but are told very little about the Creek Indians who are their classmates and friends. Many people have lived for years, probably all of their lives in the Creek Nation but have very erroneous impressions of these citizens and the part they play in our complex civilization. Few know about their customs, traditions, and culture. As a matter of fact, many have never attended a Creek religious service or a funeral, and have not even seen a stomp dance or stick ball game. Many people pride themselves on knowing all about the past history of the Indians but know little about them as they are today.

The Creeks as a whole have no connected idea of their own history and the boys and girls have little idea of how social progress has surged against their beloved traditions and institutions. The Creeks, for the most part, have been assimilated into the American way of life, and many outstanding men and women continue to bring honor to their people.

The history of the Creeks since the Civil War has been almost a Complete blank, for these people have been neglected by historians.[1] Journalists and travelers have written about other tribes of Indians but in the absence of convenient data, historians have overlooked the Creeks. The story of their life and customs has remained hidden

---

* The writer is indebted to a number of Creek Indians for valuable assistance rendered in the preparation of this paper. They gave encouragement by helping to assemble the data, by explaining Indian traditions and customs, by interpreting hymns, prayers and sermons and by reading the manuscript and making necessary corrections. Through their kind co-operation and sound advice this research has been possible. Special acknowledgments are made to the following Indian friends who assisted in this undertaking: Chief Roly Canard, present Chief of the Creek Nation; Mrs. Juanita Hill Yahola, Miss Lizzie Hill, Mrs. Lena Hill, Mr. Daniel W. Barnette, Mr. Daniel Buck, Mrs. Pauline McKinney, Miss Geneva Scott, Mr. Amos King.

I am indebted to the many Indian boys and girls whom I have taught and have learned to love. It is they who have given me the desire to record Indian customs so that they and their posterity may appreciate their heritage.—Mrs. Irwin A. Watson, Wetumka, Oklahoma.

[1] The most complete account of the history of the Creek Nation in the Indian Territory before 1907 is found in Angie Debo's interesting volume *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941). The Bureau of American Ethnology has published John R. Swanton's detailed studies of early Creek customs and social organization in several volumes: *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Bulletin 73), *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Bulletin 137), and "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy" in 42*nd Annual Report.*—Ed.

in the tribal records, in newspapers published in the Creek Nation, the reports of their government agents, and in the memories of the older Indians. With the fading of these records and the passing of these aged Indians most of the traditions and customs of these people will be lost to posterity. This article is an attempt to record the traditional Creek Indian funeral as it is observed today.

When a Creek Indian passes away, the body is taken to the mortician and prepared for burial. The funeral is held three or four days after the death of the person. The body of a Christian Indian is usually taken to his church. As the hearse approaches the church, the bell is tolled and rings until the casket is placed in the building and the mourners are assembled for the first service of the funeral. Relatives and friends come from far and near and camp for the duration of the funeral. After the brief religious service is held at the church, the body is sometimes taken to the camp house where it lies in state for the period of two or three days until the evening before the funeral. The relatives and friends usually sit up at his camp house until midnight, each night preceding the final wake, and then sleep the remainder of the night on pallets on the floor around and under the coffin.

If the casket is not taken to the camp house, it lies in state at the church. Here the men and women sit up until midnight but at a late hour most of the women and children go to bed, while the men remain at the church all night. The deceased is never left alone from the time of death until the interment since an attendant remains near the casket at all times.

On the night before the funeral some churches still have an all night funeral wake which consists of a religious service that lasts until midnight, after which a supper for all present is held, and then another service continues till daybreak. The forenoon of the funeral day is taken up with religious services consisting of songs, prayer and scripture readings. A dinner is served at noon and the formal funeral service is held at 1:30 or 2:00 p.m.

The following is a description of a typical all night wake which was held at the Wetumka Indian Baptist Church which is located two miles south of Wetumka. This church was organized before the Civil War and is still functioning.

Since the weather was warm and a large crowd was expected, the funeral service was held in the big open air tabernacle adjoining the church. The pavilion is a commodious, electrically lighted addition having a concrete floor and home-made wooden benches which face a raised pulpit platform. The deceased was a returned soldier so the casket was covered with an American flag and was banked with beautiful floral pieces. A picture of the boy, in full army uniform, was on an easel near the head of the casket.

The all-night service was to have started at 8:00 p.m. but it was not until 8:45 that a deacon gave the signal assembling the services by blowing four loud mournful blasts on a cow's horn. This instrument is a kind of bugle with which hunters call their dogs.

The people began to come to the service from their cars and from the camp houses and tents around the church camp grounds. As the Indians met their friends, they greeted them with a hearty handshake as is their custom. They sat in small groups or stood about talking quietly and earnestly. Some of the older men and women sat all alone in quiet meditation. Five men with broom sticks in their hands acted as ushers and moved the people to places where they wanted them to sit. Their autocratic seating of the crowd was accomplished by gestures with the stick accompanied by facial contortions including the peculiarly Indian custom of "pointing with the lips." These ushers seated people in the front pews first, leaving the benches in the rear for late comers.

The best singers among the women who are known as "Leaders of the Church" sat at the right in front of the pulpit faced by the deacons and preachers who were to take the initiative in the service. The men were shown to places on one side of the building and the women were seated on the other. It is not customary in the Indian church for men and women to be seated together. This practice is seldom broken except in an instance as on the final day of the funeral when the family of the deceased is not separated.

There were enough little boys present to fill about three benches. These children seemed to enjoy their association throughout the entire evening for they quietly laughed and whispered among themselves. When they tired of the service, they got up and moved about. The boys often left the tabernacle to play a game of chase or to go to their camp house to get something to eat or to take a nap.

There was a bucket of drinking water hanging from a wire at the back of the shed. If anyone felt thirsty, he walked to the pail and took a drink from the dipper. The little girls were often sent to the bucket to get a drink for a mother or a small child. All of those present felt free to walk in and out or to move about as they desired. They often walked across the platform from which the minister preached.

The song service began at 8:50 p.m. and lasted for about thirty minutes. The man or woman designated to lead the hymn remained in his seat and started the melody. After he had sung a few notes, the congregation joined in with beautiful harmony. The pastor often designated a certain person to lead a song or prayer but if a member felt the urge to sing a favorite hymn or to offer a prayer, he did so and the congregation followed his lead. Some of the singers had strong, magnificent voices while others had soft sweet melodious ones. All of the voices blended in the lovely rendition of their native

Creek sacred songs. The music contained many beautiful harmonic and minor chords. Indians employ a different tone scale and rhythm pattern from the Europeans. They seem to sense a kinship with the deepest meaning of life. The music was very loud and fast, quite in contrast to European funeral strains. However, some other Indian denominations sing very soft slow funeral music which is more in keeping with the European style of a funeral dirge.

The hymns were interspersed with prayers which were all said in Creek and were entirely unintelligible to a person who did not know their language. Their supplication sounded somewhat like a chant with their rising and falling inflection and resonant cadence. The congregation joined audibly in the prayers. Their high and low voices made pleasing music which touched one's emotions.

A brother of the church made a brief talk in Creek, then read from the Bible in English and translated it into Creek. Then the clergyman preached the evening sermon in his native tongue. He talked without script or notes. He had impressive inflection and expression in his voice which made the sermon sound like the chant of an auctioneer. The only words that could be understood by the white visitors were the proper names. On that occasion, he used for his text the story about Christ raising Lazarus from the dead. He quite often repeated the same words and phrases for emphasis. He used many graceful gestures which made his hour's discourse very impressive. While the minister spoke some of the adults seemed tired and nodded. Several of the little boys gave up their play, lay down on the benches and went to sleep. Mothers came and went putting their children to bed on the pallets and beds in the various camp houses.

Just before the conclusion of the sermon, one of the deacons went across the platform on which the speaker stood, opened a door directly behind the pulpit, and procured a short bench and set it on the ground beside the shed. When the sermon was finished, the people began to sing and the usher placed the bench in the aisle near the casket. The preacher asked for sinners or backsliders to come and take a seat on the bench as an indication of their desire for the prayers of the congregation. No one presented himself; therefore, after the first song was finished, the usher removed the bench and other songs and prayers were entered into by all.

At 11:30 p. m. the service was concluded. At that late hour some little two and three-year-old children were still awake, going in and out of the tabernacle, eating candy, cookies or other food, while babies in arms were drinking from nursing bottles which were filled with "Koolaid" or coffee instead of the customary cow's milk or formula. The congregation quietly left the church. Some returned to their homes, a few went to their camps and prepared for bed, while others sat by the casket with members of the bereaved family in readiness for the early morning service.

After a short intermission, food was brought out and placed on the benches for all to partake of the midnight snack. Large kettles of boiling coffee were imbibed. This stimulant was drunk to help the worshippers stay awake till dawn. Sandwiches, cookies, doughnuts, potato chips and foods that were good with coffee were served.

After all had eaten and another intermission was observed, the religious service was resumed at 2:00 a. m. This service consisted of songs, prayers, and scripture readings. Those who had anything to say addressed the group. Each preacher present offered words of condolence. This program continued until dawn. The meeting was dismissed with a prayer and another intermission followed.

A short devotional was held for all campers in the church just before breakfast was served at about 8:00 a.m. All visitors were welcomed to the various camps to partake of a bountiful breakfast. The blessing is always said in every camp at each meal. Either a man or a woman is called upon to give thanks for the food, but if a preacher is at the table, he is expected to offer the prayer.

The forenoon service convened at 10:00 a.m. and lasted until 11:00 a.m. This program was very much like that of the evening service of the night before. It consisted of songs, prayers, scripture reading, and testimonials. The worshipers adjourned to prepare for the noon meal.

At 1:30 a.m., on the day of the funeral, a very long table was placed under the beautiful native oak and elm trees. This table was laden with many different kinds of delicious foods. Some were cooked and served in typical European style, while others were the traditional Indian dishes such as *sofkey, apuske,* "cold flour", and blue dumplings, or blue bread. Indian cooking has always been a highly specialized native art of which the Creeks have been justly proud. Corn was their staple article of food when the White men came to America and the natives still make many delicious dishes from the grain. The corn is beaten in a mortar (a log that has been hollowed out by fire) with a heavy topped wooden pestle, to a form of hominy grits or coarse corn meal. The husks are winnowed from the corn in a large shallow woven basket. The sofkey is made by cooking the beaten corn to a form of gruel thin enough to drink. A little "drip lye" is added to give the corn a yellow color and a distinctive flavor. "Drip lye" is made by pouring a little boiling water through clean ashes so that the lye drips out of the bottom of the ash container. The sofkey is set aside for two or three days till it reaches a stage of fermentation. Some people like the sofkey when it is fresh, while others desire the sour taste in the dish. The liquid is drunk for a beverage after which the corn is eaten with a spoon. Most Indians eat the dish without salt, while a few require the seasoning. Blue dumplings are made of the beaten corn and the burned shells of field peas. Small flat patties are made of the grain

and cooked in boiling water. The pea hulls give the dish a blue color. The apuske is a food drink made by stirring a meal made of parched corn into water, sweetened to taste and iced. The corn for this dish is used when it is at the firm roasting-ear stage and is parched in hot ashes. This drink is very refreshing and appetizing.

While the dinner was being served, a few members of the family and some of their friends sat in the church near the casket in a reverent attitude. These relatives relinquished their places of mourning to others while they ate their lunch. After everyone had partaken of the bountiful feast, the women cleared away the food which remained and washed the dishes. Each one put his property away in his own camp house. The men removed the table and replaced the benches in the building. Then everyone prepared for the afternoon service.

The casket, which had been taken into the church after midnight, was again moved to the open pavilion so that more friends could be seated in comfort for the funeral. The coffin was then more profusely banked with cut flowers and blooming plants.

At 11:30 a.m., on the day of the funeral, a very long table was people to make ready for the meeting. Fifteen minutes later, he blew the horn again for all to assemble for the funeral service. While the crowd was gathering a guest book was passed around for the signatures of those present. These pages were beautifully lettered since a majority of Indians are expert penmen. All who signed this register later received cards acknowledging their presence at the funeral. The ushers again seated those assembled by placing the bereaved family, men and women together, on the right side, near the casket. All of the other men and women were separated—the men on one side and the women on the other. Since the pews were crowded, the little boys sat on the ground beside the tabernacle. Chairs, benches and stools were brought from the camp houses and placed near the shed so that all could see and hear the service.

All present, even the babies, were very quiet. There was no whispering and all had very sober faces. The family and close friends seemed grief-stricken and many wept audibly. Since this was the funeral of an Indian soldier, the National Guard presented the colors and took their station as honor guards. After all were seated and everything was in readiness for the funeral, four long blasts were blown on the horn announcing the beginning of the service. The pianist played appropriate introductory music after which the minister made several announcements. He spoke in Creek first and then repeated his statements in English. A beautiful Creek funeral song was sung by all of the assembled Indians. The hymn was followed by a prayer in Creek by a member of the church. Several familiar funeral songs were sung in English by a choir of young Indians. The obituary was first read in Creek and later

interpreted in English. Then, as a special request, a young Indian man sang a Creek song which was the favorite of the deceased. The sermon was preached in English by the pastor. His text was: "If a man die, shall he live again?" He used no notes or script and delivered a scholarly sermon of great beauty and with extreme reverence. Then words of exhortation were uttered by a young Indian in his native tongue.

The casket was not opened but all reverently filed by to view the bier. All were again seated and the names of the pall-bearers and flower girls were announced. The colors were retired, and the people filed from the church. Most of them went to their cars and prepared to go to the cemetery.

The flag draped coffin was placed in the hearse and as the funeral procession started to move away, the large bell mounted on four tall poles in the church yard, was tolled, and could be heard as long as the cortege was leaving the church. The body was laid to rest in a community cemetery some ten miles from the church. Many other Indians had been buried there as could be seen by the wooden or concrete houses built over the grave as is the Indian custom.

National Guards were lined up at attention when the hearse accompanied by the relatives and friends arrived at the cemetery. The casket was placed over the grave, the guards fired the farewell salute and taps was sounded by the buglar. Contrary to the opinion held by many, that most Indians are stoic and show little or no feeling, much emotion was expressed at this funeral. As taps was being played, many wept audibly and one bereaved woman collapsed.

A Creek song was then sung, a prayer was uttered and the casket was lowered into the vault. A beautiful hand-made quilt was placed over the casket and the lid was then put on the vault. The grave was partially filled and the workmen stood aside for the time being and the two men took shovels of dirt and stood at either end of the grave. As the Indians sang, all who were friends of the deceased passed by the grave, took a handful of dirt and dropped it in the open pit. This ceremony signified their last handshake with the deceased. The grave was then filled, the flowers were placed on the newly made mound and the final prayer and song was sung and the mourners departed. Indians always observe the graveside rites of a prayer and song beside the open sepulcher and a prayer and song over the filled grave regardless of weather or time of day. They always accord this respect to their loved ones at their burial-places.

Some Indians today still practice burying food and other possessions in the casket. Quite often a nursing bottle and canned milk is placed in the coffin with a baby. Scissors, thread, needles, and a thimble are buried with a woman. Tobacco, food, clothing, and cherished possessions of the deceased are often buried with the

body or placed in the little house over the grave. Missionaries say that they have covered up in graves many hundreds of dollars worth of valuable blankets and shawls. Once a baby was buried in a buckskin dress which was adorned with five hundred dollars worth of elk teeth. The practice of taking food to the grave and leaving it was common among the Indians in the early days and is still practiced by some.

The friends of the family always dig the grave and Indians think it is indeed very unfortunate if it is necessary for the family to make the excavation and that it is disgraceful for the friends to allow the family to pay for the work.

Many modern Indians still build a covering, which they call a grave house, over the grave. The small house is a little larger than the grave and about two feet high, having a gabled roof. Some of the structures are wood and are covered with shingles, while some are of concrete and are flat on the top. Some families put tomb stones at the head and foot of the little house. Often the picture of the deceased is placed on the headstone.

If Herodotus had not recorded the deeds of the Greeks and Persians we would know nothing of the Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis. If someone does not write down the story of the social and cultural life of our own Creek Indians, this romantic heritage will be lost to posterity.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Story of Oil in the Southwest

The story of development of oil in the Southwest is told in Carl Coke Rister's fascinating book, *Oil, Titan of the Southwest,* published by the University of Oklahoma Press (1949), at Norman, Oklahoma. This splendid volume illustrated with rare photographs, maps, graphs, and appended tables of statistics, is the work of one of the Nation's outstanding historians and writers. It gives the remarkable account of Oklahoma's "place in the sun" in world-wide oil development.

Outcroppings of green oil at well known water springs in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) were noted in the reports of the U. S. Indian agents in the early 1840's. In 1859, the first vein of oil was accidentally struck in this region when Lewis Ross was drilling a deep well for salt water near the Grand Saline, present Salina, in Mayes County. The first oil company in Oklahoma was organized in 1872, as the "Chickasaw Oil Company," to develop oil production in the vicinity of the well known oil springs near the home of Governor Winchester Colbert in the Chickasaw Nation. In 1884, the Cherokee Oil Company, organized by law of the Cherokee National Council, and the Choctaw Oil and Refining Company, organized by law of the Choctaw General Council, made two grants, covering a total of 13,000,000 acres, for the development of oil within the two nations, now Eastern Oklahoma. Two years later, an oil rig was up on Clear Boggy River about fourteen miles west of Atoka, in old Atoka County, Choctaw Nation, and another was started at Alum Bluff on the Illinois River, in Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation. The first drilling for oil in Oklahoma was at the Atoka well, and a showing of oil discovered in 1888. The first commercial oil well in Oklahoma was struck in 1897, at Bartlesville. The discovery of oil in the Bland-Clinton well at Red Fork, Tulsa County, on June 25, 1901, brought nation wide publicity and development that gave Tulsa the title of "Oil Capital of the World."

A small leaflet recently printed complimentary by the Bartlesville Chamber of Commerce at Bartlesville has been brought to the attention of the Editorial Department through the kind interest of Nellie V. Johnstone Cannon, great granddaughter of the last chief of the Delawares, the Reverend Charles Journeycake. The interesting notes in this leaflet are as follows:

THE STORY OF "NELLIE JOHNSTONE NO. 1"

The reproduction of the oil painting by Preston Gaddis of the first producing oil well in Oklahoma, and the first well drilled into the famous Bartlesville Oil Sand, is pictorially and historically correct. It has been

checked by pioneers who were present when the well was brought in on April 15, 1897, and with all historical records. The painting was unveiled at the official Fifty-first Anniversary Celebration by the Chamber of Commerce, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, and has been approved by the oil industry and historical authorities as a faithful portrayal of the scene as the oil poured out after the well was shot with a charge of nitro-glycerin.

The well was known as the Nellie Johnstone No. 1. It was owned by the Cudahy Oil Company and was drilled by McBride and Bloom. The site referred to as "on the bank of the Caney." At that time Bartlesville was a small settlement sprawled on both side of Caney River. The well, with a reproduction of the original derrick, is perpetuated as a memorial in Johnstone Park at Bartlesville.

The Cherokee Indian [in the painting], standing by the tree, little dreamed what the term "Royalty" would mean to his kinsmen, how the discovery of oil would affect the growth of industry and commerce in the Southwest, the contribution which oil would make to the development of trade and transportation throughout the world, or what a decisive factor oil and oil products would make to the winning of two world wars.

—M.H.W.

Illustrated Brochure

The Oklahoma Historical Society has been lacking through the years in informational literature relating to the Society. To its members and friends through the State and Nation, to the more than 50,000 visitors passing annually through its halls, and for the thousands of students over the state calling for information, it had nothing to give. The Legislature in its session of 1949 appropriated $3000 as a Revolving Fund for the purchase of such literature. Under the direction of the Secretary, Dr. Charles Evans, the Board of Directors of the Society has published a beautiful brochure of 24 pages, 7½″ x 10″ and of highly artistic 4-colored work. It contents embraces a pointed history of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a brief statement of the nature of its various departments, a description of its $500,000 building, a presentation of its museum with its 15,000 and more historical relics, artifacts, pictures, etc., its Portrait Hall and other information concerning the work and possessions of the Society.

The front cover presents the Historical Building and its interesting surroundings in four colors and this is followed with 18 pages, each presenting in splendid form a picture of one of the special features of the museum with a brief historical sketch. It also contains the Oklahoma State Song, the names of the Board of Directors, Officers and Staff Members at the time the brochure was developed. The back cover is done in four colors revealing an Indian dance and Lake Texhoma.

The Board of Directors received copies in their last meeting, January 26, 1950, and a vote of thanks and appreciation was extended by the Board to the Secretary and all who had assisted in the

Historical Marker erected at Red Fork on U.S. Highway #66. Dedicated March 23, 1950.

development of the brochure. This pamphlet will be sold for 50¢ and will be available to members of the Society and its many visitors. All monies received will be returned to the Revolving Fund. Those wishing to secure a copy or several copies of this brochure will address the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Charles Evans, Secretary.

Communications From Dr. Grant Foreman Relating to the Indian Archives and to the Library

Special communications were received in October and December, 1949, by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, then President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from Dr. Grant Foreman reporting on recent accessions to the Indian Archives, and calling attention to the possibility of securing more valuable records for preservation in the Archives and the Library of the Historical Society. Dr. Harbour heartily endorsed Dr. Foreman's communications and has requested that all who have any old letters, documents and reports relating to Oklahoma write the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Dr. Charles Evans, with the view of placing them in the Archives and Library of the Society for permanent preservation.

October 15, 1949

To the President
and
Board of Directors of the
Oklahoma Historical Society,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

I am glad to report to you that I have this week, on October 11th, shipped to the Society Building in Oklahoma City twenty-four cartons containing 392 volumes of Five Civilized Tribes and miscellaneous records of great historical value. This makes a grand total of approximately 1800 bound volumes received from the Five Civilized Tribes Agency alone. These volumes were delivered to me for the Society by virtue of an act of congress of March 27, 1934, which was enacted for our benefit after its introduction by Congressman Hastings. In order to secure the approval by the Indian Department of this act of congress, I went to Washington a number of years ago and in company with Congressman Hastings appeared before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and explained to him the benefits to be derived by entrusting these records to us under conditions to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior. In receiving these volumes we have specifically agreed to the terms prescribed by the Secretary which are set out by him, and a copy of which is in the possession of the president of this Society.

To secure the last 392 volumes referred to was attended by some difficulty due to my illness, so that I was unable to visit the Indian Superintendency at Muskogee as I should like to have done.

However, though I am required by my doctor to limit my physical activities greatly, I did manage one trip to the office of the Superintendent, in company with Mrs. Foreman, and the Superintendent very kindly came out to see me, so that we could discuss the subject and arrive at some

agreement about the method of handling these records. To that end I employed Mrs. Ida Green, a very competent former employee of the Superintendent's office, now retired. She was able to consult with me frequently when I gave her all needed instructions for carrying on the work.

You will be interested in knowing that this latest addition to our archives gives us a grand total of 1800 bound volumes received from the superintendency at Muskogee, and puts us in possession of historical records relating to the Five Civilized Tribes of extra-ordinary value.

These latest volumes became available to us through the natural process of obsolescence—a word which I may use to suggest records that from time to time cease to have current use and value in Indian administration and therefore, under the law, became available to us.

This same process has been in operation with respect to Indian records in agencies scattered throughout Oklahoma which are named in the act of Congress. Here one will read that the same delivery to our Society is permissable concerning records of twenty-four Indian tribes named in the act of congress.

After the enactment of this law of March 27, 1934, we employed Miss Martha Buntin to visit the various Indian agencies and secure such records as were no longer needed in Indian administration. She was able to locate, with the cooperation of the agents in whose custody they were, a large amount of material which she boxed up and sent in to the Society Building, requiring nearly seventeen truckloads as I remember it. All this material was filed, indexed, and catalogued by Mrs. Looney, and is now in her custody, available to anyone desiring to examine them in their study. Mrs. Looney's reports will show how extensive these collections are, but I do not have them before me. I am prepared to say, however, that we have the most extensive and most valuable collection of Indian material outside the City of Washington. Its extent and usefulness have been frequently commented upon by students and other researchers from pretty well all over the United States.

In this connection it is proper to refer to the fact that in these scattered agencies over the state, where the administration of numerous tribes has been carried on, the same process prevails wherein, from time to time, records cease to have current usefulness and are retired for storage. Such records in the archives in Washington have the technical name of "Retired Classified Files."

I want to put particular stress on the statement I have made about the accretion of disposable files and records. From my large experience in research I am satisfied that the sum of files having no current use or value in these various agencies has been increasing over the years since the selections made by Miss Buntin, and that they are now available to us and are a challenge to us to take steps to secure them.

In the paper that I prepared for the last meeting of the board, and which was presented by the kindness of Mr. Mountcastle, I called attention to this situation and urged that it be looked into so that we might learn what, if any, tribal material had accumulated, and which was subject to removal to our archives. To this suggestion I have never learned what, if any, response was made by the Board; but at this time I can strongly urge and beg that this material be given due consideration so that such records as have become available to us under the law may be possessed by us, classified, and then catalogued by Mrs. Looney and added to our already extensive collection of Indian material.

Because I am deeply concerned with the success of our Society, I have taken it upon myself to assume some responsibility in securing the records

that I have secured from the Indian Agency at Muskogee, in which I have achieved a degree of success that I trust will redound to the benefit of our Society. It happens that my relations with the Superintendent at Muskogee are on a plane of mutual confidence and understanding, so that I have received from him and his assistants a degree of cooperation that has been most helpful and gratifying.

It is obvious to me—and I trust it will be to the members of the Board—that the opportunities for securing these valuable records should be availed of with diligence and understanding, or diaster is likely to follow. Some of the members of the board, I think, must be aware of the shocking destruction of records in the Muskogee office under a previous superintendent, which was contributed to in part by the neglect of our Society to act promptly and diligently in the preservation of priceless historical documents which had been ruthlessly disturbed by the exigencies of remodelling and constructing some new rooms on the fifth floor which had been previously known as the attic of the Federal Building in Muskogee. It is my prayer that nothing like this shall ever happen again. To that end we can at least make diligent inquiries concerning current retirement of records and files in the scattered agencies over the state, so as to achieve what I have been doing in the records at Muskogee.

I am dictating this in bed, and I would be greatly obliged if the board would indicate its reaction to my suggestions which might govern my future actions concerning these Indians records, and perhaps others that I may learn about.

Very respectfully yours,
GRANT FOREMAN

F-B

Muskogee, Oklahoma, Dec. 31, 1949.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour,
State Teachers College,
Edmond, Oklahoma.

Dear Dr. Harbour:

I enclose herewith a letter I have addressed to you on what I believe is a subject of a good deal of importance. In my experience and acquaintance with the lawyers of Oklahoma I know that there are many lawyers whose library shelves are crammed with printed records of cases they have carried to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, the United States Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the United States. I think many of these lawyers would be glad to get rid of these old volumes that take up space that they could use for current business.

I believe that if you would have the enclosed long letter published in the Chronicles, together with any observations you might feel like making to secure these records from law offices and from the various courts of review where they may be cluttering up space, we might secure some valuable cooperation in adding to our library much valuable historical material otherwise unavailable. It might be that our secretary could identify promising material by an examination of the printed digests that disclose the cases in which interesting historical subjects are discussed.

I think I might add to my letter further helpful suggestions if I were well enough, but I just got out of bed this afternoon long enough to dictate this letter, and as I am now pretty tired I will have to let it go in this shape.

Very sincerely yours,
Grant Foreman

Muskogee, Okla., Dec. 31, 1949.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour,
State Teachers' College,
Edmond, Oklahoma.

Dear Doctor Harbour:

I want to submit for your consideration the subject of a large amount of recorded Oklahoma history which I believe is available to our Society if we take steps to secure it.

I refer to the recorded testimony submitted in our courts of record by litigants in support of their contentions. In no other state of the Union have their been so many issues of fact that turned on the establishment of historical facts as in Oklahoma. I refer particularly to the establishment of land titles, where inquiry was directed not only to the facts involved but to the customs of the Indians in connection with the establishment of tribal customs bearing on these questions. Testimony was offered in thousands of cases to establish these customs on which the courts based their opinions and judgments. I doubt whether these issues arose to such an extent in any other state, because questions of land titles were matters of first importance in the young state of Oklahoma. I believe that any thoughtful lawyer will agree with me and will corroborate my statement that there is a vast amount of testimony preserved in the printed records of trials involving these questions of Indian customs and questions of fact making these customs material to the solution of issues pending in our courts.

Many such cases were taken on review to the supreme court of the state and in order to present them to that court the testimony heard on the trial of the case must have been recorded so as to preserve it for presentation to the court of review. To accomplish this it was necessary for the testimony to be recorded at the trial and preserved in a printed record for the court of review to read and comprehend. After these records had been read by the judges on appeal and thus had served their purpose, they had no further value and no office but to occupy shelf room needed by the clerk of the supreme court for other and current business. These records, I believe, can be secured by the Historical Society from the clerk of the supreme court, who would be glad to get rid of them. In addition to this source of historical records the lawyers themselves who had made these records for the higher court usually had surplus of printed records which occupied valuable shelf room in their libraries or were thrown away.

I don't know whether, in the short space of this letter, I can make it clear just how valuable these old records are, but I believe that lawyers who read our *Chronicles* would corroborate what I say.

I can illustrate my thesis by referring to the record that developed in the trial of the so-called Greer County Case (United States vs. the State of Texas No. 4 Original). This record, in three volumes, ran to more than 1400 pages, and is replete with interesting history and maps. The case was decided by the United State Supreme Court in 1896, and resulted in establishing the claim of the government to the area now known as Greer County and which thus became part of Oklahoma. The assistant to the Solicitor General of the United States some fifteen or twenty years ago called my attention to the fact that a surplus set of this record was for sale by a Washington rare book dealer, from whom I bought it for $100, and I have always felt that I got a wonderful bargain because the record contains so much interesting and valuable history. There are other and similar records that grew out of the so-called "River bed" litigation, which,

I believe, extended to nine large volumes. I think I saw these volumes on the shelves of the Attorney General of Texas, where were stored also the records in other important matters of litigation between Oklahoma and Texas. One of these, I think, involved a boundary dispute between the two states which questioned the integrity of some of our early surveys. A few years ago I wrote our attorney general and suggested to him that the litigation over that boundary ought to make an interesting subject for an article which I thought he was well qualified to write for our *Chronicles.* In a very courteous reply he agreed with me and said that he would write the article just as soon as he had the time to do it. Since then I suggested to our secretary that he ascertain from the Attorney General when he would do the article for us, but with what result I am unable to say.

I do not mean to emphasize this litigation as being more important that the issues involved in other law suits where tribal history and Indian customs turned the scales in the determination of questions involving many other phases of land titles. In addition to the importance of these records the courts frequently found the facts and issues of such interest and importance that in their opinions they frequently added much to their interest, and thus opinions of courts of review often carried historical knowledge to the reader which otherwise might have escaped our attention.

I recall that the late Justice McDermott of Kansas, justice of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, was very much interested in the Indian laws and customs. Shortly before his death in 1937 he came to see me to tell me of a conference he had recently held with the late Dean Wigmore, dean of Northwestern University law school and distinguished author of law text books, from whom he brought to me a proposition to collaborate with him on a work on Indian jurisprudence. Naturally, I was greatly interested in the proposition and happy to engage in such an enterprise, but while Mr. Wigmore and I were corresponding on methods for carrying out the project both he and Justice McDermott died, and of course the project died also.

Very Sincerely yours,

GF/BTW Grant Foreman

"Worcester vs. State of Georgia"

Robert A. Rutland's excellent article in the Winter, 1949-50, issue of *The Chronicles* entitled "Political Background of the Cherokee Treaty of New Echota" makes of special interest a letter of the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester written from New Echota on February 1, 1833.

On September 16, 1831, Worcester, along with Doctor Elizur Butler, was sentenced to four years in the Georgia State Penitentiary on the technical offense of refusal to take an oath that he would support the Constitution of the State of Georgia.[1]

As pointed out by Mr. Rutland the confinement precipitated a long series of legal maneuvers eventually terminating in Chief Justice

[1] George H. Shirk, "Some Letters From the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester at Park Hill", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 4, (Winter 1948-49), Page 470.

Marshall's opinion[2] holding the Georgia statute unconstitutional. Although the Worcester supporters were never able to have the judgment enforced, the principals were eventually pardoned by the new governor and were released on January 14, 1833. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Samuel Chandler of Bedford, New Hampshire, Worcester gave his reasons for permitting the matter to follow the turn of events it did.[3]

—George H. Shirk.

New Echota, Cherokee Nation,
February 1, 1833.

Dear Brother and Sister,

I sent you last week a number of the Cherokee Phoenix, by which, if you receive it, you will learn, perhaps to your surprise, that I am no longer in prison. You will now, probably, be chiefly solicitious to know on what terms we were released, and what motives induced us to adopt the course which we did. By our communications to the Governor, you will learn that we have concluded not to prosecute our case any further before the Supreme Court. This conclusion was adopted in accordance with the advice of the Presidential Committee, and their advise was given unanimously, all the members being present except Mr. Reed, and all the officers at the Rooms concurring except Mr. Greene, who dissented, thinking, I suppose, that we ought to prosecute the case to the utmost. But as the opinion of the committee was in accordance with our own, you will wish to know why we thought it inexpedient to prosecute the case further. I will give you, very briefly, some of the reasons.

We had no longer any hope that the Cherokees would be benefited by our perseverance. We had, indeed, scarce a shadow of hope that the decree of the Court would be executed so as to release us. It would require the military force of the United States to effect our release, and to us it was almost certain that Jackson would never call forth any such force. And if he did, and released us by force, it would not benefit the Cherokees. It was certain that he would not interfere for their protection. He had repeatedly declared himself on this point. And as to our returning to preach the Gospel to the Cherokees the prospect of regaining that privilege was better if we should desist, than if we should persevere. The Law was repealed that prohibited our residence here, so that if we were out of prison there was nothing to hinder our return. These were the points which at first led us to enter the field of controversy, and on these nothing was to be gained by continuing the controversy longer. As to our personal interests, we could not regard them as of sufficient value to set against the public good. We endeavored to act from considerations of a public nature only. And now the only motive of a public nature for perseverance was a wish that the authority of the Supreme Court should be sustained. That Court had decided in our favor, and it's authority was disregarded, and to have that authority prostrated, as it would seem to be by our yielding, was, for the country's sake most earnestly to be deprecated. But what was the prospect from perseverance? Nothing but a more complete prostration of it's authority; for the people had elevated to the chief magistracy a man who had declared with sufficient explicitness, that he would not maintain that authority. And it seemed doubtful, at least, whether it would not be better not to put the power of

---

[2] *Worcester vs. State of Georgia*, 6 Peters 515, 8 L.Ed. 483.

[3] The original of this letter is among the Worcester letters in the Oklahoma collection of George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.—Ed.

the court to the test at present, but to let the matter drop, in hope that, if another occasion of the kind should ever arise, it might be when a man of different principles should be at the helm of Government. I have said it's authority would seem to prostrated by our yielding. But it is only the fact of the execution of it's decision being doubtful which makes it seem so—for if it were certain that we *could* maintain our right by perseverance, no one would think of the authority of the court being prostrated by our choosing to relinquish our right. We had been often and earnestly solicited,—by the Governor I might almost say,—for what one does by another is nevertheless his work—by different individuals in the confidence of the Governor, to withdraw our suit, with the promise of an unconditional release, if we would do so. One main argument used by them was, that if the Supreme Court attempted to force the State into obedience, it would be the means of throwing Georgia into the arms of South Carolina, in the controversy respecting nullification, which the Governor and his party, being Union men, were exceedingly desirous to avoid.

To us it appeared very desirable that S. C. should stand alone, and although the nullifiers of Georgia were more *consistent* than the Union Party, since the Union Party were also for *nullifying*, the decision of the Supreme Court, yet it seemed better that the state should be inconsistent by being partly right and partly wrong, than consistent by being wholly wrong. Besides these considerations, as the question *now* at issue was of a political, not a moral nature, it seemed doubtful how far the funds of the Board ought to be employed in prosecuting the controversy. I say the question *now* at issue, because I consider the questions respecting the right of preaching the Gospel, to the Cherokees, and respecting the rights of the Cherokees and the faith of the nation as pledged to them, as set aside, because the law which affected the former was repealed, and respecting the latter no hope remained. Of our legal counsel, Mr. Sergeant was in favor of our desisting from the prosecution; Mr. Wirt gave no opinion—seemed rather desirous that the authority of the Supreme Court should be tested, but had scarcely any hope of success.

Influenced by the considerations which I have named, we requested our counsel not to make any motion before the Court, and informed the governor of what we had done, at the same time declaring to him our full conviction of the justice of our cause. If we had not made this declaration, but simply informed him what requests we had made of our counsel, he would probably have released us the next day, for he had assured some of his friends, (though we did not know it at the time) that if we should give him such a notice, he would release us in 24 hours. I say we did not know it, though we did know that he had said almost as much to Col. Mills. But our declaration of our unaltered conviction of the correctness of our principles and the justice of our cause provoked him exceedingly, and he at first expressed a determination not to release us. His most judicious friends endeavored to persuade him that he ought not to take exceptions to it, but in vain. At length Mr. Cuthbert, who had interested himself much to procure our release, sent us word that the Governor had said, that if we would write him a letter disclaiming any intention to offer an insult to the state—for such he affected to regard it—and appealing to the justice and magnanimity of the state, whether we might not be set at liberty, he would release us within 24 hours. To the former part, disclaiming any intention to offer an insult, we had not the least objection—a *petition* we were not disposed to make; particularly as the Governor had said beforehand, that no application from us would be necessary, only let him know that we had instructed our counsel, not to prosecute the suit. We concluded, however, to send him the second note published in the Phoenix; by which we intended he should understand, that we had not thought proper to petition for a release, but simply, by withdrawing suit,

to leave ourselves at his disposal. Ann thinks we should not have sent it; and perhaps we ought not, but we saw no objection to it, though the Governor, by making only such extracts from that and the former communication, and in such connection, as suited his purpose, and not publishing the whole, gave them such an aspect as we did not intend. But to return—the Governor declared our communication to be satisfactory;—but by that time had become angry with Mr. Cuthbert, who is editor of the principal paper of the Governor's party, for having presumed, without his leave, to say in his paper, that we should probably soon be released. It looked like *driving* him and he did not intend to be driven. So he had to keep us three days longer to teach Mr. Cuthbert that he was not to be *driven* to the fulfillment of his promises. Our first notice was sent to him on Tuesday, Jan 8th,—we were released on the next Monday, and I arrived at home on Saturday, Jan. 19. Ann asks a little space on this page so I conclude this abruptly.

Your affectionate brother, S. A. Worcester.

Dear Sister,

If I had not been directed to write to Mr. Savage, I should occupy the remainder of this sheet in writing to you. But as it is, I have only room to thank you & the other members of your family for the articles which you & they sent to me in the cask from B. Though I did not find your name, I thought I could distinguish among the articles designated, those which you gave, & it was a satisfaction to me to be able to do so. I thank you for the assurance that you & your family have thus given that I am not forgotten by them as well as for the supplies with which you have furnished me. The children were much pleased with their presents from their cousin Catherine—I wish very much that some of your family would write & give me all particulars respecting the rest—Mary Jane, Annis and all. Many thanks to Aunt Thurston. Mr. W. unites with me in much love to herself & husband. Your affectionate sister, A.W.

New Echota, February 2, 1833.

Rev. Thomas Savage,
Dear Sir,

I wrote to you about three months ago & mentioned that notice had been received that a cask of clothing had been forwarded to the Missionary rooms designed for this place. I have now the happiness to acknowledge the receipt of it. It arrived here in just two months from the date of the letters which it contained. The articles were exactly suited to our wants, & the wants of those for whom they were designed. A better selection both as to kind & quality could not have been made. The donation was much larger than I should have dared to anticipate. When I suggested to Sister Sarah that some articles of clothing would be serviceable here, forty or fifty dollars worth, was as much as I expected; though I did not mention this to her, because I thought if people were disposed to give more, it would be a pity not to encourage that disposition, when the articles could not fail to be useful at some of the mission stations, if we did not need them here. I should think that more than one half have already been disposed of, & there is no doubt that the rest will be needed soon. Three orphan children belonging to this neighborhood have shared in your bounty. Two of them are members of the school here. The other is a member of the school at Brainerd. All, promising children, & all needing assistance; others have been assisted when circumstances seem to justify us in rendering it to them.

From something said in one of the letters I inferred that it was the wish of the donors that Dr. Butler's family, if necessary, should be supplied; & therefore proposed to Mrs. Butler to make a selection. She did so, &, in a letter to me, thus acknowledges her obligations for the things

which she selected, & for those which were sent to herself. The various garments I selected from the box, furnished by your friends in Bedford fitted my children very well. When you write them please to tender hearty thanks for me & in behalf of my dear children, for their Christian benevolence. If by my personal labors, I am doing good in my Masters vineyard, it will, no doubt, be gratifying to them, to know that they have greatly assisted me. My prayer is that they may richly experience this promise, 'He that watereth, shall be watered also himself'—And as they have lightened the burden of my hands, I would be encouraged to ask their prayers,—that I may by the Grace of God, be enabled to perform the duties assigned me, in my present situation with an eye single to his glory;—that the Cherokee children, who have been gathered into this school, may be gathered into the fold of Christ, & prove bright examples of piety to their peoples—that my four little ones, who have been given to God in baptism, may give themselves to his service, & at a future day be eminently useful in making his name known to a heathen world;—I would also ask them to continue supplication for my husband, who with his companion in hand has often been commended to the prayers of the Christian public.

Miss Sawyer says, "It gives me pleasure to express my gratitude to those who have contributed to my comfort & usefulness by the bundle directed to me in the cask sent to Mrs. W.—the bombazette for a frock & the silk for a bonnet were just such articles as I needed. While the friends of missions are supplying my wants by their benevolence, they are reminding me of my increasing obligation to be faithful in His cause, in whose name & for whose sake they were given. 'For whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward.' "

For myself, I would gladly acknowledge my obligations to you & to the people in Bedford for the kindness & sympathy shown to our family. & the Cherokees, in the midst of oppression & affliction. I trust we still share in your prayers. Since Mr. Worcester's return we find ourselves again enjoying the domestic happiness. But alas for the poor Cherokees to human view destruction is fast coming upon them. O that the arm of the oppressor might be speedily broken; or a way provided for them to escape from the tide of iniquity & injustice that seems hastening to overwhelm them. It is painful beyond expression to witness the influence of vicious white men around us, especially when we see how easily many of the Cherokees yield to this influence. When I witness & reflect on these things I cannot but rejoice that we have in any measure been instrumental in counteracting this influence. The satisfaction I have, in the reflection that Mr. W. has done what he could to prevent the evils which have come, & are still coming on this people, is more than ample compensation for so long & painful a separation. To Him who is able to accomplish all things for them, we would cheerfully commit their cause & unceasingly pray for their salvation.

Mr. Worcester unites with me in much love to you & Mrs. Savage.
Gratefully and affectionately yours,
Ann O. Worcester.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, January 26, 1950

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 26, 1950, with Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, General William S. Key, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. George L. Bowman, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. W. J. Peterson and Judge Baxter Taylor.

Judge Redmond S. Cole announced that Judge Harry Campbell of Tulsa asked that his resignation be placed before the Board because his health would not permit him to serve any more. He regretted very much to take this step because through long years he has served with a splendid group of men and women and has given his best to the Society. Judge Cole thereupon made the motion that Judge Campbell's resignation be received. General Key seconded the motion which was passed unanimously. President Harbour took occasion to pay a profound tribute to the life and service of Judge Campbell, and this was echoed around the entire table by those who had served with him. The Secretary was instructed to send a letter to Judge Campbell expressing the regret at his resignation.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Anna B. Korn and passed unanimously.

At this point the Secretary introduced Mr. "Chet" Smith, Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds of the State, saying, "I have asked Mr. Smith to speak to you about putting this building in order.

Mr. Smith stated that there was $6500.00 that could be spent for interior decorating of the building and he intended starting the project in three weeks if possible. He suggested "that you take out the skylights and put in a flat roof. Also your electrical lines here are getting very much overloaded. You still haven't your hot water lines in yet but we just can't hold off on your paint job any longer. I asked for $40,800.00 for these things, making a total of $65,600.00, more than the Legislature allowed you."

Mr. Mountcastle asked how much it would cost to remove the skylights and roof the building and Mr. Smith replied, $17,500.00. A motion was made by Dr. E. E. Dale that a committee be appointed to confer with Mr. Smith about the necessary repairs. Dr. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. Smith promised the Board a letter setting forth the things discussed so that it could be presented to the Governor. A motion was made by General Key that thanks be given to Mr. Smith for his interest in these repairs. Dr. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary presented for membership eight new life Members and eighty-eight new Annual members, as follows:

LIFE: William Steven Bailey, Jr., Tulsa; George L. Bowman, Kingfisher; T. E. Braniff, Dallas, Texas; Mrs. Ida S. Cuff, Sayre; J. Wilford

Hill, Cherokee; C. H. Oringderff, Alva; Grace Dawson Schuler, Chickasha; Paul A. Walker, Jr., Washington, D. C.

ANNUAL: Phebe Alexander, Oklahoma City; Mrs. T. H. Atkins, Bromide; Jess M. Beck, Oklahoma City; H. E. Blackledge, Porter; Miss Ora Lee Bowles, Tulsa; Mrs. Glen Brackney, De Ridder, La.; Mrs. Major J. C. Buchanan, Jr., Muskogee; J. E. Buffington, Tulsa; Fred L. Coogan, Jr., Sayre; Daniel Boone Collums, Oklahoma City; J. Lee Carter, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Voyle Carter, Tulsa; Mrs. H. T. Channell, Bromide; Mrs. W. R. Cook, Cushing; George Elbert Davison, Arnett; Mrs. Myrtle DeVilliers. Quapaw; H. B. Dowell, Sand Springs; Theodore Frederick Dukes, Hominy; Robert M. Eacock, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lillian Pitman Eaton, Shawnee; Hicks Epton, Wewoka; Mrs. Cooleela Faulkner, Claremore; H. D. Fidler, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Vivian Callaway Ford, Billings; Harry B. Gilstrap, II, Amarillo, Texas; Richard Goetz, Oklahoma City; Cleo E. Heflin, Oklahoma City; Mrs. E. M. Harris, Cushing; Harvey A. Heller, Tulsa; John H. Hope, Oklahoma City; Jahn B. Jeffries, Stillwater; John V. Jennings, Arkansas City, Ks.; Dr. H. L. Johnson, Ft. Supply; Mrs. T. G. Johnson, Ardmore; Mrs. W. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lenno Cecil Johnston, Kiefer; J. H. Jones, Miami; Jerry King, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. M. F. Kalbe, Spencer; Mrs. Paul Large, Quapaw; F. W. Lloyd, Oklahoma City; Donald G. McCormick, Carlsbad, N. M.; Margaret McLaurine, Muskogee; Mrs. A. E. McNeil, Cushing; Guy B. Massey, Wilburton; Virginia Massey, Wilburton; Mrs. Fred G. Neff, Oklahoma City; Bess Nicodemus, Muskogee; Mrs. Lelia A. Nighswonger, Woodward; W. L. North, Tulsa; W. B. North, Tulsa; Arthur R. Perryman, Tulsa; Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee; Mrs. Jacobs Porter, Cushing; W. A. Porter, Jr., Bixby; Guy C. Reid, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Richard L. Roberts, Oklahoma City; Louis A. Ross, Jr., Pawhuska; Robert A. Rutland, Lubbock, Texas; Therese San Souci, Woonsocket, R. I.; Elmer J. Sark, Bartlesville; Paul E. Schaub, Washington, D. C.; Stella Schoggen, Tulsa; Captain Ruth E. Schroeder, Weyauwega, Wis.; Mrs. John H. Shirk, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Robert Singleton, Cooper, Texas; Mrs. R. V. Smith, Rush Springs; Mrs. Inez Stauber, Crawford; Waldo E. Stephens, Oklahoma City; Mrs. A. H. Swander, Cushing; Chilton Swank, Stillwater; Mrs. Alfred Swenson, Poteau; William Howard Suthers. Arnett; W. H. Taylor, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Catherine Thompson, Stillwater; John Clifton Townsend, Los Angeles, Calif.; Riely Leon Townsend, Oklahoma City; Forrest Meredith Tucker, N. Hollywood, Calif.; Sally Lou Tuttle, Pasadena, Calif.; Dudley Frank Wallace, St. Joseph, Mich.; Ernest Wallace, Lubbock, Texas; Fenton Wheeler, Oklahoma City; Chill Wills. N. Hollywood, Calif.; Grant Withers. N. Hollywood, Calif.; Dr. Neil W. Woodward, Oklahoma City; John Woolery, Oklahoma City; Elmer W. Pollock, Tulsa; Leon Gorham, Nashville, Tenn.

Judge Taylor made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list and their names be published in *The Chronicles.* Dr. McCash seconded the motion which carried.

The Secretary also set forth the following gifts that have been made to this Society in the last quarter:

An air medal with two bronze oak leaf clusters which was awarded to Isaac Harness, posthumosthly and presented by his mother, Mrs. I. H. Harness, Norman, Oklahoma; a letter with the signature of Woodrow Wilson, a letter with the signature of Robert L. Williams when he was Governor, presented by R. B. Thomas, Muskogee, Oklahoma; a document Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 11, expressing gratitude to the French people for the Merci Car, presented by the State Senate; door knob from the cabin of the Commanding Officer of the Battleship Oklahoma, presented by Lieut. John W. Gray; pair of brown satin slippers worn by Mrs. Henry S. Johnston at Governor Johnston's inaugural ball in January 1927, pre-

sented by Mrs. Ina L. Munyon, Tampa, Florida; a beautiful antique curio case presented by Mrs. Edward P. Allen to the D. A. R. Room in memory of her mother, Mrs. Phil Brewer. The following pictures have been accessioned: First Official Act of Governor Haskell after the Capital was moved to Oklahoma City, presented by F. P. Branson, Muskogee, Okla.; Phillip Colfax Rosenbaum, presented by Mrs. Lillie F. Rosenbaum, St. Louis, Mo.; Senate Pages of the 21st Legislature, presented by L. F. Pennington; large oil portrait of T. E. Braniff, presented by friends of Mr. Braniff; large oil portrait of Dr. O. C. Newman, presented by the Oklahoma Memorial Association; a large photograph of Warren K. Moorehead, presented by Dr. Grant Foreman; photographs of Jack Love, W. D. Humphrey and George Henshaw, presented by Dr. Grant Foreman; a negative of Stand Watie, a negative of a letter written by Jefferson Davis, the Society had these made from originals owned by Mrs. Vinnie Ream Leeves, Denver, Colo.; a small picture of the U. D. C. Memorial Hall in Lincolnton, N. C., presented by Mrs. James Graham, Lincolnton, N. C.; photograph of a group of men who made the run into the Cherokee Strip, presented by Mrs. Charles A. Dempsey; post card picture of the "Talking Dog" presented by R. B. Thomas, Muskogee, Okla.; two photographs of the Battleship Oklahoma presented by Lieut. John W. Gray; copy of the Honolulu Star Bulletin presented by Lieut. John W. Gray; large photographs of Dr. Grant Foreman and Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, presented by Dr. Grant Foreman; a large mural painted in oils by Auchiah, presented by Dr. Grant Foreman.

Mr. Peterson made the motion that these gifts be accepted and that the Secretary write a letter to each of the donors expressing the appreciation of the Board. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which carried.

At this point Dr. Dale spoke of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in Oklahoma City April 21-23, and said, "We are anxious that these people be given a good time and at least shown the truth about Oklahoma. There will be eight hundred or nine hundred members here possibly. Most of them are writers, some of them editors and contributors to Historical Magazines. Someone has suggested that Oklahoma being the Indian State with over one-third of all the Indians in the United States within its borders, that these visitors might be interested in an Indian program. Don Whistler sponsors an Indian program over WNAD once a week. I find that I can secure a group of Indians who can put on a brief program of Indian dances, etc., for some $90.00. I would like to secure the view of the Board on this matter." Many Board members made comment and all favorable, and it was understood that if $90.00 can be taken from the $300.00 appropriated by the Board in a former meeting for the Historical Society program, it should be done.

Dr. Harbour at this time called attention to the necessity of electing three members whose term expires on the Board at this meeting. A motion was made by Mr. Bowman that these three, Gen. W. S. Key, Judge R. A. Hefner and Judge Baxter Taylor, be reelected for the term of years as set forth by the by-laws and regulations. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Fred S. Clinton of Tulsa came before the Society and General Key introduced him to the Board as one who had not only appreciated the work being carried out for historical markers by the Society, but one who had asked the privilege of setting a marker under the auspices of the Society at a point marking the first oil well in Oklahoma. General Key, after thanks being extended by the Board to Dr. Clinton, gave assurance that at the earliest possible time, the placing of the marker and its dedication would be made with proper ceremonies.

The President stated that at this time it would be well to hear a report from General Key who heads the committee of the Society on Historical

Markers. General Key in substance stated, "We have been advised by the manufacturer that all of the markers will be shipped this week. Then the next move is to erect the fifty-two markers including Dr. Clinton's and the one Mrs. Jessie R. Moore and her associates provided. They will be erected by the Highway Commission. We recommend that when the Governor returns we ask him if he will honor the Society by picking out three or four places he can attend and we will let the Highway Commission go ahead and erect the remaining ones at their convenience, and ask the communities in that area to sponsor individual ceremonies in that district. I believe that is the only way we can get it done expeditiously. This is the report of the committee."

Judge Taylor made a motion that General Key's report be accepted with tribute for the committee's work on the markers. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President placed before the Board the information that the Whipple papers have been secured for the Society after much effort by Dr. Grant Foreman, Gen. Pat Hurley, Dr. E. E. Dale and Hon. Roy J. Turner, Governor of the State.

Dr. Evans at this time stated that it had been his privilege to read a large number of letters passing between the Governor's office and the heirs of the Whipple estate and also with Gen. Hurley and others relating to the Oklahoma Historical Building being the proper place for the Whipple Papers. He said this correspondence clearly revealed Hon. Roy J. Turner, the Governor of the State, as a tremendous factor in securing these papers. A vote of thanks was tendered at this time by the Board to Governor Turner and all of those distinguished men who had assisted in this splendid work.

The Secretary reported that the contract for the steel shelving which was ordered by the Board to be installed in the balcony of the auditorium for taking care of old records, had been given to the Westbanco Company, inasmuch as they were the lowest bidder. The bid was $338.68, and the Westbanco Company promised that installation would take place in some sixty days.

President Harbour stated that $43.00 was being asked by the Custodian of the Union Room to secure the copying of certain Civil War rolls. Judge Taylor made a motion that this request be granted. General Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Evans pointed out that the telephone system had always been very inadequate. He thought that for some $60.00 or $65.00 the system could be made to be of real service. Dr. McCash made a motion that this money be allowed, with the request that it be paid out of the public fund rather than out of the special fund, if possible. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

President Harbour announced that the question of raising the fee for annual memberships had come up, and it had been suggested that they be raised to $2.00. Dr. Dale said this was his view; that almost all of the State Historical Societies of America charged $2.00 to $5.00, and that a large number of these had no such magazine as *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* going along with the membership. The Secretary said that on a $1.00 fee for annual membership *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* was losing money for the Society. He stated that the point of saturation had been reached and while the State came nobly to the rescue in allowing the increased monies for *The Chronicles,* still it was a matter of deep concern.

General Key made a motion that the annual dues of this Society be raised to $2.00. Mr. Peterson seconded the motion which passed unanimously. Here was a change for the first time in fifty-six years for the charge of an annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

President Harbour called attention at this time to the duty of the Board to elect five new Directors to fill the office of five vacanies caused by death and resignation. The President stated that there had been eight names for these places set up by the Board at the last meeting, and one more at this time.

Mr. Mountcastle made a motion that the election should be by ballot and that out of the five names written on each ballot, those five receiving the highest number of votes should be elected to fill the vacancies. The ballot was taken and the tellers were appointed to make a count and they reported in season that the five receiving the highest number of votes were: Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Mr. N. G. Henthorne, Mr. Milton Phillips and Mr. George S. Shirk.

Mr. Mountcastle made a motion, seconded by Judge Taylor, that the respective terms of service of each of those elected would be in order of the number of ballots each received. The motion was passed unanimously.

Announcement was made by the President that a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer and Secretary were to be elected. The election by ballot was ordered and taken for President of the Oklahoma Historical Society for two years. The counting of ballots revealed that General William S. Key had been elected President.

Mr. Mountcastle made a motion that ballot be taken for First and Second Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer. This was seconded and after the motion passed, the ballot was made, the vote being counted, it was shown that Judge Redmond S. Cole and Judge Baxter Taylor had been elected First and Second Vice-Presidents respectively, and Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer.

General Key at this point arose to say that he must not permit himself to go further without stating that the former President, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, had set such a high standard of service that it would always stand out in the history of this institution as one of the most efficient and profitable recorded in its annals. Her ability to keep the business of the Society constantly at a point of precision, together with her ability as a parliamentarian, and all this surrounded by her constant kindness and consideration, had made her a President that could not be surpassed. Therefore, he made a motion that the rules be suspended and that Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour be elected President Emeritus of the Oklahoma Historical Society for life. General Key put the motion and it passed unanimously.

Judge Taylor made the motion at this point that the present Secretary be reelected for two years. He took occasion to say that Dr. Evans had brought to the Society an entirely New Era and especially in the last two years, the Society had extended its service and power for good throughout the State and country many fold. Judge Cole seconded the motion.

Mr. Bowman arose to add his second to the motion of Judge Taylor and said that he felt it his duty to point out to the Directors that in the last two years the Society had grown in membership, in Legislative appropriations and in the increase of its special fund and purchase of essential equipment so that today with the able cooperation of the heads of departments the Society stands among the four or five leading societies of the United States. Judge Peterson at this time added a word: "I wish to second the motion because I have been more than pleased by the way in

which the Secretary has brought, by his founding of the Oklahoma Historical Society News Letter and through many bulletins and letters, the Board and the whole membership closer to the knowledge of what the Society is doing. The News Letter is one of the best things the institution possesses." Mr. Thomas Cook paid his tribute by saying that never before until the last year or two had he and the membership of the Panhandle known anything of the Society's work. Now through the News Letter and close correspondence of the Secretary his knowledge and interest had been greatly increased. Dr. I. N. McCash gave a further second to the nomination and said, "These tributes to Dr. Evans and his peculiar fitness and success have grown out of his broad relationships by a life as an educator in the State. Beginning at Ardmore in 1905 he had through a period of some forty-five years experienced a broad contact with the whole State. The motion was then put and Dr. Evans was elected for his fourth term.

The Secretary made a brief reply to this kind action of the Board. He said: "No man could be quite worthy of such high tribute as you have paid me. This is a great institution. I have worked with many Boards of Directors, Trustees and forces of control. Never have I found a group of men and women of greater eminence, of higher honor and more faithful devotion in control of an institution, than I have found in you. Let me assure you that my efforts would not have been worth much had I not been supported by a splendid group of efficient heads of departments and by this Board of Directors. I would like to also add that the Legislators, the Budget Office and the Board of Affairs, together with the Governor of the State, have been more than helpful. I will give you my best labors and I am profoundly grateful."

Judge Cole made a motion to suspend the rules and reelect the staff members and Mr. N. L. Tilley, Custodian of the building, as a whole. Mr. Bowman seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

At this point a discussion was taken of the proper plan of receiving and acting upon criticisms that may arise as to the efficiency of all personnel involved in the service of the workers in the Society and the management of the institution in its daily work. Dr. E. E. Dale pointed out that it hardly behooved the Board or any member of the Board who only came about the institution some four times a year or perhaps a few times more, to claim they could give a complete report on the actions and work of the employees of the Society. In all school systems and other organizations as far as he ever knew, that power should rest with someone chosen as manager, head, secretary, etc., by the Board of control, and he must take the responsibility of performing that duty and making proper report when called upon. It was asked of the Secretary at this point what criticisms he had to make upon the members of the staff. He replied that he gladly took the responsibility of making this brief report: "All of the employees are of high integrity and efficiency and while there were many things to do that have not been done, this always arose in any work and he did not doubt but what the present employees of this institution met the high standards set forth by the present Board.

General Key took up the discussion and prefaced it by saying that at this time he must express his warm appreciation of the high honor the Board had paid him in electing him President of the Oklahoma Historical Society. It was a field of work in which he had been interested for many years and he would give the Society his very best devotion. He made observation that though his knowledge might be limited as to the work of the staff, still he knew enough to say that there were a few things that should be corrected. One was that there is somewhere an idea that employees of the institution should have "sponsors"; that by no means did

he think so, for every individual's employment depended only upon one thing and that was proper fidelity and service to the institution, and all the forces and methods which the institution employed to bring the work to the highest point of efficiency. Another thing he said he had received reports that the Society was not keeping its hours, meeting the public at the proper times and length of time the public demanded. He said that this institution was the people's institution, belonging to the citizens of Oklahoma and the general public and they should be served. Mr. Mountcastle earnestly discussed these points that had been brought out by Dr. Dale and General Key and said the time had come when management should be placed and supported, and that it necessarily followed that this should rest in the hands of the Secretary. He said that the Board had dodged this issue from time to time and that the Board was responsible in a large measure for any looseness that might exist on these points and others of like kind. This above all things needed to be remedied.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made this motion, "I make a motion that the Secretary be directed and clothed with the proper responsibility to act for the Board regarding the personnel of the staff and directing the affairs of the Society, and to be held responsibile for its efficient operation and report to the Board any time he feels there should be a change in the personnel or in the operation of the Society, under the constitution. Dr. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

After this discussion the President appointed a committee to consult with the Governor of the State about repairs to the building, naming General W. S. Key, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Judge Redmond S. Cole and Judge R. A. Hefner.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison gave a brief report on the Union Mission site. He said: "I would like to give a brief report on the Union Mission site. I own the tract of land where the Mission was and they are putting a K. O. & G. Railroad across it. The right-of-way will go within about one hundred feet of the graves but the site will be preserved, and we can hold proper ceremonies when the marker, as approved for this spot, is erected.

The President pointed out that a picture of Mr. Sol Layton had been offered to the Society and she thought it should be accepted as he was the architect of this building. Mr. Peterson made the motion that Mr. Layton's picture be accepted. Judge Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary had presented to each member the new four colored eighteen portrait illustrated folder. This was the first fruit of the Revolving Fund. All members expressed their delight upon its finish and value as an exponent of the historical society. General Key made the motion that this piece of work was of excellent nature and construction and that a vote of thanks be extended to all those who participated in making this folder a work of art. Judge Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

The President called the attention of the Board to the annual meeting on May 26, to be held in Oklahoma City, and asked for a committee on program to be appointed. The President was requested to appoint a committee and she named its members as follows: Gen. W. S. Key, Judge Baxter Taylor and the Secretary.

Mr. Bowman made the motion to adjourn until the annual meeting, May 26, 1950. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which was passed.

EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR,
President.

CHARLES EVANS,
Secretary.

Special Communication:

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Historical Building

Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma

March 24, 1950

Mr. T. E. Lipscomb
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear friend:

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors, the acceptance of your gift: Picture of early day group, Federal Official Family, Nov. 16, 1907, was made by the Board of Directors and they send you here their sincere thanks and appreciation for your generosity in making this gift to the Society. This will be recorded in the minutes and published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in the Spring number of 1950.

Again thanking you and with very best wishes, and an invitation for you to call upon us sometime, I am,

Sincerely,

CHARLES EVANS,
Secretary

CE:VM

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Dr. Charles Evans, *Editor* Muriel H. Wright, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The President
Edward Everett Dale
N. G. Henthorne
H. Milt Phillips
George H. Shirk
The Secretary

Volume XXVIII **Number 2**

Summer, 1950

CONTENTS

Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 124
By Charles Evans

History of the Oklahoma State Department of Health 132
By Grady F. Mathews, M.D.

Log-Cabin Days in Oklahoma 143
By James K. Hastings

Wichita-Kiowa Relations and the 1874 Outbreak 154
By Karl Schmitt

The Sequoyah Convention 161
By Amos Maxwell

Hopefield Mission 193
By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Notes and Documents 206

Book Review 213

Minutes 215

FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

By Charles Evans

A good thinker has said that individuals do not develop of themselves. Tennyson's Ulysses proclaims we are a part of all we meet. It is a big business in developing a balanced personality to make as many contacts as possible with well-developed lives.

This is equally true of institutions. A home, school, church or government can only prosper and reach high proportions by measuring its life in terms of others. Some six years ago when I accepted the position of Secretary-Manager of the Oklahoma Historical Society the President of the Board of Directors and one of the founders of the Society said to me, "Now, it is my desire that you attend the larger historical associations of America. Your transportation and expenses will be paid and I believe it is your duty to learn first-hand what these historical groups are thinking and doing." He did not know that he was talking to a "jiner." For in 1895 I invited the Western District of Kentucky's Educational Association to meet about my schools. They accepted and my school system received an impact of power that was felt throughout my service there of some twelve years. So since that day, whatever my work has been, I have not failed to recognize that much of you and the institution you represent may be due to the great associations you meet in your sphere. On April 11, 1947, I wrote to Mr. Stanley Draper, Secretary of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, as follows:

"It is my intention to attend the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting soon at Columbus, Ohio. You have made, together with other forces of this city a great convention center for all the United States. Would it not be well for you to give me a letter of invitation for this association to meet in this city for its next annual meeting (1948)? It might be possible that this would be greatly helpful in bringing this remarkable gathering to our city. I would like to take along with me a packet of illustrated literature. We have more to give them, as I see it, in the way of historical interest, than Columbus, Ohio."

Mr. Draper gave the proper material and this Secretary took them to Columbus to present the invitation. But the convention had been promised to Rock Island, Illinois. Clarence S. Paine, Jr., Director of Carnegie Library and Associated Libraries of this city, took up the fight at Rock Island, but the convention had been promised to Madison, Wisconsin. However, Mr. Paine received assurance that Oklahoma City would be honored in due season with the 1950 meeting. In truth, the choice of Oklahoma City for the

1950 convention was practically made at the Rock Island Association but it needed confirmation. Again Mr. Payne together with Doctor A. B. Sears, head of the Department of History at Oklahoma University, Doctors Rister, Fisher, Holland and Fite, also of that department, also Doctor Settle of Tulsa University, Doctors B. B. Chapman and Roy Fisher of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, joined with the splendid support of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Chamber of Commerce, the leading hotels, and Mayor Street brought this great group of historians to Oklahoma City on April 20, 21 and 22, 1950. At this point it might be said a little strategy was employed at a certain point in the invitation. As a reminder of the promises made at the Rock Island meeting, Mr. Paine asked that a warm invitation be sent to him at Madison from the Governor of Oklahoma. The Secretary advised the Governor of the time and nature of the telegram and it was sent forth from the Oklahoma Executive Office. It was laid before the proper authorities and as genial Mr. Paine said afterward, "I believe it 'turned the trick'."

Throughout all these movements to obtain this Mississippi Valley Historical Association for Oklahoma institutions of history and learning, one man stands out preeminently. Throughout his long years of service as head of the Department of History in Oklahoma University, even from his earlier years when he was Associate Professor of History with Doctor Buchanan, Doctor Edward Everett Dale has been an honored member of every Historical Association in America worth while. In most of them he has wielded an influence as authority on Oklahoma history, as a writer, a lecturer in all parts of the United States, and has been given high places. He was an honored President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association several years ago. In bringing to this state this association in the month of April, this year, Doctor Dale, a member of the Board of Directors of this institution, played more than an important part.

The Oklahoma Historical Society realized that while the Chamber of Commerce, and the Chief Executive of the State and Oklahoma City, were heavy factors in securing the convention, still historians were coming to the capital of Oklahoma: first, for happy exchange of views of history, past and present, recorded in the development of the Great Valley; second, to indulge themselves as far as possible in meeting with and inspecting as many points as possible where the history of Oklahoma might be offered. This is always the attitude of a historian in any historical convention. It immediately became the big business of the Oklahoma Historical Society not only to play the part of a sort of historical family host, but to give to every visiting member the opportunity to come about the largest historical center in Oklahoma City and in the state, the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Upon learning of the coming of the convention, the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society laid before the Board of Directors the import of the visit of this historical scholarship and immediately the Board gave enthusiastic response. Out of the Special Funds, the sum of $300.00 was voted, and moreover, the Secretary-Manager was given to understand that if that was not enough, more would be allowed. A few days after, the Society staff was called together and plans were set up for a worthy reception in our Historical Building. It may be slightly amusing but it is practically pleasant to say that the Board of Affairs had hung fire for many months upon redecoration of the interior of the building, set up some twenty years ago at a cost of $500,000. The President of the Board of Affairs was told that a cosmopolitan group of scholars, some 800 to 1000 in number, were to be received and welcomed in the Building in April, 1950, and that some "tydying up" should be done. He immediately said, "You are right, it shall be done," and plans were put forth for redecoration of the Historical Building which was consummated a few days before April 20, at the cost of some $7000.

The heads of the departments were called together sometime in the early days of 1950 and were advised that the very character of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association demanded that each department should be brought to the highest point of efficiency and on the night of the reception of our distinguished historical visitors, the Society should be able to reveal its rich possessions and far-reaching service throughout the state and nation. The reaction of this announcement upon each member of the staff was immediate and impressive. Every organization and especially such institutions as gather to themselves historical relics, books, papers, periodicals, etc., drift in the direction of ineffective and impractical classification and presentation of the material they possess. This even enters into the very worth of such institutions and frequently a deathly routine drops in and around them until often they are labeled "Some old place to go." Frequently a sense of humor is manifested in the casual visitor or the ignorant friend when they refer to such historical centers and historical groups as "hysterical societies" and their homes as "Tombs of the dead." This of course should be properly resented by those in charge of the work confided to those institutions who preserve and dispense the dynamical records of the life of a State. However, due often to stagnant management, indifferent support from Legislatures and incompetent service, resentment dare not be revealed. Thus in every department, Executive, Editorial, Museum, Newspapers, Library, Archives, Confederate Memorial and Union Memorial, began the closest inspection, the elimination of the superfluous, the orderly and business like arrangement of all material in each room or division and the development of methods whereby each member of the Staff could with pride receive these eminent visiting historians and say to them,

Kiowa Indian dance numbers in tribal costume, presented by Spencer Asah, noted Kiowa artist, delighted the audience.

Dr. Charles Evans introducing the Governor of the State of Oklahoma, Roy J. Turner, and his gracious wife, Mrs. Turner. To the M.V.H.A. audience, the Governor said, "I come to pay you and your noble work, a sincere tribute."

"Here is a story of a wonderful people whose rootage is as deep as the days of Coronado and as wide as the Louisiana Purchase and as high as the unparalleled growth of the greatest nation in the world. Here look about you and you will see something different and compelling; great races brought together by fate or destiny, strangely diverse, yet each possessing marvelous powers and where other States have frightfully failed in blending these forces, the Indian and the white races, Oklahoma in 1907 presented to America a Commonwealth fashioned by the blood, intelligence and genius of both these races, a thing never before disclosed in American history."

On Thursday night, April 20, this purpose of the Secretary and Staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society was fulfilled. When some seven hundred visitors of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, brought to the Society home on Lincoln Boulevard from the Hotel Biltmore by a fleet of busses, provided through the courtesy of the Board of Directors, entered the newly decorated corridors. They found the Building illuminated throughout and every hall and room filled with distinguished men and women of Oklahoma anxious to greet them. In the receiving line was Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Berry, Honorable Baxter Taylor and Mrs. Taylor, Honorable James Biggerstaff and Mrs. Biggerstaff, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Doctor Emma Estill-Harbour and Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Sr. Governor Roy J. Turner and Mrs. Turner had been delayed for a brief time but appeared later and Doctor Evans brought the distinguished first citizen and his wife before the guests in the auditorium where Governor Turner told them that he had decided long ago that in spite of impediments of any kinds, he was going to welcome this distinguished group to the great state of Oklahoma: "The dignity and far-reaching service you render to this region of America are too large to be defined. Oklahoma has a noble history and we believe it is well preserved and well used by this Historical Society and we are especially proud of the Secretary and his Staff. We believe they are doing a great work and we are going to support them as far as business allows."

The audience rose to their feet and cheered and gave Mrs. Turner a most cordial greeting. Heads of the departments were in their respective rooms receiving and explaining exhibits in their fields. At a special period the visitors were invited into the auditorium for a program of Indian dances done by a group of Kiowa Indians. There were eight numbers done in rich Indian costumes and executed in ancient traditional manner. Doctor E. E. Dale introduced Spencer Asah, the leader of the Kiowa band in fitting words, revealing what Indian life had meant to Oklahoma.

The solid silver punch bowl wrought by Gorham by order of the State of Oklahoma in 1913, out of the collection given to the Battleship *Oklahoma* sunk in Pearl Harbor, was brought out and filled with rich punch and in the Directors' Room, the guests were offered

a token of Oklahoma's hospitality. Two beautiful Indian girls, granddaughters of the late Alice Brown Davis, Chief of the Seminole Nation, and nieces of the late Victor M. Locke, Jr., Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, Misses Alece and Benita Locke, served. Tribute must be paid here in the arrangement of the beautiful flowers and the development of the decorations to Mrs. Grace Ward, head of the Union Memorial Room. Upon her shoulders rested the chief responsibility of shaping this feature of the program. The splendid group of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association revealed their delight and appreciation of the reception on every hand.

The reception of the Society to the Mississippi Valley Historical Society was marked the next morning by a Breakfast tendered in honor of the officers, past and present, of the Association through its forty-three years, by the Board of Directors. Doctor Evans, Secretary of the Historical Society, presided and introduced many distinguished men and women about the tables.

The Chamber of Commerce made every effort possible to make the Mississippi Valley Historical Association feel that the metropolis and Capital of Oklahoma gave it high honor. At 12:30 P.M., April 21, in the Oklahoma Club, a Luncheon Conference was held at which Mayor Allen Street, President George L. Cross of Oklahoma University, and Doctor C. Q. Smith of Oklahoma City University, gave words of welcome.

Then the whole group of visitors, on Friday noon, April 21, went merry at a Chuck Wagon Feed in the Spirit of '89 (the year of the Big Run), served in the big and beautiful Municipal Plaza. The Santa Fe Railroad System joined with the city in offering this hour of food and fun.

The ladies of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association were given a happy greeting in a "Women's Reception" in the palatial home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Buttram in Nichols Hills, and from there were taken to the Oklahoma City Golf and Country Club for tea.

The sessions of discussion began on Wednesday, April 19th at 8 P.M. and ran through each day from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., with many night meetings—for three full days—each section had a central theme, and in and about this subject the best historical scholars of the Mississippi Valley states, some thirty in all, and many eminent authorities from all parts of America analyzed, evaluated and recorded American history. Profound interest attended every session of the big convention dealing with such themes as: "The American Revolution," "The Mississippi Valley Logging Industry," "Religion and Education," "Hayes, Wilson and the South," "American Agricultural History," "Critics of American Life—At Home and Abroad," "Spain in the Valley," "The War of 1861-1865," "Rail-

Lieut. Gov. James E. Berry and Mrs. Berry, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Hon. Baxter Taylor, Mr. Jim Biggerstaff, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Sr., and others receiving M.H.V.A. visitors.

Climaxing the evening's reception, refreshments were offered by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mrs. Grace Ward, Chairman of arrangements. The handsome sterling silver punch bowl from the silver service set of the U.S.S. *Oklahoma* in the Museum was flanked by the candelabra and beautiful floral pieces. The Misses Alece and Benita Locke presided at the table.

road Building," "Mid-Nineteenth Century Politics," "Opportunities for Research," "The Petroleum Industry," "Diplomacy and International Relations," "The Relations between the Government and the Economy," "Recent Political Movements," "Western Entertainment," "The American Indians," "The Public Lands," and "Recent Military History."

Just a word or two must be given on the reactions of visitors and friends as to the results growing out of the coming of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to the city and about the Society:

"On all hands I hear the most flattering comments upon your management of the recent meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society," —Walter S. Campbell (Stanley Vestal), the University of Oklahoma.

"I was very proud of being a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society when I saw the splendid part that was taken by the Society in the history meeting. I never saw a state historical society put on a finer presentation,"—Prof. B. B. Chapman, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater.

"The meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Oklahoma City last week was a success and you had no small hand in making it an outstanding event. I was glad that we had the privilege of visiting your beautiful building and meeting so many fine folks. Your breakfast on Friday morning will always stand out as a highlight of the meeting this year. . . . . We left Oklahoma City with a warm spot in our hearts and the meeting will serve as a real inspiration for years to come. Continue the good work which you are doing."—Elfrieda Lang, Assistant Editor, *Indiana Magazine of History.*

"I gave the literature of the Oklahoma Historical Society to the members. They expressed their admiration of the brochure and said it was one of the very finest products of its kind they had ever seen, coming from a State Historical Society. They also spoke most highly of *The Chronicles*, and this seemed to be their estimate of it as told to me by many members: 'In content and in its complete form, *The Chronicles* is the very best State Historical Magazine we have seen.' They also were very much pleased with the *O.H.S. News Letter* and many said they were going to establish one for their Society," Ruth Craig, Librarian, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Honorable Baxter Taylor, distinguished citizen and a Director of this Society for many years, summarized the whole strength growing out of the Convention when he said, "It was the most cultured and impressive reception to the most impressive group of scholars ever seen in and about Oklahoma."

Just a word or two about the origin, growth and character of the association that many believe to be the most potent Historical Association in America.

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, in a pamphlet entitled, "Our Widening Province" tells the story of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association through the thirty-seven years ending in 1944. He says

In October, 1907, a small group of men led by Clarence S. Paine of Nebraska, pioneered the cooperative advance of history in this Valley. The beginnings had a modesty that smacks of the frontier tradition. The secretaries of seven State Historical Societies . . . . met and turned an idea into an institution. In 1907 a permanent organization had been created and the secretary-treasurer proudly announced eighty members had paid dues of $1 each. . . . . If Clarence S. Paine is the father of the Association, the tutor and mentor of its adolescent days was Clarence W. Alvord. He served as the pioneer editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* Alvord, analyzing the replies from 50 historians whose advice had been asked, urbanely suggested that not only the size of the Valley but its unity of development differing in many ways from that of the East and the far West, made desirable a quarterly (also an Association) for the promotion of research in its history. The Valley was to be considered as extending from the Appalachian to the Rocky Mountains."

* * * * *

Thirty years after the founding of the *Review* and the Association, how well has the Association fulfilled its stated purpose? Up until 1932, the Association had developed twenty-nine volumes, penetrating spheres of history in the Great Valley, dealing with such subjects as "Settlement, Politics and Government, The Indian, Struggle for Possession, Trade, Land, Military Frontier and the Slavery Issue, Discovery and Exploration, Civil War, Foreign Affairs, Reconstruction, Mining and the Cattle Range. Eleven volumes were issued since 1932, enlarging tremendously the recorded history of the Mississippi Valley.

America can profit by accepting the values of American history, both in the ordeal of a war to preserve itself and the complex task of the coming peace. . . . . We can profit by thinking of history as re-creative in purpose, a vital process that deals with the stuff of life in its actuality, its human meaning, its human colored episode.

The men who founded this Association looked to the future and offered leadership to their profession. Today, spurred by achievements during these past years, we also look to the future. We are trying to envision unrealized possibilities in the province of American history and culture . . . . received and approved the teaching of American history in schools and colleges in the belief that 'Knowledge of our own history is essential in the making of Americans'. . . . . We must accept the responsibilities of our high task as historians, not alone of the Great Valley of America, but also of the American people.

The men who led this convention officially must be paid the highest tribute. Doctor Carl Coke Rister of Oklahoma University, as President, Doctor Ellis, Vice-President, and honored with the Presidency in 1951, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mr. Wendell Stephenson, Managing Editor, carried the convention through to genuine success. The attitude of the Association, as it concluded its sessions, is shown in the Resolution:

Resolution

BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association hereby express their sincere appreciation to the individuals and organizations that have contributed so liberally to make the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Association such a happy occasion and an outstanding success:

Looking along a statuary corridor in the Oklahoma Historical Building, the evening of the reception. A distinguished visitor said, "In all my travels throughout America, I know of no other Historical Society building as beautiful and impressive."

The Library Reading Room. The evening of the reception, all visitors of the M.H.V.A. were received by the head of each department and the nature of the work here presented.

To the Committee on Local Arrangements, which, under the devoted and able leadership of Clarence S. Paine, extended itself to provide entertainment and anticipate the desires of the members.

To those many others who gave of their time and money, and especially to the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce and its Managing Director, Stanley Draper, its Secretary, Glenn Faris, and the head of the Convention Bureau, Tommy Ashinhurst; to the Capitol Hill Chamber of Commerce and its Manager, Hosea Vinyard, and the Santa Fe Railway Company and its representative, Charles Lane, which, with the Oklahoma City Chamber, in providing the unique Chuck Wagon Feed, exhibited a generosity and a fellowship in the true spirit of '89 and in the finest frontier tradition of hospitality.

To the Phillips Petroleum Company, especially Vice-President W. W. Keeler and Charles E. Cummings of its Public Relations Department, who in no small manner contributed to the entertainment and through their presence to the *esprit de corps* of the entire meeting.

To the Oklahoma Historical Society, which, with its demonstration of colorful Indian dances, so reminiscent of Oklahoma's early beginning; the excellent exhibits in its fine museum building; and the friendly breakfast honoring officers and committee members of the Association, made welcome gestures of hospitality and friendliness. Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Society, and his staff won our hearts and our thanks.

To the Women's Committee, which, under the able chairmanship of Mrs. Walter L. Gray, provided an enjoyable afternoon for the women of our Association, and to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Buttram for their gracious hospitality.

To Dr. Colin B. Goodykoontz and his fine committee for arranging such a diversified yet well-coordinated program of subjects and discussions.

To the management of the hospitable Oklahoma Biltmore Hotel, especially its Assistant Managers Ross Wilson, Charles Kemper, and Hal Crippen, and Chef Ernest Gasser, who were most gracious and thoughtful in arranging for our comfort and pleasure.

To the Oklahoma Club and its manager, G. A. O'Reilly, for supplementing with equal excellence the facilities of the hotel.

Altogether, the members of our Association will leave Oklahoma City in a happy mood and will long remember the hospitality and friendliness enjoyed at this pleasant and profitable annual meeting. Our deep appreciation to all who planned and worked to make this possible.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS:

John D. Barnhart
Hogan
LeRoy R. Hafen, Chairman

HISTORY OF THE OKLAHOMA STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH—1890-1907

*By Grady F. Mathews, M.D.**

Oklahoma celebrates its birthday in November, for, on November 16, 1907, at Guthrie, Oklahoma officially became one of the United States along with forty-five other commonwealths. Oklahoma has developed through a long and illustrious history of 120 years; the establishment of U. S. military posts and roads; the Five Civilized Tribes—their coming on the "Trail of Tears," and planting their constitutional governments; the Plains Indians with their reservations; the openings to white settlement, the first in 1889, the last in 1905, with the color, the daring, the excitement that was so much a part of these events, —the "boomers" and the "sooners;" and Oklahoma Territory with its government and seven governors.

The Public Health Department of Oklahoma likewise has its own history of early progress and accomplishment. The first Territorial Legislature convened in Guthrie, in July, after the Organic Act was passed in June of 1890. On October 30, the sixty-fifth day of the Session, the House introduced a bill creating a Territorial Board of Health and regulating the practice of medicine. This bill passed both the House and the Council on November 20, was signed by Governor Steele on December 25, and was made effective immediately.[1]

By this act, the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory was to be ex-officio President of the Board of Health. The Governor was to appoint, as Vice-President of the Board, some suitable person who "shall be a resident of the territory." With the consent of the Council, the Governor was to appoint, as Superintendent of Health, a man "who shall be learned in medicine, a graduate of some medical college, recognized by the American Medical Association, and a resident of the Territory." The Superintendent was to act as Secretary of the Board, keep the records of the proceedings of the Board and of his own acts as Superintendent. The members of the Board met at least once every six months in such places in the Territory as they, from time to time, might select.[2]

---

* Grady F. Mathews, M.D., is commissioner of the Oklahoma State Department of Public Health.—Ed.

[1] *Session Laws, Oklahoma Territory,* 1890—Ch. 9, Sec. 409-424.

[2] *Ibid.* This Board was given authority to:

1. Fix time and place of meeting.
2. Make rules and regulations for government of the board.
3. Make and enforce any and all needful rules and regulations for the prevention and cure of diseases and to prevent the spread of any contagious, in-

The Superintendent was the only one who received a salary for his work. The President received a salary as Superintendent of Public Instruction, and he and the Vice-President received five cents per mile for travel to attend meetings and any other necessary expenses incurred in attendance at meetings of the board. The Superintendent was paid $500.00 annual salary in quarterly payments, also five cents per mile for "every actual mile necessarily traveled in performance of official duties." He was also allowed money to purchase necessary record books and papers for printing reports—all not to exceed $300.00 annually. The Superintendent of Public Health was to make a report to the Governor on December 1, 1892 and biennially thereafter.

At the first meeting the Territorial Board was authorized to appoint two residents from each county, who, with the county superintendent of public instruction, would serve as the Board of Health for the county. One of the men appointed must be a physician licensed to practice medicine in the county, who would serve as superintendent of health for the county and also serve as secretary of the county board. The duties of the county board of health were similar to the duties of the territorial board of health within the limits of their own county. The county superintendents were paid at the rate of three dollars per day for every day actually engaged in work and in addition, were allowed five cents per mile for necessary travel.[3] The law required all physicians to report to the county superintendent of health any contagious or infectious disease among persons or animals and declared that failure to do so would constitute a misdemeanor.[4]

The Territorial Board of Health was responsible for registering and licensing physicians for practice in the Territory. The Secretary of the Board, who was a doctor, together with two assistants who were also physicians, constituted the examining board. The Territorial statutes provided that a license to practice medicine in the Territory should be issued to graduates of recognized medical schools upon "presentation of their diploma . . . . and upon affidavits of two

---

fectious, or malarial diseases among persons or domestic animals.
4. Establish quarantine and isolate any persons affected with contagious or infectious diseases.
5. Isolate, kill or remove any animals affected with contagious or infectious disease.
6. Remove or cause to be removed, any dead, decaying or putrid body, or any decayed, putrid or other substance that may endanger the health of persons or domestic animals.
7. Condemn or cause to be removed any impure or diseased article of food that may be offered for sale.
8. Superintend boards of health in counties, cities, villages and townships.
9. Empower and direct the Superintendent of Health to do or cause to be done any of the things mentioned in 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

[3] *Sessions Laws, Oklahoma Territory,* 1898, Ch. 8.
[4] *Session Laws, Oklahoma Territory,* 1890, Ch. 9.

citizens from the county where such physician resides that such applicant possess the qualifications of a physician, and that he is of good moral character and not a habitual drunkard," and upon payment of a fee of $2.00.

Many applications for license or registration were refused upon grounds that the diplomas were from fraudulent institutions and represented no necessary medical knowledge by persons securing such diplomas. Several graduates of the Wisconsin Eclectic Medical College had asked to take the examination but were consistently refused since this institution was not recognized by the American Medical Association. In 1898 there were 740 registered physicians. An interesting observation in the 1897-98 report deals with the question of recognizing the licenses of physicians living in Greer County, which had recently been annexed to Oklahoma. These physicians had been licensed under Texas law and were asking that this license be accepted in the Territory. The Attorney General of Oklahoma Territory ruled that certificates to practice in Oklahoma Territory should be issued to holders of Texas licenses who were residing in Greer County at the time of annexation.[5]

The first mention made of osteopaths in the Territory was in the 1897-98 report. Three had come, one to Guthrie, one to Newkirk, and one to El Reno. When notified that they must take examinations, they left.

Some items from early reports merit attention. The 1897-98 report, made by L. Haynes Buxton, M.D., Territorial Superintendent of Health, calls attention to the outbreak of yellow fever in the South.[6] The spread was so extensive and so rapid that the people in the affected areas were panic stricken and numerous telegrams were being received by people in the territory, asking if refugees from the stricken fever district would be allowed to enter Oklahoma Territory. The entire membership of private schools and other institutions were seeking a place of refuge. It was the decision of Doctor Buxton that none be allowed to enter. In fact, the doctor ordered all trains entering the Territory to be inspected and all refugees from the yellow fever areas were to be detained.

The same report mentioned that there were many deaths from diphtheria[7] particularly from Western Oklahoma Territory. The

---

[5] *Fourth Biennial Report,* Territorial Superintendent of Health, p. 17.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 7ff. Lauren Haynes Buxton, M.D., served as Territorial Superintendent of Public Health in Oklahoma from 1897 to 1901. A native of Londonderry, Vermont, born July 15, 1859, he entered the Medical Department of the University of New York City in 1883, and graduated the following year. Previous to this time, he had studied medicine in the office of Dr. Spafford at Windham, Vermont. He had also studied law, had been a teacher of Greek and Latin, and had served as Principal of Public Schools in Bloomingdale, New York. After graduating in medicine, he went to Iowa in 1884. He came to Guthrie, Indian Territory, in 1888, and moved to Oklahoma City, in 1899.—Ed.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 9.

(Photo by courtesy of Garrison Buxton, Oklahoma City)

LAUREN HAYNES BUXTON

suggestion was made that the people out there were poorly protected from inclement weather since many were living in dugouts. There is no record of the number of cases since there was no law which required physicians to report communicable diseases, births and deaths; and some physicians were of the opinion that reporting such facts was tantamount to betraying the confidence of their patients. Malaria continued rampant in all sections of Oklahoma Territory.

The Territorial Board of Health had directed Doctor Buxton to publish a bulletin which should be the official organ of the Board; should contain the monthly reports of the county superintendents of health and general information of a sanitary nature to physicians and the general public. It was expected that it would be issued each month but because of insufficient funds, it was published bi-monthly. The *Bulletin* was the first weapon of the Board in its campaign against ignorance and superstition as related to health standards.[8] One of the county superintendents of health, in discussing the attempts to enforce sanitary regulations, makes this comment, "People are inclined to the belief that we are infringing too much on their personal rights by requesting them to clean and regulate their own premises, so we are obliged to *educate* them before we can enforce anything like a perfect system of sanitation."[9]

Several of the county superintendents of health made the complaint that midwives were still bothering the county superintendents: "The law implies that only licensed physicians may practice medicine; obstetrics is a branch of medicine; therefore, unregistered midwives are violating the law when they assist in a delivery." The violations were placed before the county attorneys but little or nothing was done to stop them. Another county superintendent of health had this to say concerning midwives: "The granny midwife, with her dirty hands, her untrained skill, have shared in just rebuke from the territorial Superintendent of Health. . . . . Who can say how many good women have escaped the endless suffering and untimely grave by the action of the Territorial Board of Health."[10]

As early as 1897 one or more of the county superintendents of health suggested that tuberculosis be placed in the list of contagious diseases and that it be obligatory for all cases of suspected tuberculosis to be reported to the county superintendents of health and upon confirmation of diagnosis, all necessary precautions taken to prevent the spread of this disease.

Doctor Robert McCullough, Superintendent of Health for Custer County, had some blank certificates printed for recording of births and deaths and had distributed them to all physicians but he felt

---

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 23; 41.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 23; 39; 45; 56.

that he was not getting very good cooperation in the matter of reporting. There were numerous cases of typhoid, malaria, and pneumonia reported from the various counties. It is interesting that in these early territorial reports, mention is made of outbreaks of blackleg and Texas fever in cattle herds, cholera among hogs, and glanders among horses. Always the infected herds were quarantined and proper disposition made of the dead.

In December of 1896, a new health code was adopted by the Territorial Board.[11] This code is rather complete; it provides for establishment of quarantine for diseases of both people and animals; provides for county, city, or town boards of health to have supervision over location, drainage, water supply, heating, lighting, ventilation and plumbing and disposal of excreta of schools and school houses, within their respective jurisdictions. These boards also had the authority to inspect all public or private institutions, buildings, and residences of whatever kind within their jurisdiction. If unsanitary conditions were found, they must be corrected at once. If contagious or infectious diseases were found, all precautions must be taken to prevent the spread of such diseases.

Provision was also made for exclusion from school following illness from or exposure to a contagious disease. A rather interesting provision outlines duties of school teachers to observe pupils in their schools, particularly during a period of epidemic and gives to the teacher the authority to dismiss from school any person suspected of having a contagious or infectious disease. However, the teacher was expected to outline her reasons for dismissal in writing, to the health officer. The teachers were expected to "closely observe" the pupils in their schools and "no pupil shall be admitted into any public or private school in this territory with any eruptive disease, sore throat or contagious sore eyes." There were rules to prevent children from going from a house where there was a contagious disease to any public or private school and local health officers were authorized to quarantine premises where there were contagious or infectious diseases.

In many homes there were no wells or other sources of water except as it was hauled in barrels. Steps were taken to keep the "water-barrel clean and sanitary" and one of the numerous jobs of the health officer was to inspect these water-barrels in which water was hauled, usually from a neighboring well or from a small creek.

In an early report, the New Hampshire Board of Health rules for preventing the spread of tuberculosis are quoted and the recommendation made that they be adopted in the Territory.[12] Formalde

[11] *Biennial Report,* Territorial Board of Health 1895-96, p. 33 ff.
[12] *Fourth Biennial Report,* Territorial Superintendent of Health, p. 102.

hyde was recommended for use as a disinfectant for rooms and their contents where there had been a case of tuberculosis, diphtheria or typhoid fever. Detailed instructions are given for disinfecting books, papers and mail.

The 1897-98 report tells of another outbreak of diphtheria and many deaths from the disease. The people objected to having a quarantine flag on their houses—often tore them down. Woods County had the highest number of cases and greatest percentage of deaths. The county health officers from both Woods and Washita counties gave an opinion that unsanitary living conditions were responsible for the epidemic. They particularly mentioned *sod* houses as a contributing factor. Definite rules were made for exhuming bodies and for reburial of such bodies. There were regulations concerning public nuisances, deleterious foods and drugs, and for construction of sewerage vaults. Violations of these regulations were classified as misdemeanors.

The 1897-98 report has some interesting observations concerning the responsibilities of the local health officer. The following quotation gives evidence of one responsibility which caused grave concern:[13]

"We believe also that legislation should be enacted to stop the work of the traveling quack whose only desire and business is to fleece the people, and as soon as he has caught his victims flees to greener fields with his money . . . . hundreds of men in our country live by this method, and are no better than the "green goods" man and his class of followers. If fraud is controlled and prevented by statute so also should the nefarious business of these men be stopped by like means. If it is unwise to allow the citizens of our territory to be preyed upon by irresponsible dishonest charlatans who reside or are traveling through our territory, we believe it also desirable to shut out agents for similar concerns and men who reside outside the territory, that are sent here to seek out the unfortunate victims with the promise that the cure is to come from some faraway city, accompanied by a guarantee of cure, but in all cases a note or money is given in advance, and it is too often the case, the money is given and the party fleeced out of his scanty earnings from a prairie farm. Some method should be devised to shut dishonest agents out of the territory. Bad enough to be hood-winked by such pretenders as Schrader, the so-called "divine healer" who attempted to make our territory, but who, thanks to our efficient superintendents of health in Grant and Garfield counties, caused him to understand that he was not needed and induced him to turn away.

"In connection with this subject I desire to present the following letter in reference to the work of the notorious 'Diamond Dick' also a letter following, showing the class of applications which often are received for registration under our law:

Office of Dr. E. W. Witten
Oklahoma City, Ok., Oct 17, 1898

"Dr. L. Haynes Buxton, Guthrie, Ok.:

"My Dear Doctor:—I have eight bottles of medicine (pint bottles) that was brought to me by a family by the name of Churchill living twelve

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

miles west of this place. The medicine was prepared and prescribed by the famous 'Diamond Dick'. He charged these people $65 for his medicine. They paid him the cash, as did three other persons in the same neighborhood the same day. Am also informed that he got six or seven hundred dollars in notes in the same locality. Of course his intention is to sell the notes to some innocent purchaser. I think he works the territory systematically and does not go to the same neighborhood the second time. Am told his home is in Chickasha, I.T. and it looks like he ought to be apprehended and punished to the full extent of the law. The name of the people I refer to can be obtained at any time. The medicine is put up in sixteen-ounce prescription bottles. The directions are written on blank paper pasted on the bottle and no name signed.

Very truly yours,
E. W. Whitten, M. D."

The Territorial Health Officer in 1898 was much concerned over the increase in number of insane persons, particularly women. The suggestion was made that it was perhaps due to the rigors of pioneer life, unsettled financial conditions and lack of congenial society.[14]

Doctor C. D. Arnold, Territorial Superintendent of Health in 1895, formulated a tabulated circular listing 21 supposed leading causes of death other than accidental or suicidal. Provision was also made for indicating sex and age—the age groupings were arranged: under 1 year; 1 to 5 years; 5 to 10 years; 10 to 15 years; 15 to 20 years; above 20 years of ages were arranged in 10 year groups.[15] Doctor Arnold hoped to secure data which might be used in making a comparison of health conditions in the Territory with similar conditions in the states. These circulars were mailed to some 600 registered physicians in the Territory. One hundred and fifty responded, all gave full answers to each question and many made additional statements of their experience and observations. These 150 physicians reported 738 deaths from all causes and 2375 births in a population of some 230,000. An analysis of the replies shows that 18.1 per cent of all deaths reported were under 1 year of age. This compared favorably with 22.5 per cent in the U.S. Census Report of 1890. Doctor Arnold comments that many of the deaths under 1 year in the territory were due to diseases peculiar to dentition, some to exposure to sun, lack of shady lawns or cool places and "not a few died from bad feeding." Three per cent of all deaths were from intermittent or remittent fever; 5.7 per cent from typhoid; 9 per cent from cholera infantum; 6.6 per cent from consumption. The death rate from tuberculosis in Oklahoma Territory was below that in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts. During the years 1894-95 there were 65 reported deaths from diphtheria. Since these figures represent reports from only a fourth of the registered physicians, they do not give a fair picture of the birth and death situation. What is important, how-

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[15] *Biennial Report*, Territorial Board of Health 1895-96, p. 102.

ever, is the fact that the territorial superintendent of health recognized the need for accurate reporting of births and the number, cause, age, and sex of deaths.

There was division of opinion among physicians as to what extent malaria was exhibited in the cases of continued or slow fevers. The conclusion was that malaria did prevail especially on the lowlands and along the streams in the Territory in a degree relative to the amount of spring and summer rainfall. The greater prevalence was in the eastern counties: Logan, Kingfisher, Blaine, Lincoln, Kay, Pottawatomie, Pawnee, Noble, Oklahoma, Canadian, and Cleveland.

Many of the county superintendents of health attributed most illnesses to the fact that the diet was limited, particularly as to fresh fruits and to the fact of the dirt habitations, the sod houses, the dugouts and the half and half (half dugout-half sod) which were generally in use, together with the turning of the virgin sod. "Whenever the sod houses and dugouts are relegated to the past and the virgin sod turned, this class of fevers will doubtless cease to exist."[16]

There were many cases of typhoid fever, particularly in rural areas. One physician, writing at some length on this situation, suggests that this prevalence of typhoid fever is due to the water supply. "Wells are always dug in swags and low places towards which the water falls from the higher lands adjacent and often from barnyards." The majority of these wells are unprotected against this surface water. Numerous and repeated observations have pointed to such wells as the direct primary cause of much of our typhoid fever. In further proof of this, our physicians have observed in a marked degree, especially in the City of El Reno, that in the last three years, there has been much less typhoid fever among those who used hydrant water than among those who used water from wells.

There was a general idea among those early physicians that Oklahoma Territory, because of climate, rainfall, and elevation, was beneficial to people who were suffering from asthma, chronic bronchitis and incipient consumption. However, Doctor J. D. Ballard, Superintendent of Health in Washita County, who was also physician to the Government School at Colony, says that he is convinced that western Oklahoma offers no advantage of climate to the consumptive outside of the ratio of atmospheric dryness as compared to the climate to which the patient has been accustomed. Dr. Ballard in his report states that tuberculosis among the Indians is becoming a matter of grave import:[17]

---

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[17] *Fourth Biennial Report*, Territorial Superintendent of Health, 1897-98, p. 25.

"I believe I am safe in saying that out of a total of about 600 Indian inhabitants of the Seger Colony District, tuberculosis has carried off more victims within the past year than all other diseases combined have claimed from a white population of 10,000 within our county. This is putting it pretty strongly, but I speak advisedly. Hereditary predisposition, nomadic, exposed habits of life, poor fare and remoteness from medical attendance, all conduce to these frightful figures, but I am convinced that the dust upon the floor of the teepee, laden with deadly germ liberated from the dried sputum of infected patients, is the chief element of causation."

There were few changes in the laws governing public health in the Territory from 1893 until 1903 when the statutes of 1890 and 1893 were repealed and a new plan inaugurated. According to the 1903 *Statutes,* an act was passed establishing a "Board of Health and for other purposes."[18] Section 1. "There is hereby created a Territorial Board of Health consisting of three persons, all of whom shall be residents of the Territory, regularly practicing and legally qualified physicians in good standing." These were to be appointed by the Governor and approved by the Council. (The two houses of the Legislature were known as the Council, and the House.) The board members were to serve for two years and one member was designated as superintendent and was ex-officio secretary of the board. The Board was to elect one member president and the other vice-president.

The salary of the superintendent was raised (*Law,* 1903) to $800.00 per annum and he was allowed $500.00 annually to purchase records, supplies, and for printing and traveling expense. The president and vice-president received fees for examination of applicants for license to practice medicine and surgery, to be divided equally between them, and actual necessary traveling expenses not to exceed $100.00 per annum.

No person was permitted to practice medicine or surgery in the territory without a license from the Territorial Board of Health. The application was submitted in writing with the fee $5.00 and an affidavit of good moral character and showing proof of graduation from a reputable medical college or proof that the applicant had been practicing continuously for the past ten years. All members of the board must be present for the examination and the applicant must file his license with the Register of Deeds in his county. The laws provided a penalty for practicing or attempting to practice

---

[18] *Session Laws, Oklahoma Territory,* 1903, Ch. 5. Members of the Board were to meet every three months and their duties as outlined were:

1. Examine applicants and grant licenses to those found to be qualified to practice medicine.
2. Quarantine against outside territory known to be infected with contagious or infectious diseases.
3. To condemn and destroy impure and diseased articles of food offered or exposed for sale.
4. Act in conjunction with county and municipal boards of health.

without a license. If convicted, the defendant was fined not less than $50.00 nor more than $100.00, or imprisoned in the county jail not less than 30 days nor more than six months, or by both fine and imprisonment. (This regulation did not apply to osteopaths).

The personnel of the county boards was likewise changed. There were three members, a physician appointed by the territorial superintendent who acted as superintendent of the county board; a physician appointed by the county commissioners was vice-president and the chairman of the board of county commissioners served as president of the board. The superintendent was paid his expenses not to exceed $100.00 per annum. These provisions became effective March 12, 1903 and were effective until statehood.[19]

Part of an early report reads like a Chamber of Commerce brochure:[20]

"After a residence in Oklahoma of more than seven years, and having a general acquaintance with its natural geography, its air, temperature and distribution of rainfall, together with some practical observations on the effects of its climate on diseases of the respiratory organs as compared with kindred diseases in the Ohio Valley, I am prepared to say that a very large per cent of those suffering with asthma and chronic bronchitis can find relief by coming here and remaining. That incipient consumption, in many cases, may be benefitted in central or western Oklahoma cannot be doubted. Hippocrates said: 'Whoever desires to understand medicine can by no means neglect the study of the seasons, with the variations of their winds, both as to heat and cold and those peculiar to certain regions, and of the properties of different waters.' This advice is as applicable to the citizen personally who is seeking climatic medicine as it is to the student of medicine. He who comes here suffering from bronchitis, asthma or incipient consumption must be judicious and possessed of wisdom sufficient to know when and how to keep his body well protected by suitable clothing against sudden declines of temperature and cold winds in winter, and avoid locating near creeks, if he expects to be benefited.

"Our elevation in central Oklahoma varies with different localities from 950 feet at Guthrie to 1,300 at Alva, 1,400 at Ft. Reno, 1,600 at Mangum, on the southwest, 2,300 at Woodward, gradually rising to over 4,000 feet at the west end of Beaver County. Our rainfall is usually greatest in the spring months. The annual rainfall is about 40 inches on the east, 30 in central Oklahoma and 20 to 25 in the western part. Winters are short, with an average temperature of 39 degrees; summer, 77 degrees; mean annual temperature, 58 degrees. Our air bathed in more or less sunshine for nearly three hundred days in the year is rare, dry, pure, fresh and invigorating. We have our occasional winds and dust, but we have one-third less depressing influence from dull, dark, cloudy days than in the Mississippi Valley and a man can take 50 per cent more exhilarating sunbaths and breathe more pure, fresh air here during autumn and winter than in any place between us and the Atlantic Sea Board in the same time."

---

[19] *Ibid.*, ch. 5.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

This brief sketch of Public Health in Oklahoma Territory is a small tribute to the pioneer physicians,[21] who, in spite of difficulties, low salaries, few hospitals, poor roads, without modern means of communication, with people living under unfavorable conditions, in sod houses and dugouts, with a most inadequate water supply (frequently water was hauled and kept in barrels), with a scarcity of citrus fruits for a proper diet, with a high incidence of typhoid fever and a general prevalence of malaria in all parts of the country —with quacks and fakirs and untrained midwives to harrass them— in spite of droughts and crop failures—in spite of all circumstances, these pioneer physicians builded well and strong the foundation for a healthy citizenry in the proud State of Oklahoma.

[21] TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF HEALTH

Date	Governor	Superintendent of Health
1890	George W. Steele	J. A. Overstreet, M.D.
1893	Abraham J. Seay	J. A. Overstreet, M.D.
1894	Abraham J. Seay	C. D. Arnold, M.D.
1895	Wm. C. Renfrow	C. D. Arnold, M.D.
1897	Wm. C. Renfrow	L. Haynes Buxton, M.D.
1899	Cassius M. Barnes	L. Haynes Buxton, M.D.
1901	Cassius M. Barnes	E. E. Condrick, M.D.
1903	Wm. N. Jenkins	E. E. Condrick, M.D.
1903	Thompson B. Ferguson	E. E. Condrick, M.D.
1905	Thompson B. Ferguson	E. G. Scharp, M.D.
1906-07	Frank Frantz	E. G. Scharp, M.D.

LOG-CABIN DAYS IN OKLAHOMA

*By James K. Hastings**

After a night on the claim sleeping under the stars, with a tired pony cropping grass near by, the dim coals of a camp fire glowing in the darkness, a saddle for a pillow and a saddle blanket and slicker for cover, I awoke on the morning of April 23, 1889, to the task of making a farm and home from a raw piece of land. In the run into Old Oklahoma I had staked a quarter section at the western end of present Payne County, four miles east of the Santa Fe Railroad.

Our part of the newly opened land had nothing in sight on the opening day but sky, grass, trees, and water in the small creeks. We undertook to plant garden patches but it was not easy, for the land was all covered with grass. The ground had to be broken to a depth of three or four inches and turned over with a breaking plow. The breaking was done with a moldboard plow or better still with some three or four half inch rods instead of a moldboard. Such a rod plow could not be used in sandy land.

When the strips of sod were turned over they should lie undisturbed for months to cause the grass roots to rot. We could jam in a few corn grains or other seeds about four furrows apart and possibly grow some sod corn, sorghum or melons provided the ground squirrels and mice did not steal the seeds. All the land broken out before the dry summer came on was ready to be "back set" by crossing the early plowing in September and turning up some three inches of other soil to fit the land for wheat. We early learned that little or no plowing could be done in the summer except for a few days following a soaking rain.

The present use of corrugated iron and aluminum came too late for the pioneers of 1889. Just one sheet of it that spring would have sheltered a man in an all-night rain if he had leaned it against a cut bank or tree and sat under it. It is true that we might have crawled into a hollow log but we never knew what denizens of the land were there ahead of us. Rattlesnakes and copperheads were much more common then than now. Those who had tarps, wagon sheets or tents lived in or under them the first summer. We who came in the saddle had no extra equipment.

---

* This paper was read at the meeting of the Payne County Historical Society, April 16, 1950. It is the sequel to "The Opening of Oklahoma," an article in which the author told of his journey from Ohio to the claim he staked in the run of April 22, 1889. See *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 70-75. The claim was six miles northeast of present Mulhall. Mr. Hastings was Payne County surveyor from 1905-07, and from 1911-12 inclusive. Since 1945 he has lived in Stillwater.—Ed.

As we discovered small groves of post-oak trees of suitable size, some who had come from timbered sections in the states began looking for "house logs." It was illegal to cut trees on any land but one's own homestead, but it was done. In throwing open the land to settlement the government had set aside sections 16 and 36 in each township for school purposes and some timber was cut on those sections illegally by homesteaders. The Cherokee Strip was not far away and some having homesteads on the prairie cut posts and firewood there before it was opened. The common expression referring to such men was that "they were getting wood on section 37."

When we got out a house pattern of logs we tried to have them uniform in size. Some preferred logs about eight inches in diameter, others liked them about fourteen inches in diameter. The larger logs required more broadax work, much like hewing railroad ties. The minute a man picked up an ax and approached a tree we could tell if he had been brought up in the timber or on the prairie. If from the prairie he began his cut nearly waist high. There would be two or three feet of good log wasted. Some of the green ones did hate to bow their haughty backs and save the best of the tree.

Of course we all turned out for a "raising." There was a place for skilled men at the corners and the old hands were set there to bevel off each log so that the notch of the next one above would fit down on it like a saddle on a horse's back. One did not need long logs all the way up on the side where there was to be a window or door, for short logs would extend from the corner to the opening.

After the pen of the house was up to the plate, then must come the rafters and other roofing materials. If a man had money it was a simple matter to go to a lumberyard and get rafters, sheeting, inch lumber for gable ends and shingles. When one had no money he generally ran up the gable ends with short logs, and shorter, that would run to the rafter slope. Then on either side of the ridge pole and parallel to it were four or five straight poles equally spaced on which to nail oak shakes or clapboards. For this type of cabin about all the lumberyards got to sell us was perhaps two small window sashes and lumber for window and door frames and for a door.

The shakes did not fit closely together as shingles do. Some homekeepers in those log cabins in winter were always tucking old rags into the gaps between the shakes. My old friend, George Dollenger, from eastern Payne County tells of waking one morning following a fierce blizzard and finding three inches of snow on his bed, but like myself he was young and hardy then and brushed it off as a minor inconvenience.

I have helped make oak shakes to cover a roof. We used cuts from a straight grained burr oak tree, making cuts about 24 inches

(Photo—Oklahoma Historical Society collection)

Pioneer Log Cabin Home

long. The shakes were split or rived from these cuts with a frow, having a blade a foot long and a wooden handle. It split them from six to twelve inches wide and about a half inch thick. Later we smoothed the shakes on the top side with a drawknife, but not too much for we wanted the rain to run down the grain of the shake instead of off to one side and into the house.

The doors were generally made of pine flooring and often the door latch was a wooden bar with a leather thong hung out through a hole in the door to open it from the outside. So when a family said, "Our latchstring hangs out," it meant you were a welcome guest. When the string was drawn we were in our castle and our drawbridge was up.

After getting the walls up and the roof on we had to chink the walls. This was done by driving in wedge-shaped pieces of oak lengthways between the logs. Then the wall had to be daubed or plastered, sometimes with regular mortar but more often in the earlier day with clay mud which made it look somewhat like a wasp nest. Some in derision referred to "my mud dauber's nest."

In our section we built fireplaces of stone but farther east were some of mud and stick chimneys. I was always afraid of them for a log house afire on a cold winter night is not funny at all. I had one once and know.

If one wanted to put on style in his cabin the log ends projecting at the corners were sawed off. Some left them as they were handy to hang things on. In a cabin in Colorado I can remember a corner log used to hang the Dutch cheese sack on while it drained.

We did not take too much account of a floor in a log house for we could manage without it. This was true until we built the frame or stone house, the dream of all of us. I had a floor in my claim cabin but that was because I had brought lumber for a house pattern in the carload of furniture, tools and stock from the old home after the first summer. There were no sod houses in our locality and few dugouts. Dugouts were bug palaces—I would not know how to keep bugs out of them.

Imagine if you can, living in a land of high priced money where borrowers paid 40 percent interest on short time loans. Farm loans were never lower than 10 percent with a commission on top of that. This was one reason for our makeshift houses. Present day farmers who can get all the money they want from 3 to 5 percent hardly realize how fortunate they are. It was our policy to get out of debt and stay out, and that policy is sound today.

When we landed in the new country we picketed out our horses. It took cash to buy barbed wire, called "bob wire." It was shipped in by the carload and probably to the unloaders of those cars was

the cause of more profanity than Missouri mules, for it cost a suit of work clothes per car and a lot of lacerated hands and feelings.

Posts had to be made or bought. We had no white oak but some post oak in scattered clumps. Posts made from this timber were not very durable. I bought one thousand such posts from a neighbor for $25 and was given all the tops I could haul off for fuel. He was clearing a field and wanted the timber off the land. Even a little grocery money was acceptable to him for the timber.

We could not delay too long the fencing of pastures for it took time to picket out stock and take it to water and fresh grass twice daily.

When winter came we had to provide some place for our stock out of the storm. The Lord was good to us during the winter of 1889-90 for we had almost no storms. There were snow flurries which soon melted; then the sky cleared, and all was serene. We erected temporary sheds south of haystacks or cut banks on the creek and covered them with damaged hay. Later, after we got to growing small grain and threshing it, we built more substantial frames for sheds and then would thresh the straw from a field of wheat onto the frame and over all but the south side. Then our shelter problems were over for awhile especially if we could get some poultry wire to keep the stock from eating into the straw sides. All this leads to the belief that the large barns required in colder regions are not needed in Oklahoma. Shelter from the cold north wind and a dry place to lie down was all our stock needed.

Barbed wire, patented in 1874, had come into general use before the opening of Old Oklahoma. When the Cherokee Strip was about to be opened we secured wire from ranchmen there with promptness. The ranchmen wanted to sell. The wire was of the Glidden patent perhaps, was somewhat heavier than that carried by the wire dealers, and had four barbs instead of two, but it was not too valuable. Pastures had not been closely grazed when the grass was burned off and fire had damaged the wire considerably. Also the line riders after driving a straying animal back into the pasture had a habit of tightening the slack wire by twisting it with a stick. The wire generally broke where twisted that way.

Part of the first summer several of us young homestead bachelors pooled our resources and camped with one on his claim on Clear Creek, just below my claim. It was permissible to be absent from a claim for six months of the year. So we "batched" together, slept under a tarp and all helped in getting wood and water and doing the cooking. We made pancakes mostly for bread for I doubt if any of us had mastered the mysteries of biscuit making and the Dutch oven. At that time we did not have bacon or ham but plain salt pork called "sow bosom." We were a wild lot to help found a great

state, weren't we? I remember that our dinner table was under a big burr oak tree and one subject of conversation at meals was whether the dead branch overhanging our table might fall while we were eating. In camp a kettle of navy beans simmering by the fire was always a welcome sight especially if there was pork in it. If we obtained any beef we usually included some vegetables with it and made soup and later it gravitated into a stew and was disposed of. If any of the countless prepared foods of today had been on the market the job of feeding an active bunch of homesteaders would have been simplified.

After we had helped a neighbor, Andy Whitmore, build his log house, an amusing incident occurred. On a trip to Alfred (now Mulhall) he met Mrs. John Finnell, the wife of an elderly neighbor, on her first trip to the new country. Her folks did not expect her and she was waiting to get a ride to the newly taken homestead. Andy offered to bring her and did, but the fearful roads, and the poorly-lit, tiny, mud-daubed cabin we had built frightened her and she announced that she had no money but was not going any farther until daylight. Andy was as honest as could be and would gladly have taken her the extra two miles to her people but she would have none of it. We pestered Andy for looking so fierce that an old aunty was afraid to ride with him. She evidently imagined that to travel more on those roads after dark would give someone a chance to rob her. Later the families became the best of friends.

One of the first things of interest to the early day settlers of Oklahoma was the water supply. For the first few weeks after the opening we got water from the creeks. A pail at a time did well for a single man but after rains the creeks were muddy and any spring might have to be cleaned out, so we continued looking for likely places to dig wells. Some persons were fortunate in this and others were flat failures. In the meantime we hauled water from the springs and wells of more fortunate neighbors. This we did by making a stone boat of heavy oak planks with the front end beveled off so that it would slip on the grass. We used a team of mules to haul a barrel of water. This did well for a time but we continued to look and hope for a better water supply.

One would laugh, if I should say as I can, that it was the hogs that drove me to a solution of the well question. I had been keeping a few hogs in pens made from saplings nailed to posts. They were a slight source of revenue for in that day we sold hogs for $2.50 to $3 a hundredweight, about a tenth of what they have brought since. I felt that I should run them out on a larger range so that they might get some of their feed from grazing.

In the meantime I hauled a load of hogs fifteen miles to the new town of Perry, the first winter after the opening of the Cherokee Strip. The butcher there was killing thin range cattle and had a

dozen beeves hung up, but he simply had not the money to buy my hogs. I hauled them home over the snowy landscape and reached the homestead about daylight the next morning. I sold the hogs to a neighbor who put them with his and shipped them to Kansas City. Now having some money I went to see a man who had a fence machine that would weave a hog fence after we had set the corner posts. I told him that I did not know just where I wanted the fence to run until I knew where I could get water. He promptly said that he could find water for me.

All my days I had been sarcastic about finding water with a peach twig or fork. Summer had come and the hogs needed more room and water. When he came to "witch" for water he took off his shoes for he said that would give him better contact. In a few minutes he told us that a stream from the northwest ran twelve feet underground near where I wanted a well. When we later put a well drill over the point where the stake was set, an inch stream of clear water burst out from the indicated side of the hole at twelve feet. I was no longer critical about water witching. The well never failed during the years we owned the farm.

As for roads, the first years we rambled about on the prairies as much as we liked until they were fenced, but we had to do something about crossing the creeks. We persuaded an elderly neighbor to act as supervisor. Then we cut a half dozen straight poles and dragged them to the bridge site and spanned the creek with them on top of a mud sill on either bank. If there was a sawmill near we could get a few slabs for flooring. If not, we laid straight poles close together to cross the stringers and then put on a load of straw-like manure, finishing with a covering of earth. These first bridges were not built for threshing outfits. Such outfits had to travel on the ridges.

We got along very well without much law enforcement machinery, such as it takes in this modern day. We had a killing but that did not stir the community too much. A man married a widow with a family. One day he came home drunk and was beating his wife when the oldest son shot and killed him. There was an inquest and when the grand jury considered the matter they freed the accused.

Judge Isaac C. Parker's twelve-foot hanging beam at Fort Smith may have been a bid for good order. There were some outlaws harbored at times in our neighborhood but I do not see how it could have been avoided. When one was wholly alone and someone rode up to his door after dark it was hardly pioneer style to ask for his family tree or his Rotary rating before asking him in. I have invited men stopping at my house in a bad storm after night to get into bed with me and spend the rest of the night. They were men that I had never seen before nor have I since. This was

pioneer life. It was as we were taught in the Golden Rule. Also, some night I too might be caught out.

Once I ran onto an outlaw at the home of a bachelor neighbor. The neighbor was gone and the stranger gave me a good eyeing. He was armed and held his hand down on his right side close to his gun. I left a message for my friend and later heard that the man was a notorious killer.

We had to depend on ourselves for churches, Sunday schools and entertainments. The various churches sent Sunday-school men as scouts to look over the field first and see where best to locate such services. They donated to our schools all lesson helps needed. These men were of the finest type and were more than welcome at any homesteader's cabin. They were a treat to those of us who lived far from town and loved to see someone from the outside world.

One told at our cabin of being entertained by some people newly come from Europe and making a new start in Oklahoma. After a good dinner the missionary was deeply touched on his leavetaking to have the wife and mother hand him a few coins and tell him in broken English that she always in the old home had tithed her income and that she wanted to contribute to his work here. Another missionary told of stopping for dinner at a one-room cabin and chatting for awhile with the family until the wife said, "Now if you will sit in the parlor I will get some dinner." Then he noticed that one end of the room had a carpet and bookcase and the other had a cookstove.

For entertainment we had literaries and spelling schools. Perhaps modern teachers would not favor the latter but we got a lot of pleasure from them. I remember that I was spelled down by a pretty schoolmiss on the word "maiden." I had left out the letter "i". What folly? I evened the score at the next meeting by reading them James Whitcomb Riley's "At 'the Literary' ". I do not know whether any of the young couples went home by "the old north way, where the Daubenspeckses live." They might have, for most of them came in the saddle. The girls of that day did not ride "*a-la*-clothes-pin" as they do today. It was a sight to see them mount with a flying leap from a horse block, for those saddlers had become cold and restless in waiting for us to close our spelling bee.

When we got our first cottonwood schoolhouse our troubles began. The lumber was green and winding and many of the floor boards shrank until the cracks were two inches wide. If a pencil or pen were dropped on the floor a boy must go under the house to retrieve it. The county superintendent came at the end of two months of school and closed the building, saying that it was not fit to hold school in as winter drew on. A chapter could be written on the non-descript houses built for worship and instruction in early Oklahoma.

As to law, we had a statute that every township should have two justices of the peace and two constables. This, I think, greatly exceeded our needs. I served a term as justice of the peace in the nineties. I knew nothing about the law or preparing legal papers. When a lawyer from the county seat sent me a deed to have a farmer and his wife acknowledge, I swore them to it and charged twenty-five cents for the six-mile trip and acknowledgment. The world was young then and so was I.

In Territorial days a move was started to cut postage on first class mail to one cent an ounce. I opposed it for it was worth two cents to carry letters. Congress was discussing Rural Free Delivery and a route had been operating for a few months near my old home in Ohio as an experiment. I wrote Dennis T. Flynn, Delegate to Congress, urging him to plug for rural delivery, not for a reduction in first class postage. Much to our joy we got Rural Free Delivery in 1903.[1] Until then there were times when we did not get mail for two or three weeks, partly because of the weather. One winter the snow thawed and froze a crust that would cut a horse's fetlocks until they bled.

In the summer of 1890 I worked nearly a month on farms in Kansas, my net wages being twelve bushels of seed wheat which was planted on our claim. While I was in Kansas my mother and two younger sisters held down the claim. They trapped rabbits for meat and we had so many in those years that I am like a Florida man and orange juice—I don't care for any more rabbit. In that day rabbits were not infected with tularemia and nearly all the population ate the meat.

We sowed rutabaga turnip seed at the time of sowing our first wheat crop in the fall of 1890, and so enjoyed the fine yellow turnip in place of the common strap leafed variety during the approaching "Turnip Winter." That winter turnips took the place of potatoes. They were a staple article of food on every table, and with corn bread, sorghum molasses and rabbit made the diet of many farm families. A few families had a hog or two by that time, and an occasional wild turkey, prairie chicken or squirrel graced our tables.

A fine neighbor, Sig Bentley now of Coyle, left his wagon at the line at the opening day in 1889 and rode one of his horses to get a claim. On his return to the wagon all was well except that his six little pigs were gone. To this day if we old neighbors see a stray pig we say that it must belong to Sig.

The steady diet of corn meal that we had those first years has made me wonder why we did not get pellagra, but I never heard of

[1] According to the Post Office Department, a rural route designated as No. 1, length 27 miles, was established at Mulhall on Sept. 1, 1903; and a rural route No. 1, length 26 miles, was established at Stillwater on Oct. 1, 1903.

a case. One of my neighbors who arrived too late in 1890 to make a crop traded ten day's work that fall for ten bushels of corn and having ground it, fed his family all winter on it.

The Indians hunted in our neighborhood before the opening. We saw traces of Indians in the dogwood thickets where they had cleared off the brush in a circle. They had pulled the surrounding dogwoods into a mound-like frame and when it was covered with buffalo robes or issue blankets it made as fine an overnight home as could be desired. Perhaps they wanted some of the wild turkeys I found later roosting in a great oak near their camp. I managed to get one or two but in the morning about daybreak their eyesight proved to be as good as mine.

During the first winter the panthers wailed about our homes at night. To one not used to them their screams sound like those of a woman in distress. In the middle of a dark night in a flimsy cabin it was truly a frightening sound. In my boyhood, on a survey in the Mogollon Mountains of New Mexico, I had seen what happened to some of the weaker folk when one of the big cats dropped on them from a tree.

I met a panther about sunrise when I was hurrying on the six mile walk to the railroad at Alfred to catch a train to Guthrie. The cat, weighing about 65 pounds, was washing himself, I judged, after his night's kill. I first saw him two or three rods away and he was facing me. I had nothing to defend myself with and would have been an easy mark if he had cared to attack. I did not try to drive him from my path but left the field to him.

We had many solos, duets, trios and about once in a blue moon a quartet from the coyotes. Coyotes were harmless but reminded us of the saying of the green young girl on her first trip west: "Lordy, lordy, lordy, just hear those jackals yell."

Elections were of considerable interest to us. We held them near the center of our township in a log house. Often it was cold, damp November weather. At first we voted through a window on the south side but when the Australian system requiring booths was adopted in 1891 we had to go inside.[2] It should have been a crime to ask a woman to clean up the mud we tracked in. The woman of that house later went insane and I cannot help believing that we were partly to blame for it. To be sure the county commissioners persisted in setting that house as a place to hold elections but they could

[2] Booths were required by an act of the legislature taking effect March 1, 1891. *Statutes of Oklahoma*, 1890, p. 562. An election had been held on August 5, 1890, at which the voters chose a name for their county, and elected representatives to the Territorial legislature. The proclamation announcing the election was signed by Governor George W. Steele on July 23, 1890. See sources cited by B. B. Chapman, *Founding of Stillwater*, p. 131.

have moved it to a schoolhouse. The commissioners paid two dollars for the use of a building at election time.

I served on election boards and came near freezing solid some nights as we pored over the ballots that might make Bill Jones a constable, while the house was packed with farmers between us and the stove. One candidate for a township office broke down and bawled when he failed to be elected. The situation was terribly embarrassing to the rest of us.

The first stage of oil leasing in our neighborhood came in the nineties, but I did not indulge. Promoters wanted a solid block of quarter sections and offered one dollar per quarter section. They used the dollar to record the lease but never drilled. Some caught by this offer later paid a hundred dollars to clear their titles. We live and learn.

The finding of oil in this latter day has made few of the old-timers wealthy. I have a friend ninety years old and blind. He built a dugout when he moved to his homestead, living in a wagon in the meantime. He has two good oil wells on his land but I cannot see that they changed his mode of life at all. He has always been a neighbor to all who needed one. A well of seventeen barrels was found near the site of the cottonwood schoolhouse where I taught my first school. Such a yield after the oil company takes out its seven-eights share would hardly enrich one. At least he need not pay a large income tax from it. Also, it might not encourage a company to drill a second well near by.

In the old days when we had only one team, which should be kept in the field, it was a problem to get the mail and run errands. Only a farmer living a long way from town can fully appreciate the help given us by the internal combustion engine in cars and tractors. An elderly farmer observed that he could stay around the house helping his wife with the chickens and garden until three o'clock if need be and yet by using a tractor could do as much work in the field as he could have done all day with a team. When we grew wheat and had only one team we did well after a midsummer's rain if we plowed twelve acres. By that time the ground was too dry to plow. With a tractor we could plow that much in twenty-four hours. Farm machinery has reduced the need for laborers who at times have made unreasonable demands on farmers.

Before the Oklahoma A. and M. College opened on December 14, 1891, I pestered Kansas University and Dr. L. H. Bailey of Cornell University with questions. It was Kansas University that advised the use of diseased chinch bugs to stop the inroads of the bugs on my fine field of corn in 1891. Today some question that form of control but it worked in my case. From the same university we learned that the rate of evaporation of ponds in our great plains

area was about five feet a year. Shallow farm ponds were of little use in July and August when needed most.

When we got the college at Stillwater we bombarded it with questions. That was before the county agent system was thought up and it permitted us to go to headquarters. We reasoned correctly, I think, that the men at the college wanted to know our problems. In 1908 our beloved W. D. ("Dad") Bentley was sent into Oklahoma by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp of the United States Department of Agriculture to start the county agent work. He hung out his shingle at Tishomingo first and eventually gravitated to Stillwater where he headed the agents in the 77 counties of the state. He died in 1930 but his widow still lives in Stillwater.

WICHITA-KIOWA RELATIONS AND THE 1874 OUTBREAK

*By Karl Schmitt**

A feature of Indian life in and around Anadarko, Oklahoma which is soon obvious to the interested observer is the tribal ethnocentrism which still exists. One aspect of this is pride in one's own tribe and its ways; a second aspect is that of applying stereotypes, frequently uncomplimentary, to other tribes. Particularly striking are the prejudices which the Kiowas and the Wichitas, as groups, hold against each other.[1] A full understanding of the present status of Kiowa-Wichita relations would require an analysis of the complex situation from cultural, psychological, and historical viewpoints. This paper is limited to a consideration of an important historic factor: the series of events now referred to by older Indians as the "74 Outbreak" consisting of an uprising by some bands of the Kiowa and Comanche and their subsequent subjugation by the United States military forces. Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware scouts aided in rounding up the dissident bands. The outbreak has been described by Indian agents[2] and by Army personnel.[3]

Included in this paper is an account of the "74 Outbreak" as remembered by an elderly Wichita woman. Her story not only agrees well with the published materials but also furnishes further details and background information. In addition it has an advantage in that the viewpoint is that of an Indian and includes data pertinent for understanding the actions of the Indians involved.

Setting of the 1874 Outbreak

The Southern Plains area was the scene of many movements of tribes and populations in historic times. These movements were particularly complex during the period of the Civil War. The

---

* Karl Schmitt, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, is a graduate of George Washington University (B.A., Geology, 1938), and of the University of Chicago (Ph.D., Anthropology, 1947). For the past three years, he has been concerned with the ethnology of the Plains Indians with special reference to that of the Wichita, conduced under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Human Studies of The University of Oklahoma. His published articles relate to the subject of archeology in Georgia, Oklahoma, and the Netherlands East Indies.—Ed.

[1] As is frequently the case in the application of stereotypes, individual exceptions are made. Kiowa and Wichita individuals do fraternize and attend each others ceremonials. At a recent Wichita gathering at which the writer was present, Kiowas were among the guests of honor. There are also now a number of intertribal marriages.

[2] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the secretary of the Interior for the year* 1874, pp. 72, 221, 238. Washington: GPO, 1874.

[3] *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from* 1868 *to* 1882. Washington: GPO, 1882, p. 41.

conclusion of the war found the Kiowa scattered in small groups extending westward from the vicinity of present-day Anadarko into the area of the Wichita Mountains. Following the war, the Wichita, including the Waco, Tawakoni, and Kichai, returned from the vicinity of what is now Wichita, Kansas and settled on their reservation, the southern boundary of which was the Washita River, in what is now Caddo County.[4]

The Wichita bands inhabited separate, though adjacent, villages. The Wichita proper under two chiefs named Tsodiako and Kawhaydis lived on the east side of Sugar Creek near the present homes of Mr. Clarence Standing and Mr. Hugh Miller; one band of the Tawakoni under the leadership of Tawakoni Dave lived on the hill just north of the Standing home; the Waco led by Buffalo Good inhabited a village on the west side of Sugar Creek across from the Wichita; a second band of the Tawakoni, "Tawakoni Jim's bunch", were also on the west side of Sugar Creek and a little north of the Waco; the Kichai lived several miles to the west in the flats of the Washita, just under the "Old Shirley Place," and were led by Chief "Just Another Day."

The period of the early 1870's was one of great stress for the Plains tribes, since they had been forced to alter radically their former type of life: the buffalo were practically extinct and this meant that the main subsistence of tribes like the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne was gone; the older form of obtaining prestige and wealth by warfare and raiding was discouraged by the United States government; American expansion had greatly reduced Indian lands and forced many different tribes to live in close proximity; and tribal autonomy no longer existed since they were not free to move about as they pleased and were subject to the authority of Indian agents and Army personnel in many matters. Some tribes, such as the Wichita and Caddo, threw their lot with the government whereas others, including the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne, tended to resist authority. This environment of unrest, insecurity, and conflicting attitudes toward the government was a natural setting for intertribal friction.

An important feature of Indian life at this period was the weekly distribution of rations by the agencies. Rations included beef cattle, flour, coffee, sugar, lard, bacon,[5] and other items to which they were entitled as a result of treaties with the United States. The Wichita Agency had been established just north of

---

[4] For a summary of movements of the Wichita during and shortly after the Civil War consult Gladys Esther Gates, *The Wichita Indians from* 1859 *to* 1868, Unpublished Master's thesis, History Department, University of Oklahoma, 1926.

[5] The Wichita and Kiowa threw away five gallon tins of lard and sides of bacon because to them it smelled bad and was considered inedible. Older individuals even refused to eat beef because of its bad smell and taste.

the present town of Anadarko to handle the administration of the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware. Another agency was at the site of the present Fort Sill to administer the Kiowas and Comanches. However, one band of Comanches and a number of Kiowas found it more to their convenience to procure their rations at the Wichita Agency. Rations were issued on Saturdays and for those occasions large numbers of Indians camped about the agencies and spent their time visiting and gambling. It was at the Wichita Agency on one of these issue Saturdays that the main fracas of the 1874 outbreak occurred. There follows below an elderly Wichita woman's version of the event.

A Wichita Account of the 1874 Outbreak[6]

The Kiowa were fussing about the government cutting down their rations. They also didn't want to send their children to school. In addition Kiowa warriors had been raiding in Texas and the agent had been getting letters from Washington telling him to control those Indians. The government and the agent were expecting some trouble so they had two companies of soldiers camped at the agency and they threw up a little fort in the hills just north of the agency.[7] The agent had cautioned the Wichita chiefs to keep their people away from crowds and out of possible trouble. However, when the fighting broke out some young Wichita men joined in. There were lots of Wichitas in the '74 outbreak; they weren't supposed to be, but they were. It happened right after school started, it must have been September.[8]

The trouble started on Saturday, on an issue day. The agent called in the Kiowa chiefs and they got to fussing. Trouble started in the office when Kiowas started abusing government employees and the soldiers arrested one or two chiefs.[9] Talk got around to other Indians and they just started shooting everybody that was

---

[6] Informant A is a woman who is acknowledged to be the oldest member of the Wichita tribe. She was officially born in 1868 but other data indicate her birth date to have been 1863 or 1864. The account has been edited by the author. Changes were largely confined to grammatical construction; most words and idioms are those of the informant.

[7] According to the Kiowa agent's report, there were four companies. The Wichita agent states that the companies were there to arrest two Comanche chiefs who were not enrolled at any agency and who were at the Wichita Agency against orders. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year* 1874, Washington; GPO, 1874, pp. 221 and 238.

[8] Both the Kiowa and Wichita agents state that the incident occurred in August and, according to the Kiowa agent, specifically on the twenty-second of the month. *Ibid.*

[9] According to the agents' reports, the trouble started near the commissary and involved the two Comanche chiefs as well as the Kiowas. The Wichita agent relates that, when the general in command of the forces tried to arrest the Comanche chiefs, the Kiowas fired upon him. The Kiowa agent's version is a little different: Red Food, one of the Comanche chiefs, started to run away and was fired upon by a guard, whereupon the Kiowas, led by Lone Wolf, commenced shooting at the troops.

white. The soldiers took refuge in their fortification on the hill and withstood all attacks. The rebels fanned out over the country. They burned John Osborne's father's store. He was married to Black Beaver's daughter. Osborne had five wagon loads of goods coming in. He said, "I'd better get out and warn those people." He went out to meet the wagons. The Indians killed him, the five drivers, and a Negro cook, just east of what is now Anadarko. They killed the teams, too. I was way down on Sugar Creek when the fighting started. Only the old people and children were left at home. We could hear the shooting. The women came home and most of the men, too. The women, children, and old people deserted the villages and went over to Cottonwood Grove.[10] Most of the men stayed behind at the villages.

There were three of us on our horse. The people used to kid me afterwards and tell me how I kicked the side of my horse and said, "Lets go!" They used to tell me that I "sure must like to ride." One old man kept stirring up the women. Everytime they would quiet down, he would get excited and say he heard those rebels coming, and off everybody would run again. Finally, a Wichita man came over and told us not to go so far because the rebels weren't after us. It was way after dark when we got back to our village. *The Kiowa had even made a raid on our village!* The sacks of corn were cut and the grains were lying about. They claim the Kiowas did it!

After the excitement passed, it was found that the Kiowas had left to get away. They had gone down to Texas. At this time a group of Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware were recruited as Indian scouts under the leadership of Captain Pratt. The United States Army with the aid of the Indian Scouts rounded up the rebel Kiowas and brought them back. *This was the only time the Wichitas went against the Kiowas. Kiowa sure did hate the Wichita after that!* The leading Kiowa chiefs were imprisoned and later sent to Florida for a period of years. There they learned Christian hymns. I remember when the Kiowa chiefs were brought home. They were brought in wagons to the old Wichita School which was located just north of present day Anadarko. The Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware school children were taken out to meet the returning chiefs. The authorities *made* the Kiowa chiefs sing old gospel songs for the children. Then the Kiowa families came in and claimed their men.

Another detail concerning the outbreak was furnished by Informant B.[11] One of the Wichita scouts was Ichitowax who was a "war chief." This man *whipped a Kiowa Chief named Big Tree and*

[10] This was the site of a former Wichita village of that name and now the site of Verden, Oklahoma.

[11] A Wichita man who was officially born in 1876, though other data indicate that 1868 is more probably correct.

tied his hands and brought him in. It should be remembered that striking a live enemy was one of the highest coups or war honors that a Plains Indian could perform.

Discussion and Further Statements

There undoubtedly was some mutual suspicion between Kiowas and Wichitas before 1874. It would be foolish to say that the 1874 outbreak was the main cause of Kiowa-Wichita ill-feeling. There must have been previous historic facts which could be used to explain why most Wichitas sided with the United States Government against the rebellious Kiowas instead of joining them. However, in the minds of present-day individuals that date marks the break in what was previously an overtly friendly relationship between tribes. After the rebels had been rounded up there was great antagonism between the two tribes. The general feeling of the Kiowas is understandable; in their opinion former friends and allies had deserted them and sided with the enemy whites. In addition Wichitas had actually participated in the campaign against them and one of their chiefs had been humiliated by a Wichita chief. An added insult came with the enforced concert for the children of the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware when the Kiowa chiefs returned from Florida.

The general feeling of the Wichitas included a reaction against the ill-feeling of the Kiowas plus certain resentments of their own. The Wichitas had lost a considerable amount of property[12] in the Wichita agency incident and no doubt held this against the Kiowas. Also present seems to have been indignation over what they considered to be general preferential treatment of the Kiowas and unfair treatment of the Wichitas by the United States Government. The Wichitas had long made efforts to co-operate with the whites and had received a relatively small reservation which was in effect reduced in size by the settlement of other tribes. The Kiowas, who were relatively new-comers to the area and who had been notoriously antagonistic to whites, were given a large reservation and one which included much of the Wichita's traditional territory.

By the time the Kiowas had been brought back to the reservation following the uprising and order had been established, the mutual antagonism between the Kiowas and the Wichitas had become crystalized around the events of the outbreak. This antagonism continued as an important factor in Kiowa-Wichita relations for the next three quarters of a century. There follow some statements from Wichita informants which illustrate the continuance of this antagonism over a period of years.

Informant C, a Wichita man who attended school during the 1880's and 1890's, said that when he was a boy there were two

[12] See account of Informant A and also Wichita agent's report, *op. cit.*

schools. One was on the north side of the Washita and was for Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware children, while the other was on the south side of the river and was for Kiowas. Whenever they caught a Kiowa on the north side of the river, "they tried every way to kill him, they would kick him in the stomach, in the head, they would kick him anywhere." On the south side of the river there were four stores or trading posts. When the Wichita children would go over to the stores, and the Kiowa boys saw them, they would be given similar treatment by the Kiowas. My informant says "you had to run as fast as you could to get across the river and get away." The wife of this man said that the above "sounded awful but that the kids learned to dislike the Kiowas from their parents."

Informant B, who was a school boy during the 1870's and 1880's, tells of a more formalized type of mayhem which was practiced. The Wichitas had a game in which two sides of boys just kicked each other until one side ran the other off. When Wichitas played this among themselves they did it "just for fun—they kick each other around and when they want to quit they quit—nobody hurt." However, this same game was played with Wichitas and Caddoes on one side and Kiowas on the other, and "when play with Kiowas—not for fun!" In these intertribal kicking games, which were planned ahead of time, the contestants tried to inflect actual bodily harm on each other.

Informant D, a Wichita man who was born about 1901 and later went to school at Chilocco, related how he got the Kiowas "stirred up" when a student at that school. There was a pageant in which a Kiowa boy played the part of a chief and a Wichita boy kneeled in front of him. He said, "I think there is something wrong with that, it ought to be a Kiowa kneeling before a Wichita chief." This was a direct reference to events in the 1874 outbreak.

Present-day hostilities seem to be largely verbal and are reflected in derogatory statements made by members of both sides about purported general characteristics of the other groups. Wichitas tend to stereotype the Kiowa in terms of what they consider undesirable personality traits, while the Kiowa seem to stereotype the Wichita largely on the basis of unattractive physical traits.[13]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The account of the 1874 outbreak illustrates that descriptions by living informants of events long past are not to be regarded lightly. In this particular case the related account checks rather well with accounts published soon after the occurrence,[14] and in

[13] Specific details of present stereotypes would add little to the present paper and could conceivably perturb individuals.

[14] Published accounts themselves do not agree on details.

addition adds pertinent details omitted, or not known, by the early reporters. Obviously much of the informant's story was not the result of actual observation of events but was gained by listening to elders discuss the affair. In a situation of this sort it would not be surprising if distortion or ethnocentric slanting of information occurred. This is not obviously the case.

Even if distortion does occur, such information should not be ignored. What individuals consider to be true is equally important in explaining present attitudes and behavior as the actual truth. In this case information gained by Wichitas from parents and grandparents concerning what the Kiowas have done or are like, and vice versa, constitutes the facts and basis of actions for many individuals of both tribes.

It should be pointed out, lest it be thought that the Wichitas and Kiowas are at each other's throats, that the situation is not nearly that extreme. There are factors operating against the continuance of antagonistic feelings. A number of these factors are the same as those more general factors which tend to tear down all tribal barriers. Attendance of Kiowas and Wichitas at the same schools teaches individuals that persons of the other tribe can be worthwhile human beings. There are now several inter-tribal marriages among members of the younger generation, a very rare occurrence in the past. Membership in organizations which cut across tribal boundaries, as the United States Army, the Native American Church, and the Baptist Church, also tends to create a common set of interests and erase old tribal animosities. Time has a soothing effect, and the loss of tribal customs by members of the younger generations leads older members of rival tribes to meet and talk amicably of by-gone days, and often to sing and participate in each others "pow-wows."

In conclusion, one can say that individuals of the Kiowa and Wichita tribes still hold adverse stereotypes of each other and in the minds of the people, at least, much of their mutual prejudice can be traced back to the "74 outbreak." However, animosities are not as intense as those which existed fifty years ago and a continuing diminution of ill-feeling is to be expected.

THE SEQUOYAH CONVENTION

*By Amos Maxwell**

The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention was held in Muskogee, Indian Territory, in the summer of 1905. It was the culminating event of a series of colorful occasions in the history of the Five Civilized Tribes. It was there that the descendants of those who made the trek west seventy-five years earlier sat with white men to write a charter for a new state. They wrote a constitution, but it was never used as a charter for a State of Sequoyah.

This work, which is primarily a study of that convention and the reasons for its being called and its results, was undertaken at the suggestion of my father, Harold K. Maxwell, in August, 1948. It has been carried to a conclusion through the aid of a number of persons, chief among them being my wife, Betty Jo Maxwell. The need for this study is a paramount one. Other than copies of the *Muskogee Phoenix*, there are no known records of the convention. Because much of the proceedings were in one or more Indian tongues there are some gaps in the study other than those due to the lack of records, which has been caused by the only set of minutes kept being accidentally destroyed in a fire during the first few years after the convention. Thus this study has been completed by the author in an attempt to salvage many of the views and happenings of that day and much of the attitude of those men who took part in it.[1] Few of the men who served as delegates in that convention are still living, but of those remaining, none had a greater part in it than the Honorable William H. Murray who has been so kind as

* "The Sequoyah Convention" presented here has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, from the thesis for which Amos D. Maxwell, of Okemah, received the master's degree from Oklahoma A. and M. College at the commencement on January 27, 1950. The first official public examination in the history of Oklahoma A. and M. College was taken by Mr. Maxwell on January 15 in the auditorium of Old Central, which was filled to capacity by a visiting crowd for the event. Members of the examining committee were Dr. B. B. Chapman, Miss Muriel H. Wright (guest examiner) Dr. Angie Debo, and Dr. Norbert R. Mahnken. Mr. Maxwell's manuscript is of such interest that it will be adapted and published in full in *The Chronicles*, the first installment appearing in this issue.—Ed.

[1] Hon. C. N. Haskell tells his own story of the Sequoyah Convention in "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," with an introduction by Paul Nesbitt, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June, 1936), pp. 189-217. For further references on the Sequoyah Convention, see William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), pp. 126-33; and Ohland Morton, "Government of the Creek Indians," *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930), pp. 219-22. *The "Sequoyah" Movement* by Clinton M. Allen, Professor of History in Oklahoma City College, with an introduction by J. S. Buchanan, President of the University of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1925) gives a review of the Sequoyah Convention, with lists of officers and statements from leaders in the Convention.—Ed.

to aid the author in both personal interviews and letters concerning the convention.

The nature of the subject and the events leading up to and following the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention lend themselves with ease to the editorializing on public and political morals. It was with effort that the writer attempted to refrain from moralizing and drawing lessons for the reader. The reader, I am sure, will excuse any such tendency that is noticeable with the knowledge that a few things should not be left unsaid.

Introduction

The events of a span of forty years, from 1865 to 1905, directly influenced the calling of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention. This being true, it is essential to an understanding of the convention to have a background for it.

The efforts of our national political leaders to create a state or territory from Indian Territory after the Civil War can be roughly grouped into the following chronological divisions: the first, from 1865 to 1880 when Indian Territory served a dual purpose, being both an exclusively Indian area and a region to be exploited by a group of railroads holding land grants conditional upon it being created either a state or a territory; the second, from 1880 to 1890 when Indian Territory was considered principally as an exclusively Indian area; and the third, from 1890 to 1905 when severalty and statehood with or without Oklahoma were the two primary issues concerning Indian Territory, both in Washington, D. C., and in Indian Territory.[2]

At the time of the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes westward into the area known as Indian Territory, each of the tribes signed treaties with the United States which guaranteed to the Indians that their lands would never be included in any state or territory without their consent.[3] This provision in the removal treaties was later to be cited time and again in arguments for and against territorial and statehood status for Indian Territory.

During the spring and summer of 1866 each of the Five Civilized Tribes sent representatives to Washington, D. C., to negotiate peace treaties with the United States. The Seminole treaty, signed on March 21, 1866, served as a model for the other three treaties completed with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Creeks, and the Cherokees within the next four months. These treaties were similar in most respects, and all called for the abolition of slavery and the

---

[2] Each of these periods overlaps to some extent, but the dates given fit the periods and do show the prevalent attitudes.

[3] Charles J. Kappler, compiler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 311, 442-443, 758.

Former Governor of Oklahoma, William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray pins a badge worn at the Sequoyah convention on Amos D. Maxwell. Others left to right are Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor of *The Chronicles;* Dean D. C. McIntosh, Graduate School; Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, History Department.

building of railroads across the Indian Territory. Only the Cherokee Nation, in its treaty ratified by Congress on July 27, 1866, was exempt from having to cede their western lands to the United States for the purpose of settling other Indians on such land; the Cherokee and Creek Nations had been the only ones of the Five Civilized Tribes to send troops to join the Union Armies, and of the two, the Cherokees had been the most active.

The same day that Congress ratified the Cherokee peace treaty it also chartered the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad; on the two preceding days, July 25 and July 26, Congress granted lands to aid in the construction of the Kansas and Neosho Railroad and the Union Pacific Railroad. In chartering the Atlantic and Pacific and in making the above grants, Congress gave huge grants of land in Indian Territory to these railroads on the condition that the land grants would be inoperative in the event the land was not declared a part of the public land of the United States and also that the railroads were not built within ten years.[4] Thus, at the same time that it was ratifying the final peace treaties with the Indians and reaffirming their ownership of the land in fee-simple, Congress was making conditional grants of that land to corporate interests, and some of the charter members of the railroads were then or later members of Congress and influential in Indian legislation.

In the passage of these acts Congress gave the railroads an incentive to publicly and privately advocate territorial or statehood status for the Indian Territory, for the lands conditionally granted to the railroads probably would not be classed as public lands unless the area came into the Union as a state or a territory. That no bills were introduced in Congress providing for a change in the status of Indian Territory for several years is an indication that these railroads were not yet ready to cross Indian Territory.

On March 17, 1870, Senator Benjamin F. Rice of Arkansas introduced a bill to create the Territory of Ok-la-ho-ma out of the Indian Territory.[5] Within less than six weeks the Committee on Territories recommended its passage " . . . . as a matter of economy to the government and the Indian Nations, as a simple act of justice and fair-play to the Indian, and to carry out in good faith the stipulations of the treaties of 1866. . . . ."[6] This report of the committee was soon followed by several memorials from delegates of the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations protesting against its passage.[7] One memorial in particular illustrates the feeling of the

[4] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIV, 236-239, 289-291, 292-299.

[5] *Congressional Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 2014, hereafter this bill, S. 679, will be referred to as the Rice bill.

[6] *Senate Reports*, No. 131, 41 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 1409. This is the favorable committee report on the Rice bill.

[7] *Senate Mis. Docs.*, Nos. 76, 90, 92, and 143, 41 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 1408.

civilized Indians against the territorial movement. An excerpt from this memorial follows:[8]

> It is folly to tell us that those who are engaged in these schemes [urging territorial status for Indian Territory] are our friends, seeking to promote our welfare. They mean no such thing as friendship—friends never act as they do. They believe with and act upon the principle . . . . that "the only good Indians are the dead Indians", and we would be deluding ourselves, and false to our people, if we did not proclaim the fact now and here.

The memorials in themselves did not, of course, dictate the failure of that early bill, but they at least gave Congress the knowledge that territorial status was unwanted in Indian Territory.

In President Ulysses S. Grant's third and fourth annual messages to Congress, he recommended creating a territorial form of government over Indian Territory.[9] While there is no evidence that President Grant was considering anything but the safety of the whites in the western and southwestern parts of the United States, he was by these recommendations allying himself directly with the railroads in an attempt to open Indian Territory for their exploitation.

During 1874 the feeling in Congress for creation of a territory from Indian Territory reached the point that it was deemed necessary to send a commission, under the chairmanship of J. D. Land, to Indian Territory to determine if the region and its inhabitants were ready for territorial status. The final recommendation was that such a government should be created. This caused a greater outburst of oratory and memorials by the Indians than any succeeding act of Congress in relation to Indian Territory during the next twenty years.

On January 20, 1875, a convention of Cherokees signed a memorial protesting against the recommendations of the commission. This memorial, with over four thousand signatures, accused Chairman J. D. Land of being the treasurer of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad.[10] The Chickasaws had made a similar accusation in their memorial two weeks earlier; it was signed by each senator and representative of the Chickasaw legislature. These accusations, since quoted by at least one eminent historian and thereby inferring their truth, were false. Chairman Land was not an officer in the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad.[11] While errors in the memorials may or may

---

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 143.

[9] James D. Richardson, compiler, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 4106, 4154.

[10] *Senate Mis. Docs.*, No. 66, 43 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 1630.

[11] Officers of the railroad may be determined by reading Henry V. Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States.* A true extract copy from the volumes covering the years 1870 to 1880 pertaining to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad is in the author's possession.

not have been deliberate, they have for seventy-five years unjustifiably cast Land in the role of one attempting to swindle the Indians of lands to aid a company with which he was supposedly affiliated.

The Osage Nation, which by that time was located in Indian Territory, sent a memorial with twenty-nine signatures accusing the white man of bad faith in his eagerness to place the Indian under a territorial form of government. The Osages charged, with no doubt a great deal of truthfulness:[12]

> We know that those who want a territorial government over the Indians pretend to say, as an excuse for such a government, that . . . . bad characters cannot be reached and punished except by a territorial government. But you will see at a glance that that kind of talk is "too thin" to have any weight with sensible men. A great many of your deputy marshals, when they come into our country, look more after the quality of lands than they do after criminals, and they go smelling around hunting whiskey. At present you know we are not embraced in any "Territory of the United States"; and the object of the grantees of our lands seems; therefore, to be to create our country into a territorial government in order to have their land-grants fulfilled.

These memorials had some effect in Congress, for nothing was done, and with the expiration of the conditional land grants in 1878 there was a decided lessening for a number of years of the effort to create a territory from Indian Territory.

During the decade of the 1880's there was considerably less effort to create either a state or a territory from Indian Territory than was the case in either the decade preceding or succeeding it. This was due to the following causes: first, while railroads were crossing Indian Territory, and being financed through the floating of bond issues in adjoining states, the valuable land grants promised them had expired; and second, there was no influx of settlers into the region until after the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889. President Chester A. Arthur in his first annual message to Congress on December 6, 1881, did recommend extending the laws of Arkansas over all Indian Territory not occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes, but this did not in any way mean immediate territorial status for the Five Civilized Tribes.[13] During 1887 the Dawes Act was passed providing for allotment of Indian lands, but neither did it pertain to the area of the Five Civilized Tribes. Thus during most of this decade the attitude toward the region occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes was one of considering it as an exclusively Indian area. Primary evidence of this attitude is the fact that only the unoccupied area belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes and those areas occupied by the Plains Indians in Indian Territory were ever opened to settlement as Oklahoma Territory.

---

[12] *Senate Mis. Docs.*, No. 72, 43 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 1630.
[13] Richardson, *op. cit.*, VI, 4643.

From 1890 until 1905 there were a number of conventions, both large and small, held in Indian Territory to agitate statehood of one form or another, but during the first ten years the efforts of non-Indian residents were directed more at breaking up the large land holdings of the Indians by severalty than at statehood. A cause for this may be seen in the first census taken by the Census Bureau in Indian Territory when, in 1890, it was recorded that there were 109,393 whites not on military reservations out of a total population of 180,182.[14] Not a single one of those whites could legally hold any real property in Indian Territory; they had no representation in Congress, and it may well have been these whites as well as the Five Civilized Tribes, whom President Benjamin Harrison had in mind when he wrote in his third annual message to Congress on December 9, 1891, "These Indians should have opportunity to present their claims and grievances upon the floor than, as now, in the lobby."[15] It is noteworthy that less than a month before President Harrison sent the above message to Congress, a convention had been held in Muskogee advocating single statehood for Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory,[16] and that even earlier that same year, T. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his annual report dated October 1, 1891, suggested the early passage of an enabling act for the creation of either a territory or a state from Indian Territory.[17]

During 1892, two bills were introduced into Congress pertaining to the government of Indian Territory. One of them was introduced by Congressman Samuel W. Peel of Arkansas and provided for the admission of Indian Territory as a separate state.[18] The other, introduced by Senator Bishop W. Perkins of Kansas, provided for a single state formed of Oklahoma and Indian Territory.[19] The introduction of these two bills represent the beginning of two distinct political party views toward the admission of those territories to statehood—neither considering particularly the wishes of the inhabitants, but national political conditions of the day. In view of the Indians' close relationship to the South and the large proportion of the white population of Indian Territory coming from Arkansas and Texas, the Republicans could only view the admission of Indian Territory as the admission of another Democratic state; this they felt could possibly be averted by the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one state.

---

[14] *Eleventh Census of the United States*, 1890, X, 254.

[15] Richardson, *op. cit.*, VII, 5637.

[16] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, pp. 310-311.

[17] From the *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, 1891, Part I, 37. Hereafter these annual reports will be referred to as *Indian Affairs*, with the year of the report following.

[18] H. R. 5994, *Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 sess., XXIII, 1164.

[19] S. 3656, *ibid.*, 52 Cong., 2 sess., XXIV, 290.

On March 3, 1893, the last day of the Fifty-second Congress, was passed an Indian Appropriation Act. Included in the act was a provision providing for the creation of a Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes to arrange for allotting their lands. Section sixteen of the act specified the aim toward which the severalty program was directed when it stated as to the duties of the Commissioners:[20]

" . . . . said Commissioners shall, however, have power to negotiate any and all such agreements as, in view of all the circumstances affecting the subject, shall be found requisite and suitable to such an arrangement of the rights and interests and affairs of such nations, tribes, bands, or Indians, or any of them, to enable the ultimate creation of a Territory of the United States with a view to the admission of the same as a State in the Union."

By this act Congress was stating in unmistakable language its intention of making a separate state from Indian Territory. The Congress writing this act was predominately Democratic in membership. This act was understood as written by not only the Indians but by the Indian Agents as well, for in the annual reports that summer, T. J. Moore, U. S. Indian Agent to the Quapaws, stated that upon completion of the allotment of their lands the Quapaws wanted to be admitted into statehood with Indian Territory.[21] Of the allotment program, Union Agent Dew M. Wisdom wrote:[22]

I dismiss the subject with one remark or suggestion, and that is, in my opinion, the Indians would prefer first statehood, with their system of land tenure to remain undisturbed, and that the complicated question of allotment be worked out as the exigencies of the future may demand, and in the time and mode most satisfactory to the Indians themselves.

In the spring and summer of 1894 the Dawes Commission, as the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes was known, submitted to each of the Five Civilized Tribes a list of ten proposals upon which the allotment program should be based. Proposal number eight was a promise that if allotment was agreed to, Congress could establish a territorial form of government over Indian Territory.[23] This proposal, suggested to the Indians primarily to improve the government in Indian Territory, was not at the time agreed to, but was later used by the Indians to substantiate their claims for statehood.

The next year the Commission recommended that legislation be enacted providing:[24]

---

[20] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, XXVII, 646.

[21] *Indian Affairs*, 1893, 141.

[22] *Ibid.*, 148-149.

[23] Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, November 20, 1894, *Senate Mis. Docs.*, No. 24, 53 Cong., 3 sess., ss. 3281, 2-6. A very descriptive account of life in the Indian Territory in 1894 may be found in pages 7-12.

[24] Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, November 18, 1895, *Senate Docs.*, No. 182, 54 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 3353, 4. This report covered some eighteen pages and discussed the almost complete lack of any organized government in the Indian Territory at the time and built up to a climax giving as the practical solution to the problem: first, instituting territorial government, and second, extending the jurisdiction of the U. S. Courts in Indian Territory.

A Territorial government over the Five Civilized Tribes, adapted to their peculiarly anomalous conditions, so framed as to secure all rights of residents in the same, and without impairing the vested rights of the citizen Indian or other person not an intruder.

In 1896 and 1897 Union Agent Dew M. Wisdom recommended authorizing a delegate to Congress from Indian Territory. His recommendation of September 10, 1896, was without equivocation:[25]

Notoriously, much of the legislation in behalf of the Indian country has been controlled by Members of Congress from the States on its borders, and it is not saying too much to state that selfish interests have swayed some of the Members . . . . it is an anomalous condition of affairs that 300,000 people should live in a republican Government without representation in our national forum. [Electing a Delegate will] lift it from its semi-barbaric condition into full standing as one of the mighty brotherhood of States.

That year, George E. Nelson was sent as a "delegate" to Congress from Indian Territory, but Congress refused to take any action when he presented himself for seating.[26]

Finally, on June 28, 1898, the agreements between the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations and the Dawes Commission, signed the preceding year in Atoka, Indian Territory, were ratified in the passage of the Curtis Act. One of the clauses in that act read as follows:[27]

This stipulation [that the tribal governments were to continue until March 4, 1906] is made in the belief that the tribal governments so modified will prove so satisfactory that there will be no need or desire for further change till the lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall, in the opinion of Congress be prepared for admission as a State to the Union.

This act, with the above clause, passed by a Republican Congress, guaranteed to the Five Civilized Tribes that they would be made a separate state. In debates during the next eight years this act was referred to time and again by proponents of separate statehood, and more than once the leaders of the Republican party probably regretted ratifying the Atoka Agreement, with the above clause, as part of the Curtis Act.

Early the next year, on January 14, 1899, the Dawes Commission signed an agreement with the Cherokees which included the guarantee that the Cherokees would never be made a part of any state or territory without their consent; or that if made a part of a state or territory without such consent the state or territory would include only the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes.[28] Such an agreement

---

[25] *Indian Affairs*, 1896, 154-155.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1897, 139-143. (For notes on the election of George E. Nelson, see *Appendix A.*—Ed.)

[27] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, XXX, 512.

[28] From the Cherokee Agreement, January 14, 1899, Appendix No. 2, Report of Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, *Indian Affairs*, 1899, 58. This agreement was never ratified by Congress.

could have but one effect, that being to solidify all beliefs in Indian Territory in both the whites and the Indians that a separate Indian state so long promised was finally to become a reality. This was not idle or wishful thinking either, for this agreement had been promised in part before, and now it was agreed that after March 4, 1906, an Indian state could and would be made. Surely the white man would not go back on his word again.

Meanwhile, numerous bills had been proposed in Congress pertaining to statehood for the two territories, but from 1894 to 1900 of the bills introduced with the exception of two on December 9, 1895, all called for single statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Of the two exceptions, one was tabled, and the other died in the Committee on Territories.[29] These bills were both introduced by Arkansas Congressmen, James H. Berry of the Senate and John S. Little of the House of Representatives.

There were a number of changes seen in Indian Territory between 1890 and 1900 as recorded by the Census of 1900; the most significant of these is without doubt in the population. In 1890 the whites had outnumbered the Indians slightly over two to one; whereas, by 1900 they outnumbered the Indians almost six to one, the actual figures in 1900 being 302,680 whites and 52,500 Indians.[30] The reason this is the most significant statistical change to be seen between 1890 and 1900 in Indian Territory is evident; these whites who had multiplied so rapidly wanted representation in Congress; they did not like the conditions under which they were living, but they did not find those conditions disagreeable enough to warrant leaving. Most of them wanted a separate state, but if necessary they would compromise in order to have an orderly 'white man's government'. This attitude was to be climaxed in the calling of the Sequoyah and Oklahoma constitutional conventions in 1905 and 1906 respectively.

From 1900 to 1905, with the dividing of the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes progressing as rapidly and as efficiently as could be expected, the primary interest of many of the over three hundred thousand whites in Indian Territory centered on achieving statehood, but the Indians, by and large, considered the settlement of the vexing land problem of greater importance and necessity.[31]

On December 10, 1900, the last single statehood convention to be held in Indian Territory in the nineteenth century met in McAlester and drew up petitions to Congress asking for single statehood for

---

[29] *Congressional Record,* 54 Cong., 1 sess., XXVIII, 60, 97. S. 584 was tabled, while H. R. 819 was left in the committee.

[30] *Twelfth Census of the United States,* 1900, I, part I, 47, 487, 537.

[31] This view is from the report of Union Agent J. Blair Shoenfelt of August 31, 1900, to be found in *Indian Affairs,* 1900, 243.

Oklahoma and Indian Territory. Most of the counties in Oklahoma were represented at the convention as well as white delegates from the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations and one full-blood Indian from Wagoner.[32] This convention caused little public response.

The following year Governor William M. Jenkins of Oklahoma Territory continued the policy set by Governor William C. Renfrow in 1896 and recommended single statehood for the two territories. But Governor Jenkins' recommendation was qualified: " . . . . it seems to me that no reasonable objection can be made to the immediate creation of a state either of Oklahoma alone or of Oklahoma and Indian Territories combined."[33]

On November 14, 1901, another single statehood convention was convened in Indian Territory; this one was held in Muskogee. It was led by Charles F. Barrett of Shawnee and Thomas H. Doyle of Perry, both in Oklahoma Territory.[34] That same day, taking cognizance of the convention, the Cherokee National Council memorialized the President and Congress to the effect that any protestation for union with Oklahoma Territory purporting to come from Cherokees actually would come from non-citizens of the Nation.[35] This action of the National Council was in line with prevailing sentiment among that people, for there was much resentment against the alloting of their lands. It was even reported that agents from Mexico were that year advocating migration of the Cherokees as a colony to that country.[36] Less than a month later, the *Daily Oklahoman* began a front page story on a separate statehood convention held in Muskogee to organize opposition to the union of the two territories with the following heading:[37]

ONLY SIXTY SUCKERS OF THE OFFICIAL TEAT WERE PRESENT TO LISTEN TO THE HOT AIR HARANGUE DELIVERED BY BUNKO BOB OWENS [*SIC*] THE HIGH PRIEST OF MALCONTENT

The newspaper went on to quote Robert L. Owen as saying that the Senate would never pass single statehood, even if it had to filibuster it to death.

During the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, which met in the winter of 1901 and the spring of 1902, numerous bills were introduced to change the status of the territory. These bills

---

[32] *Daily Oklahoman,* December 11, 1900, p. 1, col. 4.

[33] *Miscellaneous Reports of the Department of Interior,* 1901, Part II, Governors of Territories, 323.

[34] *Muskogee Phoenix,* November 21, 1901, p. 6, col. 1. The newspaper reported: "The proceedings were entirely harmonious, no dissenter being allowed a voice in the convention."

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 4, cols. 2-3.

[36] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee", *Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report,* 1900, Part I, 156.

[37] *Daily Oklahoman,* December 11, 1901, p. 1, col. 1.

ranged all the way from dividing Indian Territory into counties and establishing local county government as the only governing power in the entire territory to proposing the unification of Oklahoma and Indian Territories as a single state.[38]

Slipping by without too much comment in local newspapers was an act passed on February 28, 1902, authorizing construction of the Enid and Anadarko Railroad from Anadarko, Oklahoma Territory, to Fort Smith, Arkansas. This act stipulated that the railroad was to pay $50.00 per mile to the tribe whose land it crossed, plus an annual rental fee of $15.00 per mile as long as the land was controlled by the Indian tribe. It also stated that any state or territory formed there would have the right of taxation over the railroad.[39] The act was a general one and applied to all of Indian Territory. Thus once again the railroads became vitally interested in the statehood question in Indian Territory; only this time it was to their interest to prevent statehood and thereby prevent taxation of their property.

On March 14, 1902, Congressman William S. Knox of Massachusetts, chairman of the House Committee on Territories, introduced an omnibus bill (H. R. 12543) to admit Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona into the Union as separate states. This bill was reported back on April 1, 1902. The following month, after it had come to the top of the calendar and debate had begun, it was amended by Congressman McRae of Arkansas to include the admission of Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory as one state.[40] Congress soon adjourned, though, with no action being taken on the statehood question.

After the elections in November of 1902, a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Territories visited the four territories to determine their readiness for statehood. This group, composed of Senators Burnham of New Hampshire, Dillingham of Vermont, Heitfield of Idaho, and headed by the youthful Republican Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, arrived in Woodward, Oklahoma Territory, on Saturday, November 22. Sunday afternoon and night the committee toured Indian Territory in their private railroad car, but saw little due to almost continuous rain. When the committee began hearings in the Lee Hotel in Oklahoma City on Monday morning they heard from fourteen persons individually. As a group they were asking for single statehood. Delegations heard from represented

---

[38] Bills introduced concerning government for Indian Territory were: H. R. 279, 8739, and 12268 to make it a separate territory; H. R. 4554 to govern it by county government; H. R. 4570, 9675, and 12543 and S. 3368 to make it a single state in union with Oklahoma; and S. 6161 to authorize a delegate from Indian Territory to Congress. In reference to the introduction of these bills, see *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., XXXV, 56, 248, 636, 851, 1108, 2521, 2814, 5142, 6782.

[39] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, XXXIII, 45.

[40] *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., XXXV, 2814, 5142.

single statehood advocates in Purcell, Ardmore, Chickasha, Vinita, Claremore, and Sapulpa in Indian Territory and Norman, Lawton, and Oklahoma City in Oklahoma Territory. That afternoon the committee resumed hearings in Guthrie and heard from nine different persons there, only one of whom was in favor of separate statehood.[41]

Spurred into action by the presence of the Senate sub-committee, the Indian Territory Executive Committee on Territorial Legislation met in Holdenville on November 25 at the Scott Hotel. They drew up resolutions opposing the omnibus bill and favoring a gradual change in the status of the unorganized Indian Territory on the order of that provided in the bills introduced by Congressman John W. Moon of Tennessee calling for a territorial form of government over Indian Territory.[42] Since this organization probably had no official connection with the Five Civilized Tribes these were not necessarily the sentiments held by the tribes.

With one meeting of this sort begetting another it became necessary for the chiefs and representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes to meet in Eufaula three days later to give voice to their needs and desires as to state government. This group chose as their chairman, Pleasant Porter, principal chief of the Creek Nation, and as secretary, Henry Ainsley. In the resolution adopted and forwarded to Congress from this meeting on November 28, 1902, the chief executives of the Five Civilized Tribes protested against single statehood with Oklahoma Territory and against legislation giving the territory held by the Five Civilized Tribes a territorial form of government. The resolution concluded with the following:[43]

> We most earnestly protest against the misrepresentations found in the petitions presented by the people assembling in conventions at different places in the Indian Territory purporting to represent the wishes of the Indian Territory, firmly believing as we do that they represent no part of the white populations of the Indian Territory in so far as they represent the people of the Indian Territory as asking for Territorial form of government or statehood jointly with Oklahoma.

In writing on the 1902 Eufaula meeting, William H. Murray, who represented the Chickasaw Nation, states that the Five Civilized Tribes "were in great dread of Statehood with Oklahoma Territory on account of the hanging of a band of Seminoles in Pottawatomie County some years before. Many asserted the bodies of the Indians had been burned."[44] It might also be true that the leaders of the

---

[41] Information relative to the committee investigation may be found in the *Daily Oklahoman*, November 25, 1902, p. 1, col. 1; *Oklahoma State Capitol*, Guthrie, same date and page; and in *Senate Docs.*, No. 36, 57 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 4420, 187-225.

[42] *Holdenville Times*, November 29, 1902, p. 8, col. 1. The writer has been unable to find who were members of this committee or how the members were chosen.

[43] *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., XXXVI, 93, and also *Eufaula Indian Journal*, December 5, 1902, p. 6, col. 1.

[44] William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (1931), 126.

Five Civilized Tribes feared they could possibly be legislated out of their lands several years earlier than the day set back in 1898 for the dissolution of the tribal governments, March 4, 1906.

On December 3, 1902, only two days after Congress convened, Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota reported the omnibus bill back from the committee with an amendment providing for Oklahoma and Indian Territories to be admitted as a single state.[45] Henceforth this bill was known as the Nelson Bill, and took precedence as the unfinished business of the day until the end of the session. On December 10, 1902, the committee's minority and majority reports on the bill were presented. Not only did the Democratic minority present a minority report against the Nelson Bill, but Senator Matthew Quay of Pennsylvania, long a leader on the Republican side of the Senate, did also. It was only through Senator Beveridge's mastery of debate that Senator Quay was prevented from having a vote taken which would have defeated the bill; Beveridge, a Republican, had the responsibility of handling the bill for the Republican party. The session ended with nothing accomplished for any of the four territories. The strain of this debate was too much for the older Quay and more than once he told Beveridge that "it was killing him and talked casually of his approaching end."[46] During 1904 Quay died, and the chief opposition in the Senate to Beveridge's insistence on uniting Oklahoma and Indian Territory was gone.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress in March of 1903, Principal Chief Green McCurtain, of the Choctaw Nation, called a meeting of the chief executives of the Five Civilized Tribes.[47] The group met in Eufaula on May 21 through May 23; its final recommendations were that elections be held in each nation to select delegates to an international constitutional convention to be held not later than February 1, 1904. This convention was to draw up a constitution for a separate state to be formed from Indian Territory after March 4, 1906. The chief executives also recommended that the non-citizens of Indian Territory hold a separate convention to ratify the constitution to be written and that any differences between the two groups to be worked out in conferences. Finally it was decided that each of the Five Civilized Tribes should memorialize Congress, church, and temperance organizations to assist in preventing annexation to Oklahoma. While all of the Five Civilized Tribes did memorialize Congress for separate statehood only the Choctaw Nation held an election to decide the feasibility of holding a constitutional convention. The other nations were apprehensive of their

---

[45] *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., XXXVI, 25.

[46] Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and The Progressive Era*, 207. It was probably during this session of Congress that Harry C. Bradford lobbied in Washington for single statehood as related in the article by Gilbert Hill, "We Might Have Been Twins", *Daily Oklahoman*, November 13, 1949, Sunday Magazine, pp. 2-3.

[47] *Eufaula Indian Journal*, May 23, 1903, p. 4, col. 4.

authority to appropriate money for such a purpose.[48] Since only the one nation voted, no convention was held, but this Eufaula meeting of 1903 is significant, for it was the first meeting of the chief executives of the Five Civilized Tribes for the single purpose of gaining separate statehood.

On April 4, 1904, close to the end of the second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress, Chairman E. L. Hamilton of the House Committee on Territories introduced a single statehood bill into the House of Representatives.[49] Congressman Hamilton introduced this bill not unmindful of the opposition against such a measure. Congressman Moon had but recently introduced another bill calling for the creation of the Territory of Jefferson from Indian Territory;[50] the Women's Christian Temperance Union had begun to memorialize Congress against joining "dry" Indian Territory to "wet" Oklahoma Territory;[51] and another force which Hamilton ignored were the Indians in Indian Territory. Hamilton had only recently received a letter from Chief McCurtain which stated in part:[52]

> It must . . . . be borne constantly in mind that there is such diversity of opinion in Congress on the question of statehood legislation for Indian Territory that it is impossible for the Indians and noncitizens [sic] here to unite on any plan acceptable to Congress. However, I express the sentiment of the great majority of the Indians of the Five Tribes when I say that we are in favor of any statehood that Congress may provide, so long as it is statehood for Indian Territory alone, independent of Oklahoma.

Congressman Hamilton must surely have been certain of passage of his bill with little delay to have been willing to oppose not only the Democratic minority, the W. C. T. U., but also the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes who were speaking through the strong and courageous voice of Green McCurtain and still demanding the fulfillment of their rights pertaining to statehood upon the dissolution of the tribal governments.

The Hamilton Bill was rushed through the committee and within two weeks had been called up for debate by Speaker Joseph G. Cannon. Cannon allowed but three and a half hours debate on the bill before a vote was taken. Under the dictatorial control exercised by Cannon, little restraint on tempers was attempted by Democratic members of the House of Representatives. Representative James C. Needham of California even accused the Republican party of rushing through the admission of two states from the four territories in order to influence the 1904 Presidential election.[53] Congress adjourned the following week with no action on the bill being taken by the Senate.

---

[48] From the Resolutions of the Eufaula Convention, which is a part of Exhibit B to *Senate Docs.*, No. 143, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4912, 29-30.

[49] H. R. 14749, *Congressional Record*, 58 Cong., 2 sess., XXXVIII, 4281.

[50] *Ibid.*, 2902.

[51] *Senate Docs.*, No. 194, 58 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 4591.

[52] *Congressional Record*, 58 Cong., 2 sess., XXXVIII, 5097.

[53] *Ibid.*, 5129.

During the late summer of 1904, while the Presidential campaign was creating news in most of the country's papers, the issue of single or separate statehood was filling the columns of the Indian Territory newspapers. Most of the newspapers favored single statehood, but a few led by the militant *South McAlester Weekly Capital* were ardent separate state papers. In August, U. S. Russell, editor of the *Weekly Capital,* accused the *Daily Ardmoreite* of Ardmore, Indian Territory, of charging $14.00 a column for printing news of separate statehood meetings.[54]

Throughout August, 1904, Clarence B. Douglas, editor of the *Muskogee Phoenix,* wrote many editorials favoring single statehood. On August 26, 1904, Douglas referred to opponents of single statehood having called single statehood the "Ferguson-Douglas scheme."[55] The phrase was obviously pointed at Governor Thompson B. Ferguson of Oklahoma Territory. Ferguson had long been an advocate of piece-meal annexation of Indian Territory by Oklahoma,[56] but he was a sound enough politician to recommend only statehood for Oklahoma with no reference to Indian Territory in his annual reports.[57]

The newspapers in Indian Territory, which were predominantly for single statehood with Oklahoma Territory, gave good coverage to the actions of the Fifty-eighth Congress when it began its third session on December 5, 1904. A number of delegations from the two territories journeyed to Washington to lobby for their interests; among those going from Indian Territory were delegations from the following: The Inter-Territorial Press Association, The Farmer's Union, each of the Five Civilized Tribes, and a group from the Indian Territory Church Federation for Prohibition Statehood. A delegate was even sent for the general interests of Indian Territory; this was C. E. Foley. Just before Christmas, Clarence B. Douglas, while interviewing President Theodore Roosevelt invited the President to include Muskogee in the itinerary of his Southern trip planned for the coming spring.[58]

On December 15, Senator Berry of Arkansas presented a petition from the Cherokee National Council to allow the Cherokees to elect a delegate to Congress in accordance with the treaty of March 1, 1836.[59] On Christmas Eve the *Cherokee Advocate,* official newspaper of that nation, expressed the views of that people in an editorial:[60]

> A great deal is being said at this time about statehood, both by the single and double staters, but not one has ever said—let's put the matter

---

54 *South McAlester Weekly Capital,* August 18, 1904, p. 2.

55 *Muskogee Phoenix,* August 26, 1904, p. 4, col. 2.

56 See the testimony of Ferguson before the Senate sub-committee in Guthrie, November 24, 1902, in *Senate Docs.*, No. 26, 57 Cong., 2 sess., ss. 4420, 211.

57 *Miscellaneous Reports of the Department of Interior,* 1902, 389; 1903, 451; and 1904, 473-474.

58 *Muskogee Phoenix,* December 22, 1904, p. 1, col. 4.

59 *Congressional Record,* 58 Cong., 3 sess., XXXIX, 294-295.

60 *Cherokee Advocate,* December 24, 1904, p. 2, col. 1.

to a vote of the Indians. They are the original settlers and owners of the Indian Territory, and they should at least be asked to express their wishes in the matter. No, you haven't heard anyone say this nor you never will, for those pushing the single statehood matter know only two [sic] well that if the Indians of this territory were asked to signify their preference between single and double statehood, that they would say too quick, give us statehood separate from Oklahoma. And, we venture to say, that a great many would say, give us union with Arkansas rather than with Oklahoma. For the past forty years our people have looked forward to the time when we would have an Indian state. Are we to be disappointed?

Clearly, the tone reflected disillusion. The Indian of the Five Civilized Tribes had continually given up his lands, but always with the promise that the land remaining would not be included in the bounds of any state except with his agreement to such an inclusion. More than once after December 24, 1904, Cherokees probably repeated the words of their newspaperman: "Are we to be disappointed?"

On January 3, 1905, the following appeared on the editorial page of the *Muskogee Phoenix*:[61]

The pure food bill in the Senate is the only measure in the way of giving the statehood bill a clear track. The people of the two Territories would be willing to live on sawdust breakfast food, sanded sugar, oleomargarine, cotton seed olive oil, wooden nutmegs, painted coffee, mock turtle soup, imitation tobasco sauce, china eggs, horse steak, and condensed milk for sixty days if the Senate will run that pure food bill in on a siding until the statehood bill becomes a law.

Two days later the newspaper notified its readers that the Pure Food and Drug Bill had been displaced on the regular order of business in the Senate by a vote of thirty-one to seventeen.[62] The day before, the Hamilton Bill, as introduced in the previous session, was called up for debate.

On February 7, 1905, the Hamilton Bill passed the Senate. But it had been so laden with amendments as to make it unrecognizable. There was a total of forty-seven different amendments to the bill and in such a condition it was rejected by the House of Representatives. The bill was then sent to a conference committee, but was not reported out before Congress adjourned.[63]

Three days before the Hamilton Bill passed the Senate, Senator Berry of Arkansas gave the Senate a candid and rather accurate view of the situation then existing in Indian Territory when he said:[64]

. . . . so far as the Indians themselves within the Indian Territory are concerned, the overwhelming majority would prefer two States rather than one . . . . Whatever sentiment there is in favor of joint statehood—and a large part of it in the Indian Territory is amongst the whites—has come largely from the fact that they have lost all hope of getting a separate State,

---

61 *Muskogee Phoenix*, January 3, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.
62 *Ibid.*, January 5, 1905, p. 1, cols. 3-4.
63 *Congressional Record*, 58 Cong., 3 sess., XXXIX, 2005, 2062, 2786, 2790.
64 *Ibid.*, 1835.

and in their anxiety to secure schools and that they may have some settled policy and settled government a great many of them have said they would rather come in now, even joined with Oklahoma, than to have statehood for the Indian Territory postponed, and then ultimately perhaps have that Territory attached to Oklahoma.

This was the condition prevailing in Indian Territory at the time President Roosevelt finished serving the unexpired term of William B. McKinley. Not once in all the years Roosevelt had sat as President had he said one thing to help the Indians in defense of their treaty and statutory rights, but in looking back over the period of forty years since the end of the Civil War President Roosevelt was not alone in this category. These forty years had been a period of trials, struggles, and even hopes for the Indians. The last five years were also a period of trials, struggles, and hopes for the whites in Indian Territory. For the Indians there had been: trials in dividing the land in severalty, struggles in attempting to keep their possessions against ruthless and scheming intruders, and hopes for a state which had been promised them and their fathers. For the whites there had been: trials in developing new towns, farms, and schools, struggles to fulfill Manifest Destiny, and hopes for a state which could promise them good government. These were the experiences felt and shared by all, white and Indian, young and old, through the years leading up to 1905.

They knew—those residents of Indian Territory in 1905—that statehood had to come soon. Some believed that the Republican Congress and President Roosevelt would grant the Indians a state in compliance with the treaties and agreements of the past. But all realized that whatever was done could only be done through the cooperation of the Indians and the whites of the territory. This was the spirit of the people of Indian Territory at the time of the inauguration of President Theodore Roosevelt in March, 1905.

II

Statehood Agitation in Indian Territory From March 4, to August 20, 1905

While President Theodore Roosevelt said nothing concerning statehood for the four remaining territories in his inaugural address of March 4, 1905, this date marked another period in the march toward statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory. This period went beyond the closing date of this chapter and extended until the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as a single state in 1907; this was a period of active intervention on the part of President Roosevelt for single statehood.

In April of 1905, President Roosevelt began one of his extended hunting trips in the west and southwest. On April 5, he entered Indian Territory on the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad and spoke in Vinita, Wagoner, Muskogee, and South McAlester; each

time advocating single statehood. In Muskogee, with John R. Thomas, Chief Pleasant Porter, Charles N. Haskell, I. N. Ury, and Clarence B. Douglas as the reception committee, Roosevelt stated: "Your Territory, remember, in conjunction with Oklahoma, will soon be one of the greatest states in the Union."[65] To the thousands that saw the President and the many more that read the *Daily Oklahoman* the next morning one thought was probably common. This was expressed by the *Daily Oklahoman* in red ink above its masthead: *"PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SHOULD NOW BE ABLE TO MAKE SOME STATEHOOD OBSERVATION IN HIS NEXT ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS."*[66] That this "statehood observation" would not be agreeable to all, especially the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes who had agreed to the allotment of their lands upon the promise of statehood, was not mentioned.[67] A brief forecast of the role the President intended to play in the statehood question was made by him on April 8 in Frederick, Oklahoma Territory, just before going out to hunt coyotes: "The next time I come to Oklahoma I trust I will come to a state and it won't be my fault if this is not so."[68] As will be seen in a later chapter, the President meant that statement to mean Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one state, and he meant to keep his word that "it won't be my fault" if they are not made one state.

As if spurred on by the visit of President Roosevelt to the territories, the advocates of both single and separate statehood met on April 14 to further their goals. The latter group met in Muskogee but accomplished little, while exactly the opposite took place in Oklahoma City where the Single Statehood Executive Committee of Oklahoma and Indian Territory met and decided to call a convention to meet in Oklahoma City on July 12.[69] The purpose of this single statehood convention was to be two-fold: first, to consolidate the people behind the program, and second, to get Congress to admit the two territories as a state. It was to be attended by one thousand delegates, five hundred from each territory.[70] From observations of these two groups, each entirely opposite in purpose, it may be sur-

---

[65] *Muskogee Phoenix*, April 6, 1905, p. 1, col. 2. The names of the reception committee are to be found in the same paper, April 5, 1905, p. 7, col. 3. It is significant that the first three of these men were leaders in the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention of August and September, 1905.

[66] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 6, 1905, p. 1.

[67] Refers to the Atoka Agreement.

[68] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 9, 1905, p. 1, col. 6.

[69] *Muskogee Phoenix*, April 15, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1 and 4. The separate statehood meeting in Muskogee was attended by but four persons and a newspaper reporter. One of the four was Robert L. Owen. The Single Statehood Executive Committee of Oklahoma and Indian Territory was composed of men from both territories who wanted single statehood. The writer has found no definite information on how the committee was chosen, but it was probably picked at one of the numerous single statehood meetings.

[70] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1905, p. 5, cols. 3-4.

mised that the President's visit inspired renewed activity in the one and lack of interest in the other.

Single statehood advocates, led by the Single Statehood Executive Committee, were far more industrious in the next few months than in the past. Laying the ground work for a great lobbying drive in the next session of Congress they managed to have resolutions favoring single statehood passed by almost every important convention that assembled in either of the two territories during April, May, and June.[71] After the convention of the Oklahoma-Indian Territory Bankers Association, which met in Muskogee the last week of May, Colonel Clarence B. Douglas, editor of the *Muskogee Phoenix,* took Delegate Bird S. McGuire, the principal speaker of the Convention, to meet Charles N. Haskell. According to Haskell, " . . . . McGuire explained that the effort to get a statehood bill adopted by congress [*sic*] in the winter of 1904 and 1905 failed because of the Indian element. . . . ."[72] This statement of McGuire's was less than two months later to influence Haskell in the organization of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention.

On June 17, 1905, William Jennings Bryan stopped over in Muskogee on his Southern speaking tour, but in the fifty minutes Bryan spoke to the five thousand people assembled to hear him there was not one word on the two subjects most of his audience wanted to hear—statehood and the 1908 presidential campaign.[73] Instead, he gave a general speech on democracy.

Robert L. Williams, the Democratic national committeeman from Indian Territory, visited in Muskogee on July 5 in the interests of the Democratic party and single statehood. The *Phoenix,* in an editorial the following day wrote of an interview with Williams:[74]

> " . . . . the Democratic party in this territory was for single statehood and that down in his section where enthusiasm and Democracy was rampant large Democratic delegations would be sent to the Oklahoma convention on the 12th and that no man would be put on a delegation who would not pledge himself for single statehood."

The *Phoenix* editorialist, presumably Colonel Douglas, was quite favorable in his treatment of Williams, for while the *Phoenix* was a Republican newspaper, it was first a single statehood paper.

On the same day that Williams was in Muskogee aiding in the building of enthusiasm for the Oklahoma City convention, James A.

---

[71] *Daily Oklahoman,* June 10, 1905, p. 1, col. 7. Among the groups passing resolutions favoring single statehood was the National Editorial Association which met in Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, June 8-9, 1905.

[72] Charles N. Haskell to Clinton M. Allen, April 18, 1911, published as Appendix F to *The Sequoyah Movement* by Allen.

[73] *Muskogee Phoenix,* June 18, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[74] *Ibid.,* July 6, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.

Norman and Chiefs William C. Rogers and Green McCurtain, governors of the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations respectively, issued a call for a constitutional convention to be held in Muskogee on August 21.[75] This constitutional convention was to draft a constitution for a separate state to be formed from Indian Territory. Delegates were to be chosen by local conventions on August 7 in each recording town of the twenty-six recording districts of the Indian Territory.[76] These local conventions were to be presided over by the mayors of those twenty-six towns. This call, coming in the middle of the activity to select delegates to the single statehood convention to be held in Oklahoma City exactly one week later, naturally caused a great deal of excitement, except as William H. Murray wrote, " . . . . in the west half of the Chickasaw Nation, which selection followed the eternal hammering of Sidney Suggs, editor of the *Ardmoreite,* for statehood with Oklahoma Territory."[77]

The day after the Norman call for a separate statehood convention was made, the *Muskogee Phoenix* began editorializing on the coming convention. In most of the editorials that newspaper printed (both before, during, and after the convention was held) the *Phoenix* made a policy of seldom casting any direct slurs upon it. In a few cases the paper was actually friendly toward the convention. In the same issue, July 6, in which the *Phoenix* published the Norman call the editor wrote: "The outcome of the call will be watched with interest as this move will demonstrate the strength of the double state sentiment in the territory."[78] While obvious to all that the newspaper opposed the separate statehood move, it could not afford to oppose it too strenuously for there was a remote possibility that Congress might create the state, and if such took place Muskogee would of course have a good chance at being the capital city. On July 11 the *Phoenix* editor wrote that the convention called for August would " . . . . do more toward hastening the passage of a single statehood bill than any single statehood convention has done or will do."[79] This latter thought was repeated by the paper a number of times in the following four months.

---

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 7, col. 3. Angie Debo states in *And Still the Waters Run*, p. 162, that Norman was: " . . . . a mixed blood Cherokee living at Muskogee, who issued a pamphlet in the fall of 1904 suggesting the creation of a separate state to be named Sequoyah." (*The "Sequoyah" Movement* by Allen, *op. cit.*, contains statements from William H. Murray, C. N. Haskell, and J. A. Norman. Mr. Norman states that he first suggested the name "Sequoyah" for the proposed Indian state, and also first suggested Chief Pleasant Porter for President of the Convention, and C. N. Haskell for Vice-President. Mr. Haskell refers to J. A. Norman as "*the real father*" of the Sequoyah movement.—Ed.)

[76] See map of Indian Territory recording districts. District No. 26 was formed from the lower half of District No. 21 but was never shown on any government map.

[77] William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (1931), 127-128.

[78] *Muskogee Phoenix*, July 6, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.

[79] *Ibid.*, July 11, 1905, p. 4, col. 2.

Among the twenty-two delegates and twenty-two alternates elected on July 8 from Muskogee to attend the Oklahoma City convention were Charles N. Haskell and John R. Thomas.[80] The election of these two men is significant for they were later two of the most influential men in the separate statehood convention held in Muskogee the next month. The Oklahoma City convention lasted but one day, Saturday, July 12.[81] It was attended by approximately one thousand persons from the two territories and before adjourning passed a resolution asking for single statehood. This was addressed to the President and to Congress.

Whether Haskell attended the Oklahoma City Single Statehood Convention as an alternate the writer has been unable to determine, but Haskell later wrote: " . . . . it was natural that the Indian Territory citizens . . . . should want a separate state of Indian Territory," and further stated:[82]

> " . . . . when I saw Mr. Norman's notice in the paper and recalling what Congressman McGuire had said, I felt that Norman was pursuing the best course to secure state government, and, taking the paper in hand, I went to the office of Chief Porter and asked him concerning the proposed convention. Chief Porter said that he had given his consent to the use of his name, but that he was satisfied nothing would come of it because the white people would try to override and ignore the wish of the Indian citizens."

Haskell suggested at this meeting with Chief Pleasant Porter that all of the five chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes should issue an amended call for a constitutional convention. Porter agreed to this, but not until after stating, according to Haskell's letter:

> I very much doubt that Congress will keep this agreement [the Atoka Agreement] made to the Indians. However, we insist that the demand be made upon Congress to keep faith with the Indians, and if you (meaning myself [Haskell] and other white citizens) will join with us and put this demand square up to Congress and they refuse to make good the promise of the government, then we will thereafter make no objection to combining the two territories in one state.

Haskell later wired the other four chiefs and a few days later they or their representatives met in Room 511 of the Turner Hotel in Muskogee.

The *Muskogee Phoenix* reported that on July 18 Chief Pleasant Porter, Creek Nation, Chief William C. Rogers, Cherokee Nation; Choctaw National Treasurer George W. Scott, representing Chief Green McCurtain; William H. Murray, representing Chief Douglas H. Johnston of the Chickasaw Nation; Charles N. Haskell, and James A. Norman met to discuss amending the Norman call. Chief John F. Brown of the Seminole Nation was not present, but he sent a letter stating he would do all he could to further the separate statehood

---

[80] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1905, p. 1, cols. 3-4. These men were both chosen as alternates.
[81] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1905, p. 4, col. 2.
[82] Haskell to Allen, referred to in footnote 72, *supra.*

movement.[83] During the course of the meeting Haskell stated:[84]

> In my opinion Congress will not grant statehood for the territory . . . . although personally I feel that the Indians are entitled to separate statehood. I'll go down the line with you fighting for separate statehood. Furthermore, I'll pay all the incidental expenses of the convention and the election if you will agree to approve joint statehood if Congress denies us separate statehood.

Oscar Presley Fowler states that this agreement was written on the back of a Turner Hotel letterhead and duly signed by all members of the caucus. Before the meeting adjourned an amended call was drawn up with the only appreciable difference between it and the Norman call of July 5 being that the principal chiefs of each of the Five Civilized Tribes were to appoint the presiding officers of the local conventions to be held on August 7 in the recording towns. Under the earlier call the local mayors were to do this. This call was signed by Chiefs Rogers, Porter, Brown, McCurtain, and Choctaw Treasurer Scott. Scott signed as secretary of the group.[85] Chief Porter signed for Chief Brown, but there was no explanation as to how McCurtain could sign when it was reported the day before that he had not attended. Thus by this document it was made official that seven delegates and seven alternates were to be selected from each recording district to attend a separate statehood constitutional convention on August 21 in Muskogee.

In commenting on this action, William H. Murray has stated:[86]

> "Personally, I cared little whether we had single or double statehood. The point was the Great United States had made the Indians a solemn promise that if they would abandon their homes and establish themselves in the western wilderness, never should Territorial or State Government include their domain without their consent. Sixteen thousand dead lie buried by the wayside, enroute to their western homes, silent sad witnesses to that compact made by our Government. Certainly neither Government, Statesman, or politician should wantonly violate such a pledge."

---

[83] The meeting in Room 511 of the Turner Hotel has been touched on by four different writers, two of whom were there—Haskell and Murray, yet all four differ as to either who was there or when the meeting was held. Sources for the names of those present were the *Muskogee Phoenix*, July 19, 1905, p. 1, col. 2, and "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," *op. cit.*, pp. 196-197. Murray has stated that he represented not Johnston but P. S. Moseley, and that Moseley was Governor of the Chickasaw Nation at that time. (Palmer S. Moseley served as Governor of the Chickasaw Nation in 1894-96 and in 1902-04; he was succeeded in his last term by Douglas H. Johnston, 1904-06, who was therefore Governor of the Chickasaw Nation in 1905. In reporting the convention of the chief executives of the Five Civilized Tribes, held at Eufaula in May, 1903, *The Indian Journal* [fn. 47, *supra*] states: "Chief Moseley of the Chickasaws was not heard from, but he is known to be thoroughly in accord with separate statehood, the Chickasaw legislature having passed a resolution to that effect."—Ed.)

[84] Oscar Presley Fowler, *The Haskell Regime, The Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell*, p. 49.

[85] *Muskogee Phoenix*, July 20, 1905, p. 3, cols. 1-4.

[86] Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

Murray also recalled the difficulty of obtaining separate statehood, for he wrote, " . . . . the East would become alarmed, and fearing two more western states, [Congress] would push an enabling act for one State."

Prior to this meeting on July 18 Chief Pleasant Porter had called a conference of twenty-three leading Creek citizens. They met in Muskogee on July 14 and passed a resolution unanimously backing separate statehood and opposing statehood with Oklahoma Territory on any condition. They authorized their chief to further their cause in all possible ways.[87] Chief Porter, as has been seen, did not follow their resolution when he signed the agreement with Haskell to support single statehood if separate statehood was rejected by Congress. A few months later this act of Porter's was to cause him loss of support in the Creek National Council.

On July 21 the *Phoenix* suggested in its editorial columns that in the event Indian Territory was made a state that it should be named the State of Muskogee.[88] This editorial caused the *Phoenix*, Muskogee businessmen, and the leaders of the coming convention no little embarrassment and loss of good will throughout the Territory, for many began to think the convention was called merely to aid Muskogee.

Two days later the same paper published a list of some of the presiding officers for the local conventions in the Creek Nation. All had been appointed recently by Porter; they were: A. E. McKellop, Sapulpa; Samuel Hayes, Okmulgee; Charles N. Haskell, Muskogee; and George W. Grayson of Eufaula. Haskell was the only one who was not an Indian citizen. In that same column it was also reported that George H. Johnston, owner of the Hinton Theatre in Muskogee, had donated the use of his theatre for the convention with only the cost to the convention being the lighting and the janitorial expense.[89]

By August 7, when the local conventions were to be held in each recording district town to elect the seven delegates and seven alternates, a great deal of opposition to the constitutional convention had developed. This opposition was loud and vociferous, and expressed itself through most of the newspapers of the Indian Territory. The opponents can be grouped roughly into four categories: first, those who were just plain single statehood advocates; second, most of the residents and citizens of the Chickasaw Nation; third, those who called the whole movement an expression of Muskogeeism; and fourth, the railroad interests. Every opponent of the coming convention could not fit arbitrarily into one of those four groups, but most could, and some could fit into all of them. For instance, an employee of a railroad, living in the Chickasaw Nation,

---

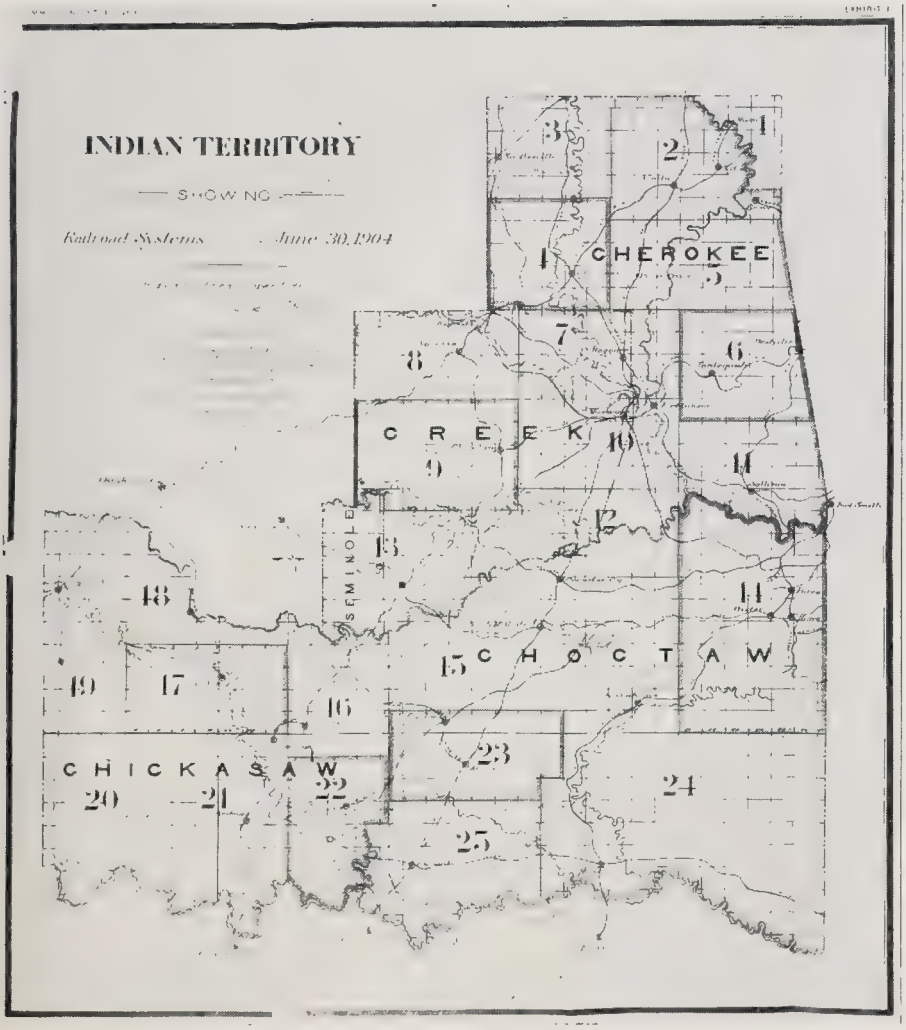
[87] *Muskogee Phoenix*, July 15, 1905, p. 6, col. 3.
[88] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.
[89] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1905, p. 1, col. 2.

could be an ardent "single stater" and yet see in the convention only an open manifestation of Muskogeeism.

Expressing the attitude of many Chickasaws and most of the whites in that nation, Chief Douglas H. Johnston stated on July 29: "In my judgement, the time has not arrived for the Indians to say . . . . they want statehood, and for this reason I will not officially or personally participate in the proposed convention."[90] He was the only one of the five chiefs to oppose the convention. The *Daily Ardmoreite,* the leading newspaper in the Chickasaw Nation, ran editorials continually against the convention. Such papers as the *Vinita Leader* and the *Durant News,* and a number of others, were quoted by the *Muskogee Phoenix* as accusing the convention of being promoted by Muskogee selfishness and graft.[91] Among the most effective opposition of all was a force that cannot now be measured due to the fact that it was never out in the open. This latter opposition was that of the railroads and their attorneys and employees. Many of the leading members of the Oklahoma City Convention on July 12 were attorneys of the railroads.[92] Both the Republican national committeeman for Indian Territory, P. L. Soper, and the Democratic national committeeman, Robert L. Williams, were employed by railroads; both opposed the Muskogee convention.[93] While it must be emphasized that there is no direct evidence showing these men stood to gain in any way from their employers for opposing statehood for Indian Territory, it is nevertheless true that the railroads operating in Indian Territory could save considerable money by opposing separate statehood. As already mentioned, the railroads in Indian Territory paid only a yearly rental fee. The railroads realized, as did almost everyone in Indian Territory, that under statehood they would be taxed in proportion to the valuation of their property. This they probably wanted to prevent; the railroads probably felt that if statehood could not be prevented then legislation regulating them would not be as strict in a state formed of the two territories as it would be in two separate states. Before concluding this paragraph it must be emphasized again that there is no evidence that the attorneys mentioned above, Soper and Williams, were retained by the railroads for the sole purpose of opposing Indian Territory statehood.

On the day set, August 7, in both the Norman call and the amended call by the chiefs to elect the delegates and alternates to the separate statehood constitutional convention, there were meetings held in seventeen of the twenty-six recording districts. In eight of the remaining nine districts conventions were held at a later date and

[90] *Ibid.,* July 30, 1905, p. 1, col. 2.
[91] *Ibid.,* August 5, 1905, p. 4, col. 2.
[92] *Bartlesville Daily Enterprise,* August 11, 1905, p. 4, col. 4.
[93] *Ibid.; Muskogee Phoenix,* July 2, 1905, p. 1, cols. 3-4.



Map of the Indian Territory, present Eastern Oklahoma, showing recording districts, 1901-07.

delegates selected. In the first recording district no meeting was held and no delegates were ever selected. In the third, twentieth, and the twenty-sixth recording districts meetings were held and delegations chosen, but there was no record made of those meetings. From the third and twenty-sixth districts the only names found are those who were appointed to committee membership. The seventeenth district was represented, but the date of this meeting was not published. In the twentieth recording district a group was selected, but there was no current report of such meeting, the only report being published on October 1.[94]

Of the seventeen conventions held on August 7, seven stand out as distinctive ones; these were the tenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, nineteenth, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fifth. The tenth district convention held in Muskogee was noteworthy due to the preponderance of influential men who were chosen to represent that district. These included: Pleasant Porter, Charles N. Haskell, S. M. Rutherford, the ex-mayor of Muskogee; Dr. Leo F. Bennett, a U. S. Marshall; Rev. A. Grant Evans, president of Henry Kendall College; and Judge John R. Thomas, who had served for ten years as Congressman from Illinois. There were a number of speeches made, among them one by Pleasant Porter which ended with the statement: "The convention to be held here late this month will live in history. It will live as long as there is American liberty."[95] The convention held at Poteau in the fourteenth district was unusual in that it was attended by eighty-two persons, sixty-three of whom were single staters and attempted to take over the meeting. The sixty-three finally became disgusted, left in a body, and met elsewhere and passed resolutions against the other nineteen.[96] In the fifteenth district there were thirty-five delegates chosen instead of seven delegates and seven alternates. It was decided to give each of the thirty-five a one-fifth vote.[97] The meeting in the nineteenth district at Chickasha was remarkable in that it was the only meeting held in the Chickasaw Nation on the date set with the exception of the one at Tishomingo, where William H. Murray resided. Reford Bond, one of those chosen at the Chickasha meeting stated:[98]

> I was elected one of the delegates from Chickasha due to my Chickasaw descendancy not because of my beliefs on the statehood question. I personally thought single statehood best just as did probably ninety-nine out of every hundred people in Chickasha.

The twenty-second district meeting was significant due to the election of William H. Murray. Murray became one of the strongest

---

[94] A complete list of all the delegates and alternates chosen to attend the convention, whose names were published, will be found in *Appendix B.*

[95] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 8, 1905, p. 6, cols. 1-4.

[96] *Ibid.*, August 10, 1905, p. 7, cols. 3-4.

[97] *Ibid.*, August 9, 1905, p. 7, col. 3.

[98] Interview with Reford Bond, August 15, 1949.

men in the convention. It was he who managed to get delegations elected from the other recording districts in the Chickasaw Nation between August 7 and August 21. As Murray has written:[99]

> I personally visited the Marietta District, Ardmore, Ryan, Chickasha, Pauls Valley, and Ada. I personally knew the Indians, Intermarried Citizens, and whites for the movement, that lived in each district. By telephone I called them in each of the several towns, and they elected delegates.

The meeting held in Atoka in the twenty-third district ended by adopting a set of single statehood resolutions. Among the five resolutions adopted, the second endorsed the Oklahoma City convention of July 12; the third recognized Congress' right to admit Indian Territory with Oklahoma Territory as one state; and the fifth resolved against having a constitution drawn by delegates from only Indian Territory.[100] The convention held in the twenty-fifth district was indicative of several to follow, for it was held in Caddo and not in Durant, the seat of that recording district.[101]

The other ten local conventions held August 7 to elect the delegates were generally much the same. With the exception of the men chosen they could just as easily have been held in one district as another. There was usually one man in each of those districts that stood out among the rest; there were seldom over two.

On August 8 a group of delegates were elected from the eighteenth recording district. In commenting on the group chosen, the *Purcell Register* claimed part of them did not live in the eighteenth district. If the addresses given in the paper were correct, four of those chosen were from the seventeenth recording district.[102] The sixteenth recording district selected its delegates at Pontotoc rather than meeting in Ada. The meeting was held on August 10.[103] On August 15 a meeting was held in Berwyn, instead of Ardmore, and selected the delegates to represent that district.[104] And as the obviously biased *Vinita Daily Chieftain* wrote concerning the meeting on August 19 in Vinita, "The separate convention for the Second recording district to select delegates to the Muskogee Convention, held here Saturday was a frost. Less than a score . . . . were in attendance."[105]

Thus by Saturday, August 19, only two days before the convention was to convene in Muskogee, the last of all the delegates and alternates were chosen. All of those who had wanted to be elected were not satisfied in this desire—the two most notable ones left out

---

99 William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, I, 314.
100 *South McAlester Capital*, August 17, 1905, p. 5, col. 4.
101 *Blue County Democrat*, Durant, August 11, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.
102 *Purcell Register*, August 12, 1905, p. 4, cols. 1-2.
103 *South McAlester Capital*, August 17, 1905, p. 4, col. 6.
104 *Daily Ardmoreite*, August 15, 1905, p. 1, col. 4.
105 *Vinita Daily Chieftain*, August 21, 1905, p. 1, col. 4.

by their neighbors were Chief William C. Rogers and James A. Norman—they had drawn up the first call; yet they were rejected by the local conventions.[106]

By the next day, Sunday, August 20, the first constitutional convention held in Indian Territory since 1870 was about to convene, and the delegates began arriving in Muskogee in preparation for the opening session the next day. The four and one-half months from the adjourning of the Fifty-eighth Congress had been an active period. The Indians who had been promised a state from their territory had seen President Roosevelt come among them advocating statehood with Oklahoma Territory; they had seen about one thousand delegates assemble in Oklahoma City to further the cause of single statehood, and they had seen terrific opposition develop in their own territory when their chiefs issued a call for a constitutional convention to write a constitution for Indian Territory. Now they, these last leaders of a valiant race, were assembling in historic Muskogee to write a constitution for a state of their own and pray that Congress, which had promised them one, and the President would see fit to keep that promise. Many, no doubt buoyed up with the inspiration of meeting others with a similar desire, believed that separate statehood was possible; others were not so confident, but all faced the morrow with a serious and resolute outlook.

(*To be continued*)

APPENDIX A

Election of George E. Nelson as Delegate to Congress from The Indian Territory

George E. Nelson, Muskogee attorney, was issued a certificate of election by Indian Agent Dew Wisdom to represent the Indian Territory as delegate to the 54th Congress, as the result of elections in delegate conventions of the Democratic Party, held by non-citizens (or U. S. citizens) of the Indian nations in the Territory on November 3, 1896. Nelson, a "gold Democrat," had been declared elected over Tom Marcum, a prominent citizen of Muskogee and a "free silver Democrat," who had received the most votes cast but lost on a technicality in the writing of the ballots, as announced by Agent Wisdom. The election of a delegate to Congress from the Indian Territory had been sponsored by the Democrats, the "majority party," in accordance with a resolution passed during the National Convention of Democratic Clubs held in the Southern Hotel at St. Louis, Missouri, on October 3, 1896: "Resolved, That the Indian Territory should be accorded such representation in the United States Congress as other territories."

---

[106] Chief Rogers was not chosen by the fourth recording district in its meeting at Claremore; no reason was given in the report of that meeting in the *Claremore Progress*. Norman was not chosen in the meeting of the tenth recording district at Muskogee; so it has been reported he then went to Sallisaw and tried to be among those chosen from the eleventh recording district. He was not chosen by any district to represent it at the convention. *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 22, 1905, p. 5, col. 3.

Three bills had been introduced for the establishment of the Indian Territory as the "Territory of Indianola" early in the session of the 54th Congress, winter of 1895-6: *Senate Bill 584*, by James H. Berry, of Arkansas; *House Bill 819*, by John S. Little, of Arkansas; *Senate Bill 1719*, by George G. Vest, of Missouri.

Prominent Democratic leaders from the Indian Territory in attendance at the National Convention had included Pliny L. Soper, of Vinita; Joseph B. Thompson, U. S. Commissioner of the U. S. Court at Purcell; and S. D. Bledsoe, Democratic Committeeman, of Ardmore. H. S. Schreiner, of South McAlester, was chairman of the delegation of twenty-six party members from the Indian Territory, *The Weekly Capital* at South McAlester boosting that city for selection as the capital of the proposed "State of Indianola." The statehood movement and the election of a delegate to Congress had been promoted in a statement made by Ex-Congressman S. W. Peel, of Arkansas, an attorney for the Chickasaws and the Choctaws, when he said that the treaties of 1866 between the United States and the Five Civilized Tribes entitled the Indians to a delegate in Congress but no provision was ever made because the Indians had never asked for it; since it was the fixed policy of the Government to organize the Indian Territory as a state, Congress by special act, "precedent or no precedent," could admit a delegate should one be elected by the "U. S. citizens now domiciled in the Indian Territory."

The Vinita Leader, "free silver," Democratic newspaper, and enthusiastic in support of the party election of a delegate from the Indian Territory during the campaign, struck a sour note in an editorial after Nelson was declared elected, stating "that there is not now any authority for an election of a delegate to Congress from the Indian Territory; and probably will not be until territorial form of government is extended over us by Congress." The press generally over Oklahoma and Indian territories gave notices of Nelson's election and his immediate departure for Washington in December, 1896, but there was no action by Congress in the matter.

Tragedy attended the death of George E. Nelson, at Muskogee, on May 6, 1900, supposedly by poisoning from drinking "jamaica ginger," his body being discovered three days later where he had died in his room alone at the court house. A friend of long standing wrote of him, referring to "his sad life, his eccentricities and idiosyncracies," stating further that he was a typical southerner, genial, magnetic conversationalist, and a good lawyer, "considered an opponent worthy of the steel of the best, a pleasing orator, and a terse logical reasoner, and a gentleman of the old school."—Ed. (M.H.W.)

APPENDIX B

List of Delegates to Sequoyah Convention as Reported by Newspapers of Indian Territory[2]

District	Delegates	Alternates
1	No delegates elected	
2	L. B. Bell	James S. Davenport
	William P. Thompson	Freeman Nidiffer
	Johnson Falling	William Howell
	Webb Buffington	D. W. C. Duncan
	James Yost	J. J. Spencer
	Sam F. Parks	W. H. Curtis
	Davis Hill	Ben Hilderbrand
3	Only known delegates:	
	Robert L. Owen	
	J. H. Bartles	
	J. A. Tilotson	
4	Dr. Emmett Starr	Rev. J. P. Keller
	Rev. W. Shanks	Rev. C. F. Mitchell
	Joe M. LaHay	Vann Chambers
	D. W. Lipe	E. C. Alberty
	Dr. J. C. Bushyhead	John Bullette
	W. A. Musgrove	E. W. Eaton
	W. E. Sanders	J. F. Ryan
5	Dr. W. T. Tilly	G. W. Mayes
	S. H. Mayes	Dr. G. W. Tilly
	A. L. Battenfield	R. L. Bledsoe
	P. A. Byers	W. B. Johnson
	Soggy Sanders	Simon McKenzie
	J. C. Hogan	E. Wright
	James M. Keyes	Drift Hummingbird
6	W. W. Hastings	D. B. Cullom
	George W. Benge	Thomas J. Welch
	E. W. Buffington	J. W. Duncan
	B. H. Whittaker	George M. Hughes
	K. G. Comfort	W. H. Parris
	A. S. Wyly	J. W. Reed
	A. B. Cunningham	L. B. Gritts
7	David M. Hodge	Charles Drew
	Benjamin F. Marshall	Howard Willison
	Theodore Potts	R. S. Plumlee
	G. D. Sleeper	Alex Cobb
	T. A. Parkinson	Joe Ford
	Guy Bowman	Tom Bevert
	Thomas Everett	W. I. Nicholson

[2] The names of the delegates to the Sequoyah Convention were found in various Indian Territory newspapers published in 1905. In all of the newspapers the name of the town in which the paper was published is a part of the name of the paper except in the case of the *Blue County Democrat*, which was published in Durant, Indian Territory. The newspapers in which are the names of the elected delegates are as follows: *Blue County Democrat*, August 11, p. 1, col. 1; *Chickasha Daily Express*, August 7, p. 4, col. 4; *Claremore Progress*, August 12, Supplement; *Daily Ardmoreite*, August 15, p. 1, col. 4; *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 8, p. 6, cols. 1-4; August 9, p. 7, cols. 3-4; August 10, p. 1, col. 1; August 10, p. 7, col. 3; and October 1, p. 28, cols. 2-3; *Okmulgee Chieftain*, August 10, p. 2, col. 4; *Pauls Valley Enterprise*, August 24, p. 6, col. 4; *Pryor Creek Clipper*, August 11, p. 1, col. 3; *Purcell Register*, August 12, p. 4, cols. 1-2; *South McAlester Capital*, August 17, p. 4, col. 6; and *Vinita Daily Chieftain*, August 21, p. 1, col. 4.

District	Delegates	Alternates
8	Harry Campbell	Jesse Allen
	F. R. Brennan	A. E. McKellop
	J. G. Davis	Dump Berryhill
	W. W. Holder	W. C. Collins
	William A. Sapulpa	Charles Whittaker
	N. G. Gregory	W. L. Cheatham
	Joseph Bruner	L. Berryman
9	Samuel J. Haynes	T. E. Proctor
	Charles E. Myers	Alex Davis
	J. A. Roper (Negro)	George Harveson
	Moty Tiger	R. S. Brown
	Richard Hill (Negro)	C. J. Shields
	W. O. Hoyt	Rev. J. A. Angerson (Negro)
	John Phillips	Morris Rentie (Negro)
10	General Pleasant Porter	Connell Rogers
	S. M. Rutherford	Masterson Peyton
	A. P. McKellop	J. P. Davidson (Negro)
	Cheesie McIntosh	F. E. Butin
	Leo F. Bennett	Thomas H. Owen
	Rev. A. Grant Evans	John R. Thomas
	Charles N. Haskell	E. A. DeMeules
11	D. M. Faulkner	John Gunter
	John R. Rogers	U. S. Riley
	J. G. McCombs	C. C. Martin
	J. H. Kulmer	Thomas J. Carlyle
	S. K. Cordon	W. H. Fanan
	Thomas Proctor	F. Cornelius
	R. B. Choate	J. F. Shackleford
12	George W. Grayson	Edward Julian
	Cub McIntosh	Louis McGilbray
	George W. Scott	Daniel Scott
	Sam Grayson	Joe Smith
	Walter F. Fears	J. C. Smock
	J. Burdet	J. T. Primrose
	J. B. Couch	J. C. Belt
13	Only six delegates and fives alternates found.	
	Gov. John F. Brown	Jackson Brown
	G. A. Alexander	Joe Smith
	John Goat	Jim Alexander
	J. Kinkehee	Coody Johnson
	Johnson Tiger	Jeff Canard
	Alexander Richmond	
14	Only seven delegates and six alternates found.	
	J. E. Reynolds	James A. Smith
	W. H. Harrison	R. S. Bridgman
	W. A. Welch, Jr.	John W. Frederick
	H. J. Fowler	C. C. Mathis
	W. A. Welch, Sr.	D. Thomas
	Peter Conser	A. P. Harrison
	John J. Thomas	
15	Thirty-five delegates were elected with no alternates being named from this district.	
	Gov. Green McCurtain	
	H. B. Rowley	
	George Riddle	
	John Savage	
	Dudley B. Buell	

District	Delegates	Alternates
	D. M. Hailey	
	J. Henry Shepherd	
	H. L. Haynes	
	W. G. D. Hinds	
	W. G. Weimer	
	E. P. Hill	
	Ira L. Eubanks	
	Jack Flaherty	
	P. A. Vance	
	Press S. Lester	
	A. S. McKennon	
	W. L. Woolsey	
	J. H. Godfrey	
	Henry P. Ward	
	John Simson	
	W. R. Woodward	
	E. H. Doyle	
	R. B. Coleman	
	D. C. McCurtain	
	George A. Mansfield	
	B. F. Jobe	
	U. S. Russell	
	Preslie B. Cole	
	Hampton Tucker	
	Tony Kincannon	
	G. E. Hartshorne	
	A. B. Johnson	
	Sol. H. Mackey	
	W. D. Paxson	
	Solomon J. Homer	
16	R. H. Vaughter	A. B. Swanson
	G. C. Cunningham	J. S. Kiser
	R. H. Bennett	G. W. McClure
	T. C. Walker	W. James
	Cent Walker	Will Barnes
	Richard Floyd	John Sharp
	W. H. Lancaster	W. H. L. Campbell
17	R. T. Jones	No alternates found.
	Charles Baggs	
	E. M. Moore	
	W. H. Paul	
	R. L. Nichols	
	J. D. Murray	
	Milas Lasater	
18	Joe Colbert	No alternates found.
	A. L. Rice	
	Ryan Turnbull	
	Jack Barnett	
	Ben Lillard	
	It cannot be determined which of the following were selected as delegates and as alternates from the 18th District:	
	Emmett Victor	
	James Budd	
	Lawrence Ratka	
	N. B. Johnson	
	James Tuttle	

District	Delegates	Alternates
19	Reford Bond	No alternates found.
	H. B. Johnson	
	Benjamin J. Vaughan	
	R. M. Johnson	
	C. B. Campbell	
	George Beeler	
	Ben Hampton	
20	Frank O. Smith	No alternates found.
	William Gilbert	
	George Trent	
	Will Ray	
	Sam Ray	
	Joel Nail	
	Walter Ryan	
21	J. W. Johnson	John Thomas
	Andy Hutchings	C. W. Henderson
	J. W. Massey	Fred Schoeppe
	G. W. Young	J. H. Ward
	William Warren	John Criner
	Charles D. Carter	John Hutchins
	Charles Hare	Mr. Cornish (no first name given)
22	H. L. Muldrow	Leonard Johnson
	T. K. Whitthorn	George W. Burris
	George W. Dudley	P. S. Moseley
	Dr. Skillean (no first name given)	J. W. Parker
	M. V. Cheadle	John P. Young
	J. Hamp Willis	Dr. A. G. Cramfield
	William H. Murray	William Rennie
23	Henry Bond	J. D. Catlin
	J. S. Fulton	Joe Self
	Charles LaFlore	R. W. Harrison
	Paul B. Smith	Calvin Allison
	William Bassett	C. A. Skeen
	D. N. Robb	Boone Williams
	A. T. West	George T. Ralls
24	J. B. Jeter	John Laracy
	A. J. Arnote	W. H. Isherwood
	W. W. Wilson	Lem W. Oakes
	P. J. Hudson	L. W. Cobb
	J. A. Lovett	J. W. Baird
	W. Y. Webb	John Cooke
	Barney Noel	William Ellis
25	J. M. Webb	C. A. Bilbo
	Tom Hunter	W. D. Kiersey
	Sam W. Maytubbee	A. B. McCoy
	James Culberson	Clarence Walden
	Eli Perry	S. T. Bentley
	Solomon J. Homer[3]	W. G. Ward
	J. R. Rappolee	W. J. Killion
26	Only known delegates:	
	W. H. H. Keltner	
	T. D. Talliferro	
	J. T. Case	

[3] Solomon J. Homer was listed according to current newspapers as representing both the 15th and the 25th Districts.

HOPEFIELD MISSION IN OSAGE NATION, 1823-1837

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

When the history of Hopefield Mission is read one realizes that the name was chosen by optimists, because no more incongruous title could have been selected for the station which suffered every sort of disaster during its existence.

From Union Mission, on October 1, 1822, the Rev. William F. Vaill wrote to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun giving an account of the station and of the missionaries there. Among others he mentioned Dr. Marcus Palmer,[1] Mr. William C. Requa,[2] George Requa,[3] and the Rev. Epaphras Chapman.[4] He stated that Requa and Chapman were engaged in the study of the Osage language. This was a most noteworthy undertaking which gave them closer contact with the Indians than other missionaries enjoyed, and they obtained an influence over the red men which resulted in great benefit to them.

In 1823 the Rev. William B. Montgomery[5] and William C. Requa and his wife established a branch of Union Mission as a farming project to show the Osages the benefits of agriculture when carried on by themselves. With anticipations of accomplishing great work they named the station Hopefield; it was located on the west bank of the Neosho River about four or five miles north of the mother mission.

On July 12, 1828, Mr. Requa wrote to Jeremiah Evarts in Boston explaining the purpose of their project:

---

[1] Dr. Marcus Palmer, a native of Greenwich, Connecticut, served the missionaries and the Indians for many years. His station was at Fairfield in the Cherokee Nation, but his practice took him far afield.

[2] William C. Requa was born at Mount Pleasant, New York, in 1795 or 1796; he left for the west in 1820 and arrived at Union Mission February 18, 1821. He helped to establish Hopefield in 1823: he was on leave in the United States from June to December, 1835, and from May to December, 1836. He returned to his station in July, 1837, and was released May 22, 1838.

[3] George Requa of Sing Sing, New York, was born in Mount Pleasant in that state. He accompanied his cousin, W. C. Requa, to the west in 1820, and after long service at Hopefield he was released October 1, 1833. He first married Susan S. Clapp of Cincinnati who arrived at Union Mission in 1823; his second wife was Mary H. Austin of Waterbury, Vermont. She was born January 19, 1811, and married at Harmony Mission on October 25, 1827.

[4] Ephaphras Chapman died soon after removing to Hopefield, and his widow caused a stone to be erected over his grave at Union Mission bearing the inscription: "In Memory of Rev. Ephraphras Chapman, who died Jan. 6, 1825. Aged 32. First Missionary to the Osages. 'Say among the Heathen, the Lord Reigneth.'"

[5] William B. Montgomery, of Danville, Pennsylvania, arrived at Harmony Mission August 8, 1821; at Union in September, 1830. His wife, Mrs. Harriet Woolley Montgomery, reached Harmony August 8, 1821: she and Mr. Montgomery were married in October, 1827. (See, also, Ethel McMillan, "Pioneer Women Teachers," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 1 [Spring, 1949]—Ed.)

"Respected and dear Sir,

". . . . . In these large mission families where farming is executed on so large a scale the Indians saw nothing that they could imitate. We thought that if they were instructed and assisted to farm on a small economical scale they might be induced to give up the chase & cultivate their lands. Under such an impression the Rev. E. Chapman and myself in the winter of 1823 & 1824 with the consent of U.[nion] Mission commenced this station.

"We began our labors by assisting our Interpreter in building his house. We then put up a log cabin for ourselves sixteen feet square and moved up our families. An Indian man who had told us repeatedly he wished to accompany us moved his family up the same day, and has since had the honor of being called the first settler, which he prizes no little. We next assisted him in building a cabin. By this time the Spring advanced and we began to clear some land for cultivation. As we commenced clearing an Osage hunting party came along out of which three families joined us. . . . .

"Soon after four other families came among which was Monnupusha,[6] the Chief of this little band, making in all eight families the first Spring of our commencement."

Led by Chief Monepasha, eleven families located at Hopefield where they could receive practical instruction in farming. In August they carried their crop fifteen miles to Fort Gibson for sale. With this encouragement, the next year, several more families joined the colony making ninety-one settlers.

In his report of the state of the Osage Mission on September 30, 1824, Mr. Vaill wrote concerning the settlement at Hopefield: "Ten families during the past season have come forward of their own accord, and begun to make fields and build houses; that they have succeeded well in raising by their own industry good crops; and that they have felt in some degree the benefit of carrying their production to market and exchanging them for money."

At the Osage council in March, 1826, Moineh Pershe (*sic*), the Osage Chief, declared that he wished to follow the ways of the white man. Poh-hunk-aheh and Pa-tcha-Shingah also spoke and agreed with their chief in that desire.[7]

In the same month a flood carried away the house of Stephen Fuller, the farmer, and greatly alarmed the missionaries. Frequently during 1826 the Hopefield settlement was in terror because of warlike Indians; when they became too apprehensive they fled to Union, rushed into the houses, ran upstairs and crept under the beds until assured that they were not pursued by savages.[8]

---

[6] Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 114, 191, 245. This name was also spelled Monepasha and Moineh Pershe.

[7] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, Vol. 34, No. 84, Vaill. All notes from these records, hereafter referred to as ABCFM, are in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[8] *History of American Missions to the Heathen,* (Worcester, Mass., 1840), p. 171.

Whenever Hopefield had to be abandoned, Union was the refuge. "The Frenchmen who had Osage wives and some children in school, would also come with their families to the number of five or six at once, and spend whole weeks around us, fearing to go away till Colonel [Matthew] Arbuckle kindly took them into the Garrison," at Fort Gibson.

Three children died at the station in August, 1826, and during the hot weather the horses and cattle were so harassed by the swarms of flies that the farmers were obliged to turn them loose in the thickets to shelter them from the pests.[9]

Mr. Vaill was in the East in the autumn of 1826 when Dr. Marcus Palmer wrote to him on October 15 concerning affairs at Hopefield:

"Much Sickness. On the 6th of Augt. Br. J. [G. ?] Requas little girl expired—lingering fever. The next day after her burial Br. [George] and Sister Requa were both violently taken with the fever. Br. R. began to mend in a few days but Sister Requa's fever increased in violence till the 23d of the month when she also expired . . . In three weeks past, all business except taking care of the sick has been suspended and we are not yet able to commence business. There are now only 22 or 3 children for the school."

Before the Reverend Epaphras Chapman's death in 1825, he preached at Hopefield. Mr. Vaill followed him and he was succeeded by the Reverend William B. Montgomery. From the commencement of the settlement the Indians were taught to respect the Sabbath and religious meetings had been regularly held. Mr. Vaill preached through the best interpreter he could find until Mr. Montgomery of Harmony Mission was appointed to fill the place of Mr. Chapman. Mr. Montgomery kept up the meetings, sometimes speaking through an interpreter and on other occasions in the Osage language.

In 1825 the settlers raised from 40 to 100 bushels of corn to the acre, and in 1826 they were supposed to have raised from 40 to 200 bushels to a family.

The first house built for the Osages was at Hopefield. "The brethren assisted in building it. Two more were built previously to 1826. These were swept away by the flood . . . .The brethren sustained a very considerable loss by the flood . . . . in furniture, clothing and books as well as buildings and provisions."

At the station there was one house built entirely by the Osages. There were fifteen lodges; the largest was fifty feet long by fourteen in width and eight feet high. "The brethren at Hopefield loaned them their oxen to haul the logs . . . . and assisted them in ploughing their ground."[10]

---

[9] Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 143, 245; W. F. Vaill to Jeremiah Evarts Esq., from Union, July 14, 1827.

[10] Letter from C. Kingsbury from Hopefield to Evarts, May 17, 1828.

Laboring at the station were the Reverend William B. Montgomery and his wife; William C. Requa, farmer and Mrs. Requa. The white children were Mary Montgomery aged four years; Susan Requa three years and (?) Requa, two months old.[11]

The following notes describe life at Hopefield:[12]

"In plowing their fields they were assisted in planting and dressing them. They manifested much cheerfulness and industry. The effects of their labours were such as to induce them to say, it is better to work than be idle. Although one Indian family was expelled the settlement in a formal manner in 1825 for misconduct, yet the spring following, our number of families increased to eleven. . . . . The spring of 1826 we were enabled to borrow a set of gears for the horses; some of the Indians put their horses before the plow and taught them to work. They were much pleased to see that their horses could work as well as those of white people. This season they made better progress in the business of farming than common. They planted more corn, and a greater variety of vegetables. In the fall they had fine crops.

"They had just finished gathering the produce of their fields in the latter part of the month of Sept. when heavy rains commenced (which is not common for that season of the year) and brought on a great flood. The waters rose rapidly until they were at least 15 feet higher than they were ever known to be before. The tops of our houses were covered, which were 10 in number and 7 Osage houses, and the mighty current swept them all away with all our possessions, except what could be removed in a small canoe.

"The produce of our fields, the labor and toil of the summer, was all destroyed. The poor Indians who felt as though they were rich, in one night were exceedingly poor. They suffered much in consequence of their loss, until they raised another crop. Now they were obliged to hunt for their subsistence; but early in the spring they returned to the cultivation of their fields. Their wretchedness and poverty induced their agent Major [John F.] Hamtramck when he was made acquainted with their condition, to give them $50.00 to purchase their provisions. This with what was given them from other sources, sufficed to support them until they could leave their fields to hunt again.

"For two years past they have done most of their plowing with their own horses, which at first they thought they could never do. A want of ploughs, gears, etc. has hindered them very much from farming so extensively as they otherwise would. They are destitute of all kinds of farming utensils except axes and hoes and one plow. They have had other plows but they were borrowed. . . . .

"Since the flood the settlers have been content to live in their common lodges because year after year they have been told they would have to remove. The time has now arrived when they must leave their cultivated fields. The land on which they live has been given to the Cherokees in exchange for land owned by the Cherokees in the region of country around the mission at Dwight."

The most serious trouble arose for the missions when the government made the treaty of 1828 with the Cherokees by which they were to remove from Arkansas and settle on land occupied by other Indians. "It produced much inconvenience and evil among

[11] ABCFM, vol. 34, No. 129, Hopefield.
[12] ABCFM, vol. 78, no. 34. Requa to Evarts, Hopefield, July 12, 1828.

those beyond the Mississippi. The Osages were obliged to leave the vicinity of Hopefield. . . . ." and the station was transferred to a location about twenty-five miles north of Union.[13]

On January 5, 1829, Requa wrote from Union to David Greene:

". . . I am inclined to think the Cherokees will be willing to give up this strip of their country which lies west of G.[rand] River provided they can receive the same quantity of land adjoining them on the south or east. . . .

"I shall probably return to Hopefield with my family in a few days. The Indians have collected there again and are anxious to have me return. . . . ."

The hopes of the missionaries and Indians to remain at the original site of their station were in vain and they removed to New Hopefield, as it was called. This place was located on the west bank of Grand River near the mouth of Cabin Creek in the northern part of the present Mayes County, Oklahoma. These progressive Osages were scorned by their tribesmen who called them field-makers and missionaries; these taunts were the extreme in derision and provoked ribald mirth among the wild Indians.[14]
45, 46.

The following is an extract from a letter from the Reverend William B. Montgomery, dated Hopefield, July 9, 1828, copied in the *Phoenix* from the New York *Observer.*

"At ten o'clock on the 15th of June, this place was alarmed by the report of guns in rapid succession, a short distance beyond the fields, on the opposite side of the river. The next moment brought intelligence that the Bird, one of the earliest settlers, was lying in the road killed and scalped—the men immediately seizing their guns, crossed over and set off in pursuit of the party supposed of course to be Indians," but the men were white, five in number and all were killed and scalped by the Osages. They proved to be three brothers and two other relatives who came to seek revenge for the death of their father who had been killed by the Osage on Red River.

New Hopefield was started on a larger scale than the first station, and with the help of private donations cows and hogs were bought for them and the missionaries believed that the Indians would soon " . . . . be relieved from the necessity of those distant and laborious hunts which are not less favorable to the health and safety of the feebler part of the population than they are hostile in every respect to their government.[15]

From Union Mission, January 5, 1829, Requa wrote to David Greene, Secretary of the Mission Rooms in Boston, a letter which shows the reluctance of the missionaries and Osages to relinquish the small plot of earth on which they had carved out their fields and built their rude homes by the sweat of their brows:

---

[13] *History of American Missions to the Heathen,* p. 206.
[14] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp.
[15] Requa to Evarts, December 12, 1829, ABCFM, Vol. 34, No. 81.

". . . . . We had been waiting anxiously to hear from the Committee to know what course to pursue. I had moved my family to Union, and the most of my things. The Indians had all left being ordered off by their Agent Captain [Nathaniel] Pryor; we never expected to return to Hopefield again. But the Indians still wished to remain there if they could be permitted, and we were desirous to return to Hopefield if we could obtain permission for settlers to go back and stay there a year or two longer. To obtain this permission I have been down as low as Dwight in the Cherokee Nation to visit the Chiefs and confer with them on the subject; and took with me a letter from the Osages praying that the little settlement at Hopefield might remain there in their old houses and cultivate their old fields another year. The Cherokee Chiefs though pleased with the letter did not feel authorized to give me an answer, but referred me for an answer to their general council which will be held soon, and which either Mr. Vaill or myself will attend. The probability is that the settlement will be permitted to remain there another year at least, though there are objections in the minds of some of the Cherokees. . . . .

"Report of expenditures at Hopefield Station for the last two quarters.

Goods & Clothing for W. C. Requa & family from the store at Union	$41.15
Clothing from Union for Mr. Montgomery	13.00
For board at Union for W. C. Requa & Family 7 weeks	28.00
For " " " Mrs. Montgomery & Child 2.50 per week	32.50

Other items charged were a tea kettle, brass kettle, furniture, nails, potatoes for seed, book case, one pound tea, provisions and groceries, labor at Hopefield amounting in all to $207.50.

"We feel as if we were charged pretty high for our board while called in providence to tarry here for a season. . . . . Mrs. Montgomery has probably at least earned her board by various acts of labor in the family, since she has been here. Her services in the family were not thought of I presume when the charges were made . . . . I shall probably return to Hopefield with my family in a few days. The Indians have collected there again and are anxious to have me return. The question is asked me every day by those from Hopefield who come to see me, *when will you go back*, evidently manifesting a solicitude that I will not return. . . . .

"Your Servt in Christ, Wm. C. Requa."

Appraisals were made at old Hopefield for the purpose of paying the owners of property which they were compelled to abandon; among the improvements listed were six log houses, ninety-seven acres of well cultivated land surrounded by a rail fence, and sixteen bearing peach trees.[16]

The Montgomery and Requa families were still at Union Mission the last day of September, 1829, when the report was made to Secretary of War J. H. Eaton, but on November 22, Montgomery and Requa sent an account from Hopefield of their situation to the Office of Indian Affairs.

In the spring after the flood Agent McNair told Osages that:

" . . . . they must remove to the upper part of this country, and to encourage them, said they should not lose anything by their removal; . . . . a similar promise they received from Major Hamtramk who succeeded our lamented Governor (Alexander) McNair in the Agency.

---

[16] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, Norman, 1933, pp. 119, 120.

"These settlers are now about to remove at the wish of the Government, but are by no means disposed to return to their former wandering habits.

"During the progress of their residence here, we have remarked a more and more inteligent (*sic*) and settled conception of the superiority of our mode of living to that of their nation. . . . . It is now several years since they have begun to speak of themselves as a separate community from the large Town—designing as soon as practicable utterly to abandon the hunter life. . . . . The number of families for about two years has amounted to about twenty. The quantity of ground under cultivation during the same period exceeds sixty acres. The crop of corn raised the present year has been from one hundred to two hundred to a family. The settlers do not possess any waggons or carts, and for the ploughs and other implements which they have used they have been wholly dependent on the limited charities of benevolent individuals. From the same source a few cattle have been furnished them . . . . but sufficient to supply only one fourth part of the families. . . . .

W. B. Montgomery
Wm. C. Requa."

Vaill approved the above report and said one thousand dollars would afford the families essential aid to help in rebuilding after removal.[17]

In order to supply the Creeks as much as possible with spiritual instruction Mr. Montgomery gave up his work among the Osages in order to labor among them. "He spends much of his time reading to them the Bible, religious tracts, exhorting and praying. . . . . Yours in the gospel, W. F. Vaill."[18]

Mr. Requa wrote to Henry Hill, treasurer of the Mission Board, in Boston, July 1, 1830, from New Hopefield, north of Union Mission, West of Arkansas Territory, to the effect that " . . . . Mr. Montgomery who has lived with me since the death of Mr. Chapman, remains at the old place, and will remove in time at Union, whence he will itinerate and preach among the Creek Indians. . . . and among the Osages of the Great Town. . . . ."

The next paragraph of this letter will appeal to the sympathies of women readers—particularly those who have not given up the wearing of hats: "Please send Mrs. R. a good leghorn bonnet worth seven or eight dollars or thereabouts and she will pay for it on its arrival here." The following year, on November 29, 1831, Requa made a further plea for his wife from Hopefield, thirty miles north of Union Mission:

"We sent for a Leghorn bonnet last year for Mrs. Requa but as it was not sent we presume it was forgotten and as she needs one very much we have sent again. . . . . Under necessity of sending for more bed clothing as the location is one days ride from Union on the road to Missouri and as we are obliged to entertain strangers frequently of late. . . . . We have

---

[17] OIA, Retired Classified Files. "1829 Schools (Osages) W. B. Montgomery. W. C. Requa (Progress in Civilization)."

[18] *Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. XV, No. 4, p. 62 (1830).

gathered from 10 acres of land this fall 600 bushels of corn; and from one acre 400 bushels of potatoes."

Requa wrote to Henry Hill on October 17, 1830, that he was building a log house of two rooms for his own use; one room was seventeen feet square with a fireplace and the other was 18x14, without a chimney: "For two months past it has been very sickly at our new settlement, scarcely an individual of all the Indian families but has been sick. Six children from two years old and under have died. Calls to visit poor suffering Indians are many."

The Missionary Herald, September, 1830 (p. 228) gave the location of Hopefield since removal as "on the same side of Grand River with Union, about 25 miles north of it . . . . fifteen Indian families followed us up here, and others are expected here in the fall to be permanent residents. The Indians have been very industrious since their arrival at this place; seven of them have cleared, cultivated, and made rails sufficient to inclose four acres each, by joining their fields." The missionary family was made up of the Reverend Wm. C. Requa and his wife and Montgomery and Mrs. Montgomery.

The report to the Mission Board for the year ending June 1, 1831, stated: "Last winter Mr. George Requa who had contemplated going to Hopefield if necessary in Mr. Montgomery's place felt that his duty required him to engage with *his cousin* W. C. Requa at the settlement."[19]

In January, 1831, Union Mission was charging two dollars per bushel for wheat when ground and every fifth went for toll, so flour for Hopefield was costing the missionaries at least twelve dollars a barrel. Requa decided to send to Chouteau's for flour which would cost little more than half the price charged at Union.[20]

Mr. Vaill wrote to Jeremiah Evarts on May 10, 1831, from Union, that he, Messrs. [Nathaniel B.] Dodge, [Cephas] Washburn, and Montgomery had returned from a two days preaching tour among the Osage and Creek Indians. These good men evidently realized that there was need to bring the light of civilization to these people, and they were willing to help them as far as lay in their power. He continued: "On Saturday we proceeded to New Hopefield about 30 miles north of Union on the Neosho. . . . . Monday we rode to La Bete 40 miles then went to Boudinot (1824-37) the new station lately built by Mr. Dodge on the north of the Neosho, 30 miles from the crossing of the Le [La] Bete. . . . ."[21]

Boudinot station was on the east bank of the Neosho, six miles below the Osage Agency.[22] Two miles distant, on the opposite side

---

[19] ABCFM, Vol. 73, No. 85.
[20] ABCFM, Vol. 73, No. 159. Henry Hill from Wm. C. Requa.
[21] La Bete Creek is south of Parsons, Kansas.
[22] The Osage Agency was between Parsons and Pittsburgh, Kansas.

of the river was White Hair's town with a population of 15,000 Osages. Bear's Town was seven miles below on the lower side, with thirty families; "and 10 miles below Bell Oiseau's town of 15000 on the opposite [side] 30 or 40 miles from the W boundary of Missouri." Thirty acres of land were cultivated at this station, but there was little stock as the Indians killed it. Six hundred bushels of corn were raised.[23]

Vaill reported on October 1, 1831: " . . . . During the last year Mr. George Requa and his family joined the Hopefield Mission." Mr. W. C. Requa was quoted in the *Missionary Herald,* November, 1831, to the effect that "15 Osage families now here are learning to farm. Have cleared, enclosed, and cultivated 60 acres. Labor of plowing performed by the Indians with our horses & some with their horses; several of them are learning to drive and plough with oxen."

The year 1832 was a notable one at Hopefield because of the distinguished visitors who stopped there on their way west. When Washington Irving made his Tour on the Prairies, he noted in his journal the arrival of his party at the station on October 6:[24]

" . . . about half-past eleven arrived at Mr. Requa's establishment on the bank of the Neosho, which is here a broad, fine stream, clear and with a gentle current.

"Mrs. Requa from Connecticut (Fairfield)—fine-looking woman—says when she first came here they had no house—slept under trees—was in fine health, never better—Indian farms—old Indian guard left at home to take care of house.

"Our dinner, four steaks of venison cut from venison ham.

"Leave Requa's at two—ride over prairie twelve miles [to Chouteau's]."

A second account of the visit at Hopefield is contained in Henry Leavitt Ellsworth's *Washington Irving on the Prairie,*[25] in which he recounted: "Mr. Irving & myself, or rather the Commissary [at Fort Gibson] at my request, purchased a large pack horse for us, at the Verdigris at $80; and there we hired *Piere Billette."* This Quapaw man was Irving's guide and interpreter, Pierre Beatte, whose name has been spelled Beatt, Bayatte, Billett, Beyatt, and his given name was really Alexo, not Pierre, the name bestowed on him by Irving.[26]

The Quapaw made his home with Mr. Requa on the Neosho, "about 24 miles from the garrison. . . . his compensation was $1.50 per day."

---

[23] ABCFM, Vol. 73, No. 140.

[24] *The Journals of Washington Irving,* edited by William P. Trent and George S. Hellman (Boston, 1919).

[25] Edited by Stanley T. Williams and Barbara D. Simison (New York, 1937).

[26] *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.,* p. 143, note 14. This author gives credit for information concerning the name to Curtis J. Phillips, Sapulpa, Oklahoma.

A third record of Irving's stop at Hopefield is contained in *The Western Journals of Washington Irving,*[27] which quotes a letter from William C. Requa to David Greene in Boston. This document relates:

"One of the U. S. Commissioners Henry L. Ellsworth Esq. of Hartford, Connecticut, has arrived in this country [,] has been here since the sixth ultimo. He is in company with the celebrated Washington Irving who has lately returned from Europe; also a Mr. [Charles Joseph] Latrobe an English Botanist & a young count [Albert-Alexander de Pourtales] from Switzerland & also a physician of the U. S. Army called upon us, and dined with us while on their way from Missouri across the Prairies to Fort Gibson. . . . ."[28]

Still another account of the visit at New Hopefield is contained in "Centennial of the Tour on the Prairies":[29]

"The next important stop that was made was at the Hopefield Mission station, in the valley of the Neosho, in the vicinity of the present village of Ketcham, in the southeastern part of Craig County, Oklahoma. After dining with Superintendent and Mrs. Requa of the mission station, an afternoon jaunt of twelve or fifteen miles brought the party to the trading establishment of their fellow traveler, Colonel Chouteau, on the site of the present village of Saline in Mayes County. . . . ."

Charles Joseph Latrobe in his *Rambler in North America,*[30] gave a keen insight into the situation among the Osage Indians when he visited among them. At that time it appeared an almost hopeless matter to civilize these Indians as they returned to their tribes after an attempt had been made to teach them the simplest rules for cultivating the soil. He wrote:[31]

". . . . . the only consequence is, that when he goes back to his tribe, he is worth nothing—he is neither able to subsist in the manner of the Palefaces, nor to hunt with his red brethren, and frequently becomes an outcast. Yet, though this seems to be the unsuccessful issue of most attempts to civilize the Osage—I am aware that there is one trial making on the Neosho, by a person of great tact, prudence, and Christian principle, where he has a fine fertile tract under his own cultivation, and the control of a small band of Osages, which promises well. But few of his Indians join the great spring and autumnal hunts, or the war parties of the tribe—and that is certainly a proof of success. . . . ."

* * *

"On the 6th of October we reached the Neosho, or Grand, a tributary of the Arkansas, ... We paid a short visit to the small settlement of Osage Indians, under the care of Mr. Riquois (Requa), the gentleman alluded to above, and then pushed on to the Saline."

A notation in Vaill's Journal states that when he arrived at Brother Requa's dwelling on May 21, 1833, Sister Requa was still living, but she passed to her reward on June 4 according to a letter from her husband in the *Missionary Herald* of November, 1833. Mrs.

---

[27] Edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott, Norman, 1944, pp. 23, 107.
[28] ABCFM, Vol. 73, No. 200.
[29] By Joseph B. Thoburn in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, No. III (September, 1932), p. 427.
[30] New York, 1836, pp. 128, 129, 135-36.
[31] Charles J. Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (London, 1836) Vol. I, pp. 162, 171.

Requa was born at Wilton, Fairchild County, Connecticut, in 1795. As Susan Comstock she left New York on March 7, 1821, for Harmony Mission among the Osage Indians, arriving there August 8, 1821; on October 9, 1822, she and Mr. Requa were married. She was thirty-seven years old at the time of her death.

The annual report from Hopefield was abridged in the *New York Observer*, on November 16, 1833. At that time William C. Requa was the "farmer and catechist"; George Requa the "farmer"; the latter's wife was with him. She was his second wife and she was born in Waterbury, Vermont, and married George Requa at Harmony Mission October 25, 1827. His first wife was Sarah H. Clapp Requa who died in August, 1826.

Superintendent Requa stated that no church had ever been organized at the station and there was no school. "It is impractical, without boarding schools, to separate the children sufficiently from their parents to induce them to acquire a knowledge of the English language, and no books in the Osage language have yet been printed. . . . ." Mr. Requa understood the language so far as to be able to communicate freely with the Indians.

1834 proved to be a tragic one at the station. After sixteen deaths from the cholera almost all of the Osages left the place. Mr. Montgomery died of cholera in August, and his wife followed him in September after a long attack of fever.[32]

One great achievement of the missionaries was the making of the *Osage First Book* by the Reverend William B. Montgomery and the Reverend William C. Requa. The Osage title of this little volume is "*Washashe Wageressa Pahygreh Tee.*" It was printed in Boston for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Crocker & Brewster, 1834, and consists of 126 pages. The description of the book given by James Constantine Pilling in his *Bibliography of the Siouan Languages* (Washington, 1887) is as follows: "Pp. 1-126, 180—Familiar Sentences in Osage and English interlinear, pp. 13-24. Selections from Proverbs, pp. 25-33—Genesis, pp. 34-49. —Ten commandments, pp. 50-51.—Isaiah, pp. 52-54.—Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, pp. 55-126." Pilling saw copies of this rare book in the Boston Athenaeum, Library of Congress.

From Union Mission, August 25, 1834, Mrs. Montgomery wrote:

". . . . My dear husband died of cholera on the 17th inst., twelve hours from the first attack, at Hopefield, where we went last May, to spend the summer with the Indians. I had no one with me but a Frenchman who

[32] William B. Montgomery, a native of Danville, Pennsylvania, left New York on March 7, 1821, and reached Harmony Mission August 8, 1821. He went to Union Mission in 1830 and died at Hopefield, August 17, 1834. His wife, née Harriett Woolley of New York, arrived at Harmony August 8, 1821, and was married in October, 1827. She passed away at Union, September 5, 1834.—*History of American Missions to the Heathen, op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.

lived in an adjoining room. I sent to this place for brother [Abraham] Redfield, twenty-five miles. He came without delay, and reached my lonely dwelling about eleven at night, eight hours after my husband's departure.

"After conversing a while with me he and Beat (the Frenchman)[33] went and dug a grave by the light of the full moon and when the day had fully dawned my husband's remains were carried forth by the additional help of two Indian women, and wrapped in a quilt for his coffin, and he was laid quietly down in that narrow house appropriated for all living . . . . ."

Mr. Redfield added a postscript to Mrs. Montgomery's brother:

"After her husband's death she came to live with my family at Union; she was soon attacked with intermittent fever & after nine days of illness she died Sept. 5. Their little son James is with us, a very fine pleasant little boy. She requested that he might be sent to his friends in Pennsylvania . . . . It has been a time of great mortality among the poor Indians, and indeed among all classes. Few have escaped some sickness."

Four of Mr. Redfield's young children were buried at Union Mission cemetery before the year was out and the little stones still stand in a row in that much neglected graveyard.[34]

Hopefield lost another worker on October 30, 1835, when Jane Montgomery Requa, the second wife of Superintendent Requa, died. She was born at Danville, Pennsylvania, and arrived at Hopefield December 20, 1834, so her career as a missionary was short. She was a sister of the Reverend William B. Montgomery.

"Owing to the inconvenient location of Union and Harmony stations each being forty or fifty miles from the present Osage territory," and the unsettled state of the Indians not knowing where their future home is to be, "it has been thought expedient to discontinue missionary operations at both."[35]

After various treaties had been made with the United States government, nearly all of the Osages were removed from the vicinity of the missionary establishments; settlers were moving in, and whiskey was rapidly reducing the remaining red men to degradation and wretchedness. It was not certain that an adult member of the Osage tribe had been converted, and the few who had received some education appeared to revert to their savage state. Harmony and Hopefield were therefore abandoned, and the missionaries were dismissed. Superintendent Requa, faithful to the end, remained at Boudinot station.[36]

It was estimated that as many as 300 or 400 Osages died of cholera and similar diseases during 1836, including about one-fourth of all the settlers at Hopefield. The pestilence had been for some time in the upper Osage towns; on the fourteenth of August it broke out at Hopefield settlement. "Montgomery attacked—he waited on his stock—they sent to Union for me. I went but he was dead when

[33] Beatte, Washington Irving's guide in 1832.
[34] *New York Observer*, January 31, 1835, p. 1, col. 4.
[35] *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 32, (May, 1836), p. 194.
[36] *History of American Missions to the Heathen, op. cit.*, p. 277-278.

I arrived; a frenchman by the name of Beatt (who has an Indian family and is one of the settlers) was the only assistant Sister M. had through his sickness."[37]

From the Missionary Rooms in Boston, on February 4, 1836, Mr. William Requa addressed a communication to the War Department saying:

"Permit me Sir, to inquire whether, in case we should continue our schools and missions among the Osages, and open some new stations for their benefit, the Department will allow us to consider Boudinot, (a station commenced four or five years since, near the Osage agency on the Neosho, entirely at the expense of the Board), as one opened agreeably to the terms of the treaty. . . . . it being understood that we shall continue to occupy it for a school, and for other operations designed to improve the Osages in intelligence, civilization, & Christian knowledge."

The *New York Observer* related, on September 23, 1837 (p. 1, col. 6):

"As it seemed probable that the Osages would soon be gathered upon their reservation and be permitted to reside there permanently, Mr. Requa returned to their country last spring and commenced a new agricultural station, where he hoped soon to have fifty new families settled around him. The buildings, improvements, and lands at Union and Harmony, if advantageously disposed of, and the avails wisely applied, will furnish an important fund for aiding missionary operations among this tribe."

Mr. W. C. Requa had been encouraged by some favorable signs, and he tried to revive the Osage Mission; he had even begun to erect buildings and make improvements where the tribe was then located, but the hostility of some of the chiefs and a majority of the Indians who started to destroy the mission property, and threaten the lives of the Osage settlers, compelled him to abandon his project, and the Osage mission came to an end.[38]

After this disappointment Mr. Requa settled northwest of Harmony Mission in Lone Oak township, Bates County, Missouri; he married twice more and survived until 1886, having reached the great age of ninety-one years after all of the dangers and hardships he had suffered.[39]

Mr. Requa's work among the Osages was important, as it was the first effort to teach those Indians to give up their hunts and become self-supporting by farming. While the efforts of missionaries to convert the red man to Christianity failed in many respects, Requa's example in instructing them in cultivating the land was far-sighted and many years ahead of his time.

The prodigious amount of corn and potatoes reported raised on the rich bottom soil of the Indian Territory by unskillful Indians with few tools, is almost beyond belief, and should encourage modern farmers.

---

[37] ABCFM, Vol. 73, No. 190. Abraham Redfield to Greene, August 25, 1834.
[38] *History of American Missions to the Heathen, op. cit.*, p. 289.
[39] McDermott, *op. cit.*, p. 107, note 3.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Index Published for *THE CHRONICLES*, Volume XXVII (1949)

Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and all others receiving *The Chronicles* regularly can secure the published Index for Volume XXVII, 1949, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, by addressing a request to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

Confederate Memorial Scroll to the Indian Officers in the War between the States

An outstanding project for the Confederate Memorial Hall, sponsored by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has been completed and is now on exhibit to commemorate the part the Indian nations had in the War between the States. A Memorial Scroll compiled by Mrs. Helen Gorman, Custodian of the Confederate Hall, gives the names of 640 staff and line officers of Indian blood who commanded approximately 11,875 troops in the Confederate States Army, from the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Caddo and Osage nations in the Indian Territory. This Scroll beautifully executed in pen text is a contribution to the history of the State, listing together for the first time the names of leaders in the Indian Territory of ninety years ago who served the land that is now Oklahoma.

San Jacinto Museum of History Association Will Sponsor Publication of *TLALOCAN*

San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas, has sent the following notice through Director Dorothy W. Knepper, to the Editorial Department of *The Chronicles*:

"Beginning with Volume III, No. 1, the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas, will sponsor the publication: *Tlalocan*, a Journal of Source Materials on the Native Cultures of Mexico, published by La Casa de Tlaloc, Azcapotzalco, Mexico, D.F. The Journal was founded by George Smisor and Robert H. Barlow. Mr. Barlow is the editor. The board of editorial advisers consists of: Paul Radin, Professor of Anthropology, Black Mountain College, North Carolina; Frederico Gomez de Orozco; Carl Sauer, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley; Rafael Garcia Granados, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Universidad Nacional de Mexico, and Wigberto Jimenez Moreno, Departmento de Etnologia, Museo Nacional de Antropologia, Mexico, D.C.

"All institutions in the United States interested in receiving Tlalocan on an exchange basis are requested to communicate with the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas."

Memorial Scroll

The Confederate Indian Brigade

1861–1865

To the Officers and Privates from the Indian Territory who gallantly served The Confederate States of America

Officers

Stand Watie
Robert C. Parks
Jos. F. Thompson
Jas. Bell
E. C. Boudinot
E. J. Howland
Thos. F. Taylor
Elem N. Vann
Thos. F. Anderson
Johnson Thompson
Peter J. Lynch
Wm. D. Polson
Oliver W. Pipe
Francis M. Fisk
George W. Adair
Charles Watie
Rich F. Martin
Samuel K. Ware
Chas. Woodall
John Diver
Wilson Saugee
Buzzard
Hugh Tinnin
J. T. Cunningham
Joseph Ingle
Wm. Evans
E. Vann
M. Buzzard Flapper
J. W. Daniel
Benj. B. Wisner
Henry Forrester
D. R. Coodey
Perry Brewer
J. W. Brown
R. Crossland
Chas. Lowery
John Mc Lain
W. A. Daniels
Richard Pheasant
J. M. Lynch
P. England
J. A. Raper
Erastus J. Howland
Boon D. Priestly
J. S. Knight
Antoine Lahey
Stand Wosita
T. J. McGee
Wm. Foreman
Alexander Foreman
John W. Brown
Edward Smith
W. P. Boudinot
Smallwood
J. C. McCoy
W. Hornett
Ketcher Teehee
Squire Baldridge
Jas. M. Thompson
S. Sandrin
Dumplin C. Fields
Wm. M. Turner
Johnson C. Fields
Geo. M. Starr

John Gott
Thos. Wilkerson
James M. Butler
C. V. Rogers
John T. Kell
W. M. Mayes
J. T. Mayes
D. R. McKissick
Matthew Green
John Spears
John Foster
Geo. W. Johnson
Samuel M. Gunter
Joseph Coody
Jno. Childers
Jas. Benge
Moses C. Frye
Wm. V. Alexander
Wm. Barnes
B. Baldrige
D. Falkner
Geo. W. Bussey
John F. Ross
John T. Barlow
Thos. Lafet
James Stuart
George Snoddy
Jno. W. Catterson
Lafayette Swiney
Chas. M. Holt
Chas. C. Reed
John Alberty
R. M. Morgan
B. T. Love
John Jumper
George Cloud
D. R. Patterson
Shadrach Hagan
W. W. Burnes
Wm McDonald
Geo. Patterson
Thos. Cloud
James Garrible
Morgan Perry
Josiah Brown
William Aird
Cho Fixico
Wilson Frazier
R. Miller
A. Columbus
Micco Muchasse
Echo Yohola
Thlalo Fixico
James Factor
Chitto Tustenuggee
Itse Yahola
Nokfah Harjo
B. A. Kohee
Tustinucochee
Mathu Lokee
Passuckee Yohola
Tustanucogee
John Reid
Harper Compier
Eufala Tustanuggee

Sam Mill
Alex Johnson
Daniel McGirt
John White
A. M. Taylor
Tulsee Yohola
Nehomata Fixico
Usuchee Harjo
Matthew Green
John Reed, Sr.
Nocose Yoholah
Broke Arm
Black Dog
A. Captans
L. P. Chouteau
F. A. Lewis
Ne cha yar hre
No ne cher she
No par walla
Sta hack laton
Wa Kaw chili
Wahshabenatinego
Wahskon mon ne
Wah ti in joh
Woh cho a mo she
Johnson Washington
Asapah
Boo e wa sis ka
Esetuet
P. McClusky
William
Caw wee wah now
Martin Shecoe
Jos D. Harris
M. H. Campbell
Saml G. Alexander
Alexander Kennie
John Scanland
W. D. Fisher
G. D. James
E. Bohannon
James Garrible
Morgan Perry
Josiah Brown
Isaac McGee
Simpson Killcrease
Wilson Frazier
R. Miller
A. McCoy
Lewis Newberry
J. E. Anderson
Zach Colbert
Booker Keel
Martin Walker
B. A. Kohee
Jonathan Nail
J. H. Moore
C. B. Kingsberry
Wilson Hankins
John Reid
Sam Colbert
John Naat

Nehoter
Benson Pikey
Overton Keel
Jas. S. Morrison
Jas. Scanland
Ishta
Claborn Factor
Walker C. Martin
Edward Nail
James Turley
John E. Eskew
Johnson
Geo. E. Deneale
James A. D. Murray
Shona
Alston Dyer
Lewis Robison
Wm. H. Dibrell
Willis Cravat
Jack Shoat
Wa Kaw chili
Willis Philip
Youhubbee
No Tubbee
Minton Ulby
Geo. Washington
Wilson Webster
George Speaker
John Wilkins
Joseph Gage
Simpson McCann
John Miulla Tubbee
Douglas H. Cooper
Sampson Loring
Thomas M. Cooley
James Thompson
Wm. H. Wooten
J. Walter Cook
Roswell W. Lee
Tandy Walker
Mitchell Leflore
F. W. Miner
James Garrible
Wap B. Breedlove
James Riley
S. K. Jones
Campbell Leflore
Wm. Cass
Thos. J. Bond
Edw. P. Kearby
S. Jones
David G. Cooper
Adam Nail
Jefferson Sexton
Albert Carney
Wm. B. Pitchlyn
Alex Folsom
Chas. K. Strickland
Kelly Frazier
Henry Van Osdel
Silas James
Ephriam Alexander
Mitchell McCurtain
John Naat

Beni. C. Heard
Daniel Wells
Willis J. Jones
Joseph Dibrell
John Logan
Simeon E. Hamilton
John Fowler
Isaac McClure
Abel McAfee
Wallace Boardman
Jerry Wade
Peter Maytubby
H. W. Hotchkiss
Leonard Wright
Lemuel Reynolds
Alfred Folsom
Ebenezer J. Pitchlyn
Joshua R. Harper
Alfred L. Krebs
Jack Shoat
Pis ar lo tubbee
No per ke tubbee
Jerry Riddle
Jackson McCurtain
James Riley
Nathan Sexton
Edmund McCurtain
Joseph R. Hall
James Thompson
Milton Lucas
E. W. Folsom
Simpson McCann
Saml B. Tobly
J. Mobly
Alfred Shoney
Belvin Wilson
Tobias Jones
Chas. J. Stewart
Thos. Jefferson
Otis G. Welch
Matt Daugherty
John C. Coker
Jos. A. Carroll
Edw. C. Dwight
David Perkins
Chas. J. William
B. Simon
Wilson Nail
Ebenezer Folsom
Jesse F. Wright
Robt. A. Young
Wm. J. Wells
James Frank Baker
Alex D. Irwin
Clayton W. Jones
Iskitine Homa
Sol R. Jones
Richmond Cole
Simeon Levi
Thos. J. Thompson
John Martin
Wm. Loring
T. A. Plaster
D. Thompson
Thos. Vaugh
David Frazier

Bolin Perry
Joel J. Folsom
Lyman Lucas
Wade H. Hampton
David C. Fisher
Wm. Johnson
Stephen Hubbard
Wm. P. McClure
Amos William
Wm. L. Hunter
Saml M. Martin
Wm. L. Peters
Abram B. Hays
Thaddues Gregg
Samuel Reynolds
S. P. Munson
D. F. Nevils
Horatia Sims
Wm. Hansell
G. W. Crosby
Calvin Morrison
Jas. M. Fields
Wm. Haynes
M. D. Hillard
J. Burgess
E. Callahan
John Kesner
Geo. Staden
H. Crosby
Peter Hamilton
Franklin McConnell
Geo. W. Mitchell
Isaac Hockett
Davis Ferris
David McCord
B. H. Cowan
James B. Stark
Henry Allison
Patterson Milam
Benj. Milam
Stephens P. Sykey
Wm. H. Smith
John M. Minnis
Geo. Grugitt
Amos Lynch
Chas. Campbell
John P. Wallace
Henry Curtis
Wm. C. Roberts
John Carmicheal
John T. White
John L. Blevins
Joseph Phipps
Harvey King
Wm. P. Adair
O. H. P. Brewer
John Vann
Porter Hammock
W. T. Adair
Harrison J. Paden
Joel B. Mayes
Thos. M. Colley
Robt. White
Andrew J. Greenway
J. W. Phagan

S. T. Fair
M. L. London
J. A. Scales
J. McDickson
B. W. Alberty
Wm. H. Shannon
Jesse F. Pickler
Chas. Drew
A. G. Lewis
Wm. M. Taylor
Cary Walker
J. P. Davis
Alex Watford
E. M. Adair
D. R. Vann
Jonathan McCravy
J. Burgess
J. R. Clay
J. C. Patterson
Geo. Staden
T. D. Flinn
J. S. Vanhoy
Peter Hamilton
James Benze
Franklin McConnell
J. M. Bell
Wm. Mayers
K. A. Harden
Achilles G. Ballinger
Martin Percifield
John W. T. Spencer
Lewis R. Kell
D. C. Patton
K. A. Miller
L. A. McCall
R. D. Beck
Chas. H. Holt
Wm. C. Reed
John Alberty
Robert Hopwood
Jack Lasley
Wm. Bruner
James M. Thompson
Alexander Foreman
Daniel N. McIntosh
James McHenry
G. M. Washbourne
Isaac A. Clark
Saml C. Checote
Wm. M. Holmes
Ferdinand Greenpenkarl
John Vann
Jacob Derrysaw
Wm. R. McIntosh
S. M. Hays
M. Meyers
J. W. Washbourne
Saml B. Callahan
Robt. White
Andrew J. Greenway
Wm. McIntosh
Nullputer Harjo

Yakinhaw
Yarkinhar Fixico
Richard Lee
Nulputter
Altfarle Harjo
Toney Burgess
Jackson Burgess
Notulke Harjo
Wm. H. Acridge
Wm. H. Woods
Lewis Rodgers
Thewaller Fixico
Wm. F. McIntosh
Jesse F. Pickler
To co ser Harjo
Pleasant Berrihill
John S. Porter
Thomas Adkins
Martin Vann
Micco Cully
Auster
Ya ha Ley
Co wak co chee
Harjo Echo
Joshua Soul
John Brown
Micco Hulputter
Emarthala Nocus
Thomas Brown
Che par ney
Ne ne Haryar
Inke Nocus
Sam Brown
Bare Arm
Samuel Miller
Jim Berryhill
Ther wi key
Chustullee
King Seaman
Milon Water
Wm. Percival
Wm. Jacobs
A. H. McIntosh
Robert Hopwood
Micco Harjo
Emar Harjo
Itschos Harjo
Nulcup Harjo
Wm. Harrison
Lasley Haynes
Goliah Herrod
Tulchis Ker
Narcome
Parsofer
Pleasant Porter
Stephen S. Sanger
John Simmons
Tulmochussee
Yarbar Tustunuggee
Edward Wright
Sampson Folsom
Dr. F. Harkins
Sylvester Durant
Thomas Edwards
W. S. Bryd

Tar nun po
Robt. Anderson
David Herrod
Wiley Kinnard
James Kinnard
Wm. Kinnard
John R. Moore
Chilly McIntosh
Timothy Barnett
Pink Hawkins
G. W. Stidham
E. E. Sanger
Saml S. Hamilton
F. M. Sanger
Nehar Yarholer
Ward Coachman
Micco Cully
Geo. W. Goodin
John Yargee
Yahar Tustanugee
Fushutchee Emarthlachee
Tustanuch Harjo
David Yargee
Tulloaf Harjo
Lottie Micco
Augustus Ceaser
Tulmachus Harjo
G. Herrod
Coleman E. Nelson
Daniel Barnett
Beni. F. Farley
John Fife
Richard Fisher
Henihan Fixico
Talue Fixico
George W. Gorden
Micco Harjo
Emar Harjo
Tuskegee Harjo
Wm. Simpson
Richard Harkins
Samuel Ward
Luffy Mosely
Harris Fletcher
Simpson N. Folsom
James Gamble
Beni. W. Meyer
Francaway Battice
John Page
Tom Lewis
Chas. F. Baker
S. Nelson Gritts
Roebuck
Sarton Thompson
J. M. Bryan

Allen Wright
Fla tubbee
Nafi
Harris Frazier
Milton Brown
John Gibson
John P. Turnbull
Willis Hampton
Ross Frazier
Elis Frazier
Alfred Wade
Joel Hudson
Washington Thompson
Thompson McKinney
Martin Folsom
James A. Colbert
George Fry
Thomas Ellis
Josephus Taylor
Reson Jones
Martin S. Crowder
Geo. W. Risner
Green W. Thompson
C. R. Gardner
Oklabi
Henry Clay
Lewis Austin
Nan o ma tubbee
Coleman E. Nelson
E. Frazier
M. Hampton
Ben W. Lewis
B. Devinport
Joseph Moore
Chin o pa cha
Pis a ho tubbee
Jerry Riddle
Sinta Nowa
K. W. Folsom
John W. Allen
Cher ta ho lah
C. Harland
Harris Sexton
Edmond Gardner
J. S. Tooley
Tacubbee
Wm. Simpson
Richard Harkins
Samuel Ward
Luffy Mosely
Harris Fletcher
Simpson N. Folsom
James Gamble
Beni. W. Meyer
Francaway Battice
John Page
Tom Lewis
Chas. F. Baker
S. Nelson Gritts
Roebuck
Sarton Thompson
J. M. Bryan

This list was compiled from the records of the Confederate Indian Brigade. It is to be regretted that the Choctaw Regiments of Colonels Jackson McCurtain and Simpson Folsom left no cardable files. The six Confederated Indian Nations reserved the right to surrender independently. The regiments of the Choctaw Nation surrendered June 19, 1865. General Stand Watie surrendered the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles and a battalion of Osages June 23, 1865. The Chickasaw regiments and the Caddo battalion were surrendered July 14, 1865. Did any state of the Confederacy sacrifice more for their Loyalty to the Southern Cause?

Pen & F.B. Knock, Art / Oklahoma City

Memorial Scroll sponsored by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, member of the Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society, and compiled by Mrs. Helen Gorman of the Confederate Memorial Hall. This Scroll of staff and line officers commanded approximately 11,875 troops from the Indian nations of the Indian Territory, C.S.A.

Approved For Release

Fort Belknap Souvenir Plate

Old Fort Belknap, in present Young County, Texas, has always been of special interest to students of Oklahoma history, for this old army post, originally known as Camp Brazos, was really an offspring of our own Fort Washita. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, in her fine article on Gen. William G. Belknap, in Volume XX of the *Chronicles,* page 124 (June 1942) tells how Camp Brazos was first started by troops from Fort Washita, and that its founder and the officer for whom the post was named did not live to return to Washita.

Camp Brazos was designated Fort Belknap by order dated 3 Nov. 1851 by Gen. P. F. Smith; and with its sister post, Fort Phantom Hill, it served for many years as an outpost of Fort Washita. The buildings were restored in 1936 in connection with the Texas Centennial Celebration; and the site, a few miles south of New Castle, Texas, and at the terminus of State Highway 251, is beautifully maintained and well kept, and includes a museum and replicas of the principal buildings.

The Fort Belknap Memorial Society has recently issued souvenir plates, nicely illustrated with scenes of the old post. One of these makes a fine addition to an Oklahoma history souvenir collection. They may be obtained from Mrs. J. W. Bullock, Secretary, Fort Belknap Memorial Society, Newcastle, Texas.

Flower and Feather

With Another Memorial to Sequoyah

Another memorial among many in the United States to Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, was dedicated on November 6, 1949, under the auspices of The Chattanooga Audubon Society of Tennessee when Robert Sparks Walker, author-naturalist and founder of the Society, christened a tree in "Literary Acres" in The Elise Chapin Wild Life Sanctuary, to the famous Cherokee, stating in part:

> "After twelve years of devotion to devising an alphabet without thought of monetary reward, Sequoya succeeded in perfecting a syllabary by which an Indian might soon learn to read and write. He thus became the only literary person in America to be voted a pension for life. It came through the Cherokee Nation. It is therefore, fitting and proper, that we christen this native red cedar tree, which stands at the beginning of the Sequoya Trail, for him. Here it shall grow as a symbol of the noble character of one of America's greatest aborigines."

Oklahoma was represented at this tree christening by Mrs. A. W. Hancock, a Cherokee and Baptist missionary whose home is in McAlester, Oklahoma, who was visiting friends on Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga, during the Audubon Society ceremonies in November. She herself had a part in the program, wearing beautiful Indian

costume and was addressed by her Cherokee name *Sallateeska* which means "Lifting Up." A tree in "Military Acres" was dedicated to the memory of John Ross when she christened a red cedar in the following words:

"A century and a half ago, some of the most prominent Cherokee chiefs occupied the lands of this region, which included what is now *Military* and *Literary Acres*. The most highly educated and most respected of the Cherokee chiefs was John Ross, whose grandmother was born almost in sight of Military Acres. Doubtless John Ross in his youth often walked these very acres, and his feet pressed the sod on which we tread today. He was a man whose character and integrity were beyond reproach. he enjoyed the esteem and confidence of both whites and Indians. He joined the United States Army and served under Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812. It is therefore fitting that he be honored today by bestowing to this young red cedar the name *John Ross*."

The above notes are made from *Flower and Feather* (Vol. VI, No. 1, January, 1950), published by The Chattanooga Audubon Society, sent to the Editorial Department of *The Chronicles* through the kindness and interest of Mrs. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, Oklahoma. Among a number of trees dedicated by the Chattanooga Society, in November, was one newly set, christened in the following lines: "To Robert Sparks Walker, author-naturalist; born on these acres, he escaped from his rural beginnings to become a foremost authority in his profession."

Robert Sparks Walker is the noted author and historian on the early Cherokee, of Tennessee. His *Torchlights to the Cherokees; the Brainerd Mission* (New York, 1931) is well known in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

Dedication Programs for Historical Markers in Oklahoma

The fifty roadside Historical Markers erected in 1949-50 by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Highway Commission have been received with much interest by Oklahomans and the traveling public on the highways in the state, from reports coming in to the Historical Society.

The dedication programs for two markers in Roger Mills County were outstanding on April 19, arranged by the California Road Committee, Melvin Harrell and U. L. Harshfield. The marker "Battle of the Washita" (Nov. 28, 1868, Cheyenne village on Washita River wiped out by Col. Geo. Custer's command) erected on the court house square at Cheyenne, County Seat of Roger Mills, was dedicated by a program in the American Legion Hall at 11:00 a.m. Special features of this program included songs by the Cheyenne public schools, under the direction of Mrs. L. L. Males, and by the Apollo Club of Cheyenne; also, square dancing by pupils from the schools, in colorful pioneer and cowboy costumes, and talks by two of the County's well known pioneers, Mrs. Dunn and Colonel Alvin

Moore. Radio Station K.A.S.A., of Elk City, made recordings and broadcasts. In the afternoon on April 19, the marker "California Road," erected about fifteen miles north of Cheyenne, near Roll on U.S. Highway #283, was dedicated by a special pageant, written by Melvin Harrel, showing incidents of the opening of the famous Road (or Trail) through Oklahoma in 1849 by Captain Randolph B. Marcy and "the gold seekers" on the way to California, with horses, wagons, and mounted Indians in the train. The notable pioneer of Roger Mills County in the afternoon's program was Mrs. Augusta M. Metcalf, Oklahoma's outstanding artist of the quarter horse and other work in oils. Schools participating in the music were Crawford, Cheyenne, Strong City, and Breezy Meadow of Roger Mills County.

Dedications have also been held at Okmulgee, "Creek Capitol," Okmulgee County, March 8; at Red Fork (Tulsa), "First Oil Well in Tulsa County," March 24; near McAlester, "Perryville," Pittsburg County, April 18; near Sallisaw, "Dwight Mission," Sequoyah County, April 30; at Wayne, "California Trail," McClain County, May 10 (postponed to May 17); at Fort Gibson, "Fort Gibson," Muskogee County, May 28; at Rush Springs, "Battle of the Wichita Village," Grady County, June 6; near Sequoyah, "Claremore Mound" Rogers County, June 22; and at Eufaula, "North Fork Town," McIntosh County, June 6.

Word has been received by the Historical Society that dedications are being planned for other markers over the state, including "Atoka" and "Old Boggy Depot," Atoka County; "Choctaw Capitols," Pushmataha County; "Sac and Fox Agency," Lincoln County; "Wheelock Mission," McCurtain County.

(M.H.W)

Dedication of the Confederate Memorial Hall in 1918

One of the few existing copies, if any, of the Dedication Program of the Confederate Memorial Hall in 1918 was discovered recently by Mrs. Helen Gorman, in an old file and scrapbook of notes presented to the Confederate Hall. This rare item is especially interesting for the names of those among well known leaders of the State who had a part on the program and who have since passed on:

DEDICATION OF THE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL
AT STATE CAPITOL
June 3, 1918, 2:00 P.M.
General T. D. Turner, Presiding

PROGRAMME

Song ..... America
Invocation ..... Rev. Theo. F. Brewer, D.D.
Song ..... "We Are Old Time Confederates."
Presentation of the Hall,
Governor R. L. Williams

Acceptance of Hall, behalf of the Sons,
General Tate Brady, Commander Sons
Acceptance of Hall, behalf of the Daughters,
Mrs. W. F. Purdy, President U.D.C. of Oklahoma
Song ..... The American Girls.
Short History of the U.D.C.
Mrs. J. H. Gill, 1st Vice Pres., U.D.C. of Oklahoma.
Reading ..... Selected .....Mrs. Ben Davis
Confederate Pensions,
Gen. Wm. D. Matthews, Commander, 1st Brigade.
Reading ..... Miss Ida Lou Spivey.
Song—Ladies Quartet,
Miss Velma Peoples,
Mrs. G. W. Salter
Mrs. T. M. Wells,
Mrs. E. E. Hunter.
Short talks by,
Col. R. A. Sneed, Gen. R. B. Coleman, J. C. Graham, and others.
Song ..... "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Communication from the Payne County Historical Society Concerning the Site of the First Battle of the Civil War in the Indian Territory

In *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949) is the article by Doctor Angie Debo entitled, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," presenting printed and archival evidence that the battle site was near the Twin Mounds, sixteen miles east of Stillwater, in Payne County.

The Payne County Historical Society, through its president, Doctor B. B. Chapman, has submitted to the Oklahoma Historical Society a manuscript volume of sixty-seven pages containing printed articles and photostatic copies of documents pertaining to the site of the battle, including a photostatic copy of a statement of March 17, 1868, in which some of the participants in the battle told of following Opoth-le-yo-hola's trail leading in a "Northwestward direction" toward the Cimarron River. Doctor Chapman asked that all persons who can find any additional material whatever concerning the location of the battle site be urged to submit the same to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The volume submitted by Doctor Chapman is now being read by the historians and persons qualified to reach conclusions on the subject, in order that the location of the "Battle of Round Mountain" might be definitely determined. Since at least each of two other places in the general region of Keystone at the confluence of the Cimarron (Red Fork) with the Arkansas River has had strong support as the possible site of this first battle of the Civil War period in the Indian Territory, the Twin Mounds location in Payne County has raised something of a controversial subject in State history.

As the summer (1950) number of *The Chronicles* goes to press, a letter has been received from Doctor Angie Debo, one of Oklahoma's outstanding historians and author of the above mentioned article in the summer of 1949, asking that the following statement from her be published by the Historical Society:

"In preparing my article on the Battle of Round Mountains (incorrectly designated as 'Round Mountain' in the *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*) for Summer, 1949 issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, I tried to discover whether the Twin Mounds in Payne County constituted an early-day recognized landmark, which might logically give their name to the site. I found the location plainly marked on the map of the Creek boundary survey of 1849-50, published in House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 104 (Serial No. 958); but I was puzzled to find *one* conspicuous round hill instead of two. Recently, through the courtesy of Dr. Grant Foreman, the A. and M. College library acquired copies of the original maps prepared by the U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, and it is now possible to clear up this point.

"In the summer of 1849 Brevet Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, with Lieutenant Israel Carle Woodruff as his assistant, directed the survey from Fort Gibson to a point on the boundary three miles north and approximately one miles west of the present Yale. His large-scale map (4,000 feet to 1 inch) shows an accurate survey of Mud Creek, which passes through Yale, and the two hills lying conspicuously to the southwest. The next summer the survey was resumed at this point by Woodruff, who carried the boundary 120 miles farther west. The small-scale map (1:600,000) of the completed survey shows Salt Creek and a merged outline of the two hills. It was this blurred drawing that was telescoped into one hill by the Washington draftsman who prepared the map for publication in the House Document eight years later. The Twin Mounds were clearly and accurately marked on the original map. Thus, it can be stated that these hills were recognized as a conspicuous landmark at least twelve years before the outbreak of the war."

"Arkansas's Old State House"

A reprint of the story of "Arkansas's Old State House," by Clara B. Kennan, appearing in the Arkansas Historical Quarterly (Spring issue, 1950), tells the interesting history of Arkansas's first capitol now undergoing reconstruction and repair to preserve it as an historic shrine in that state. Both old and modern views as illustrations, with explanatory notes, are a valuable addition to this story. Miss Kennan, of Little Rock, will be remembered by readers of *The Chronicles* for her contribution "Neighbors in the Cherokee Strip" which appeared in Volume XXVII, Number 1 (Spring, 1949).

A Correction

In the article on *Women Teachers of Oklahoma 1820—1860* by Ethel McMillan, published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 1, Page 19, there is an error in stating that Priscilla

G. Child became the second wife of Cyrus Kingsbury. By the authority of the *History of American Missions* published by Spooner and Howell 1840, p. 338, there were two previous wives, so Miss Child became the third.

This error was pointed out by Doctor Ebenezer Hotchkin of Sherman, Texas, one who would be especially sensitive to such a mistake for he is the descendant of a long line of distinguished missionaries being the grandson and namesake of Ebenezer Hotchkin, who was born in Lenox, Massachusetts in 1803, educated for the Presbyterian ministry, came west in 1829 to Goshen, Mississippi, as a missionary to the Choctaws and in 1832 with his wife accompanied them to the Indian Territory where their lives were spent in this service.

His Grandmother Hotchkin was Philena Thacker of Hereford, Pennsylvania, who likewise came to Goshen, Mississippi, to the mission among the Choctaws as a teacher. The marriage took place on November 2, 1830. Mission work in the Indian Territory was later established and valued results were had in a thriving school for Choctaw girls at Goodwater, called Kunsha Seminary.

His father, Henry W. Hotchkin was born to them and, though not actually engaged in teaching or in the ministry, exemplified the spirit of the movement in admirable family and community living. Mary J. Semple, carefully educated and socially advantaged in the best which Ohio offered at Steubenville, came as a teacher to Wheelock Academy in 1857, became the wife of Henry W. Hotchkin and continued her work as a teacher. To them was born Ebenezer Hotchkin on July 5, 1869 at Livingood [Living Land? —Ed.], Indian Territory. He assisted his mother in establishing the school which became the Presbyterian College of Durant, was long a teacher of Bible there and became its president, also served as superintendent of the Indian Presbytery U.S. for many years. As a member of the House he represented Bryan County in the Eighteenth State Legislature of Oklahoma. He now serves as chairman of the Historical Committee of the Synod of Oklahoma and of Indian Presbytery. U. S.

—Ethel McMillan.

BOOK REVIEW

Oil! Titan of the Southwest. By Carl Coke Rister. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. xxiii + 467 p. Illustrations, maps, notes, glossary, bibliography and index. $5.00.)

This volume, *Oil! Titan of the Southwest,* will doubtless earn for itself a well-deserved place as a basic reference work for students and readers interested in the development of the oil industry. It is the first thoroughly competent and exhaustive study of the history of oil production in this six-state Mid-Continent and Gulf producing area.

This book is essentially a history of oil production, of the successive discoveries of new fields, their "boom" days of spectacular and often disorderly expansion, and the sometimes drab and dismal years of their gradual decline and decay. In tracing the expansion of oil production, Professor Rister has analyzed the evolution of each of the major fields developed between 1890 and the present time.

The author's discussion of each production area follows the same basic pattern. The conditions which stimulated interest in the possibility of locating oil in a particular community, the key individuals and companies connected with the development, the difficulties faced in securing adequate financing for their ventures, the technical problems which appeared during drilling, and the storage and marketing difficulties which had to be faced—all of these are mentioned in the discussion of each of these fields. Every chapter in this volume covers a different area, the Indian Territory of the 1890's, the great discoveries at Spindletop and other Gulf coast salt domes, Oklahoma's Glenn Pool, Red Fork, Cushing, and Greater Seminole fields, the Ranger, Panhandle, and Permian basin discoveries in Texas, and on down through the long list of major fields to the West Edmond development during and after World War II. No area of major significance is omitted.

Fully three-fourths of Professor Rister's book deals with the development of these various fields. In the final chapters of his volume the author touches briefly on several topics related to the recent history of the oil industry. There is a brief analysis of the role played by oil during the second World War, its relation to the collapse of Japan, and the factors which led to the laying of the Big Inch and the Little Big Inch pipe lines. The problems of oil conservation and control which eventually led to the establishment of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission are outlined. A final chapter incorporates a brief statement regarding the impact of petroleum on the economic and social life of the Southwest.

Professor Rister, Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, has made with this volume a major contribution

to the history of Oklahoma and to the economic history of the entire Southwest. A grant to the University of Oklahoma's Research Foundation by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey made possible three years of careful work that went into the preparation of this book. Trade journals, newspapers, government documents, letters, and interviews all provided the raw material out of which the author fashioned this volume. It shows the results of this painstaking research. The reader is almost overwhelmed at the detailed information, such as production statistics, shifting price levels, population figures, which is crammed into these pages. Elaborate footnotes present summaries of individuals and firms that have played a part in the development of this industry. The result is a fact-crammed volume, almost encyclopedic in content, which may be somewhat frightening to the reader when he first pages through it. It is hoped that the mass of detailed information in the pages of this book will not discourage the general reader from finishing the volume. As previously mentioned, this work will probably find a place primarily as a reference work.

Oklahomans will certainly want to become acquainted with *Oil! Titan of the Southwest.* Here they can find outlined the story of the industry so basic to the welfare of their state. Here they can uncover a little of the color of the hectic days of Cushing, Seminole, and other communities whose traditional cultural and social pattern was shattered by the influx of oil workers and money. Here they can re-live again the depression years of the early 1930's and the heated disputes of the administrations of Governors Murray and Marland. Oklahomans who have lived through this period of oil development will find in Professor Rister's book a carefully-presented outline into which they can insert details out of their own experience. Young Oklahomans will be able to derive from this volume a useable summary of the development of one of the state's basic industries. A glossary which could have been somewhat expanded and several maps will help this latter group find their way around.

Professor Rister's book may well be considered a "discovery well" opening up a new field of historical writing. As the latter chapters of this volume suggest, and as the author himself pointed out in a recent address before the Oklahoma City meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, there are many phases of the oil industry which still need to be presented in more adequate written form. In fact, the whole area of the financial and economic history of the Southwest needs to be developed. Literary explorers who choose to probe deeply into those pools in search of a literary bonanza will find that a high standard has been set for them by Rister's *Oil! Titan of the Southwest.*

—Norbert R. Mahnken.

Oklahoma A. and M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOUNDER'S DAY, MAY 26, 1950.

The annual, Founder's Day, meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, May 26, 1950, with General William S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Hon. George L. Bowman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, General W. S. Key, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Hon. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

The President introduced the new members of the Board of Directors: Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge N. B. Johnson and Mr. H. Milton Phillips, and stated that the other new member, Mr. N. B. Henthorne of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was unable to be present at this meeting.

General Key stated that Dr. I. M. McCash of Enid, Okla., had sent his regrets stating that due to a recent operation he was unable to travel; that Mr. Thomas G. Cook of Buffalo, Oklahoma, could not attend because of court litigation; and that Mrs. J. Garfield Buell advised that because of business out of the State she could not be present.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. The motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle and passed.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the reading of the minutes of the quarterly meeting of the Board held in January 1950 be suspended and that they be published in the next issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary read the following report in regard to the historical markers placed to this date:

"I present you here a brief report of the placing of the Historical Markers over Oklahoma, up to this date.

(1) Marker Committee appointed by you early in 1949.

(2) The Committee: President W. S. Key, Muriel H. Wright, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

(3) Contract made with Sewah Studios, cost per marker, approximately $100, each.

(4) Money received first year, $5000 through Highway Commission.

(5) Through Mr. F. N. Arnold, acting for the Highway Commission, all markers for the year (1950) set up.

(6) Dedications: Okmulgee, Mar. 8, "Creek Capitol", "First Oil Well in Tulsa County", Mar. 24. "Battle of Washita" and "California Road", Roger Mills County, Apr. 19. "Perryville", South of McAlester, Highway 69, Apr. 18. "California Trail", May 17 and 10, Purcell. "Dwight Mission", April 30, west of Sallisaw, Sequoyah.

DEDICATIONS PLANNED:

"Ft. Gibson", May 28, Sunday 2 P.M. at Ft. Gibson.

"North Fork Town," at Eufaula, June 6.

"Battle of Wichita Village", Rush Springs, June 6.

"Atoka", in or about Atoka, and "Choctaw Capitol", near Tuskahoma, Council House, Pushmataha County—in August.

"Wheelock Mission", Highway 70, McCurtain County—early fall.

"Claremore Mound", Rogers County.

"Nathaniel Pryor" and "Union Mission", Mayes County.

The Committee believes that too much credit cannot be given to the Highway Commission and H. E. Bailey, Secretary, for the splendid service they offered in setting up these markers over the state. Work is being planned to set up 50 more markers, completing the 100 at a cost of $10,000 by the end of 1951."

General Key, the President, said "The Committee has perhaps taken the lead in the matter of historic markers but it has been fortunate to have had the cooperation of every member of this Board and many outside of the Board. Dr. Grant Foreman, Mrs. Jessie Moore and Judge Redmond S. Cole, and Dr. E. E. Dale have been most helpful, and the finest kind of cooperation has been received from Dr. M. L. Wardell of the Oklahoma University and Dr. B. B. Chapman of the Oklahoma A. & M. College and other educational leaders of the state. For the second half of the program the committee has been enlarged and it now includes Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Grant Foreman and Col. George H. Shirk and it is hoped with their help to compile the additional list of fifty (50) markers, prepare the specifications, obtain the contract and get the location of them completed before the end of this year."

Col. George H. Shirk displayed an article entitled "Sewah Marks the Spot", appearing in the April 1950 issue of *Nation's Business*, in which the markers in Oklahoma are mentioned.

The Secretary reported that the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association showed great interest in seeing the exhibit of photographs of the historic markers displayed by Miss Muriel H. Wright in the Editorial Office.

The Secretary reported on the Petty Cash Fund, stating there remained a balance of $2.42.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that $100.00 be allowed from the Special Funds for the Petty Cash Fund. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported on how the $300.00 allowed by the Board for the reception of the Society during the convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was expended and stated that there still remained a little more than $50.00 to be paid for the Breakfast held in the Biltmore Hotel on the morning of April 21, 1950.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that this sum be appropriated from the Special Funds to pay for the Breakfast given for the Officers, past and present, of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary made the following report on the Revolving Fund of $3000.00 appropriated by the last Legislature for the publication of literature to be sold by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and suggested that $100.00 of the money collected from friends to furnish copies of the Brochure to members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association be used to give a copy of the Brochure to the various large libraries outside of the State:

"HIGH POINTS OF BROCHURE DEVELOPMENT

1. Brochure appeared before the Board January 26, 1950
2. Sales began March 1, 1950.
3. The O.H.S. News Letter going out monthly main medium of sale
4. Special forms of appeal developed by Secretary appended to this
5. In 80 days have sold the sum of $1235.56
6. The cost of whole 4000 Brochures $1298.00
7. This leaves $62.44 to complete the amount drawn from the Revolving Fund
8. This was made easier by the gifts or purchase of Brochures by special friends, totaling $450.00
9. These gift monies made possible free Brochures to each member MVHA
10. Sales of Brochure coming in now daily
11. Universities, libraries, colleges, etc., need gift Brochures
12. Stock of Brochures soon exhausted. New issue will be needed.
13. Method of checking: monies received by Secretary; this money checked by Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator, chief co-worker on the Brochure; monies turned into the State Treasurer through Miss Mulholland, Chief Clerk.

May I add that this has been the most successful presentation of an institution to a selective, cultured public in the long range of more than fifty years is serving educational institutions."

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle made the motion that $100.00 of the money collected from friends to furnish copies of the Brochure to members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association be used to give a copy of the Brochure to the large libraries outside of the State. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary called attention to a letter received from Mr. Waite Phillips. President Key read the Phillips' letter which revealed the worth of the communications sent out over the state and country from the Executive office for Mr. Phillips said that his attention was secured by such communications. His gift of $100.00 was not so interesting as his splendid sentence closing his letter, "With this communication there goes to you and your associates my cordial regards and best wishes."

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that Mr. Phillips be extended the official acknowledgment of the Board for his generosity in presenting to this Board $100.00 for one Brochure and his continued interest in the Historical Society. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that invitations had been received from Tahlequah and Shawnee for the 1951 annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society. After a discussion, vote was taken which recorded that the next annual meeting of the Society would be held in Tahlequah.

The President stated for the benefit of the new members of the Board that the Society owns a farm of 300 acres known as the old Robert M. Jones Farm located near Hugo, Oklahoma; that about 12 years ago the Society acquired from the heirs of the Jones' estate the old cemetery site of Robert M. Jones, a distinguished member of the Choctaw tribe, who served as a delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Va. The Society obtained a W. P. A. Project and through it built a fence around this cemetery. Later Judge Robert L. Williams obtained a tax title to the 300 acres which by deed dated May 1, 1941 he conveyed to the State of Oklahoma for the use and benefit of the Oklahoma Historical Society; that the Society has been getting some rent from this farm; that he asked Col. George H. Shirk

to investigate this property and that Col. Shirk had made a very comprehensive and illuminating report of five pages which he thereupon submitted.

Mr. Mountcastle made the motion that the report and recommendation of Col. Shirk be accepted and that Col. Shirk be given a vote of thanks for his investigation and splendid report, and that he be allowed $100.00 from the Special Funds for expenses in perfecting title to the land. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts have been made to this Society in the last quarter: A spike from the old St. Louis, El Reno and Western Railroad, presented by John B. Fink; salt and pepper shakers from the Battleship Oklahoma, presented by John K. Speck; seven railroad tickets used in Oklahoma in an early day, presented by Robert D. Corlett; a medal received at the St. Louis Exposition for wheat grown in Oklahoma City, presented by Mrs. W. P. Sewell; a flag snap taken from the Battleship *Oklahoma*, presented by Harold R. McDowell, and a permit to work in the Indian Territory issued in 1881, presented by L. M. Pate; photograph of a bust of Pat Hurley presented by Gov. Turner; photographs of Frank Canton, Frank Frantz and Gen. Alva J. Niles, presented by Mrs. A. J. Niles; large framed photograph of the late Victor M. Locke, Jr., Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, presented by his nieces, Benita and Allece Locke; phonograph given the 131st Division (Rainbow Division) in World War I, by the late J. Bartley Milam, Member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society, presented by Mrs. J. B. Milam, of Claremore.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that these gifts be accepted and the Secretary be instructed to write a letter to each of the donors expressing the appreciation of the Board. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary presented a letter from Mrs. Virgil Browne, State Regent of the Oklahoma Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. She states that the engraved bronze plates to be mounted on the two plaques for the library have been received and that they would be mounted soon; that through this gift she had saved almost $600.00 which is being spent for rebinding books in the D.A.R. Library in the historical society library, and that approximately $400.00 worth of new books have been purchased. He stated that Mrs. Browne will always be remembered as the leader in the development of the beautiful D.A.R. Library at the west end of the society library room. This will reveal that she is still continuing to develop that remarkable contribution. Her letter was attended by a card put forth by the Oklahoma Daughters of the American Revolution and the Oklahoma City Chapter, endorsing Mrs. Browne as a candidate for the office of Vice President General of the National Society, Daughters of the Amercian Revolution. A letter was sent to her by the Secretary acknowledging her gift and expressing the very sincere hope of the Board of Directors that she receive the great honor set forth in the endorsement of her candidacy.

The Secretary has called attention from time to time of the progress on the re-decoration of the interior of the historical building. The foyer, the corridors and the museum received decoration at an expense of some $7000.00. This work was completed on May 19, 1950 just in time for the reception of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Subsequently the sanding, refinishing and polishing of all the parquetry floors of the museum were completed at a cost of more than $2000.00, and the building presents a splendid finish. Mr. Boris Gordon, the eminent artist, in passing through the halls the other day made this statement, "I have the privilege of passing through as many buildings devoted to state historical societies as given, perhaps, to any man in this country. I wish to say that the Oklahoma Historical building is the most beautiful and impressive of any in the United States."

Through Mr. Nichols of the Board of Affairs assurance is given that the steel flooring to be placed on the mezzanine floor of the Newspaper Room is receiving due consideration and revealing progress.

The Secretary stated that a special tribute should be offered to the St. Gregory's College at Shawnee, Oklahoma, in that it has given to the Historical Society thirteen (13) volumes, consisting of account books of old Sacred Heart Mission. It is hoped that in the future a further gift of certain diaries be presented to the Society by St. Gregory's College.

The Secretary stated that he was appointed a committee of one to secure a proper box lunch to be given by the Society to visitors and members attending the Founder's Day Meeting on May 26, 1950; that he had done so and a splendid lunch was procured for the sum of seventy cents (70¢) plus hot coffee at five cents (5¢), and that thereby an expense of $75.50 had been incurred. He asked that this be properly met. A motion was made by Mr. George L. Bowman and seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour that this amount be allowed from the Special Fund. The motion was passed unanimously.

The Secretary then stated that he had received copies of letters passing between the Governor's office and Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard of 791 Park Avenue, New York City, as follows:

"Dear Governor Turner,

Your letter of February 13th, 1950 was received and we plan to send the General Whipple material to the Oklahoma State Historical Society during June. While we have more material that concerned the General, nevertheless that which concerns his explorations is less than is anticipated. We know that what we shall send will interest you.

Sincerely

Eleanor W. Stoddard

May 22nd, 1950 (Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard)"

May 24, 1950

Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard
791 Park Avenue
New York, New York
Dear Mrs. Stoddard:

I was greatly pleased to receive your note May 22, advising me that the General Whipple material will be sent to the Oklahoma State Historical Society during June.

We shall be greatly honored to serve as custodians for this material, and if there is anything we can do to assist you, please advise me. Dr. Charles Evans, Director of the Historical Society, will advise you promptly of the receipt of the material and will supply you with copies of publications pertaining to the gift.

I wish to express my gratitude again to you and other Whipple heirs for their generosity in this matter.

Sincerely,

Roy J. Turner"

The President then stated that Dr. Grant Foreman, Director Emeritus for Life of this Board, had initiated action to get the Whipple Collection for the Society and that at his suggestion the Governor wrote a personal letter to the heirs and General Patrick Hurley became interested in the Society securing the papers.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that a fitting reception be held by the Society upon the arrival of the Whipple papers and that proper publicity be given thereto, and that Governor Turner, Dr. Grant Foreman and General Patrick Hurley be invited to be present. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed.

The President then read a letter from Dr. Grant Foreman relative to the proceedings between the Jerome Commission and the Indian Tribes which are now in the archives in Washington, D.C., and stated that Dr. Foreman is attempting to raise funds to obtain a copy of these proceedings for the Society.

The President reported that Dr. Grant Foreman asks that there be published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* brief necrology of Mr. Fred Simpich, who for many years was Assistant Editor of the National Geographic Magazine and was much interested in Oklahoma.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the necrology of Mr. Fred Simpich, by Dr. Grant Foreman, be included in some future issue of *The Chronicles*. Judges Thomas A. Edwards seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Redmond S. Cole reported on the large collection of books and documents owned by Mr. John W. Shleppey of Tulsa, Oklahoma; he stated that Mr. Shleppey is trying to find some institution in which to put his collection where it will be known as the "Shleppey Collection". Mr. R. M. Mountcastle made the motion that Judge Cole be appointed a committee of one to make an investigation of the contents of the collection of Mr. Shleppey and that he be authorized to call on a member of the Staff of this Society for assistance. Mr. George H. Shirk seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary presented for membership approximately 100 new members in this Society, as follows:

LIFE MEMBERS: Kenneth G. Braley, Cherokee; Arthur J. Black, Tulsa; L. A. Chatham, Claremore; E. Dunlap, Jr., Ardmore; Don A. Eaton, Weatherford; Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, Oklahoma City; Judge N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City; Philip Connor Kidd, Norman; F. X. Loeffler, Sr., Oklahoma City; Guy B. Massey, Wilburton; Mrs. H. H. McClintock, Bartlesville; Katherine M. Tidd, Oklahoma City; Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: Breland Adams, Muskogee; Mrs. Gretchen Allen, McAlester; John Stephen Babbitt, Sand Springs; David A. Baerreis, Madison, Wis.; L. J. Barrett, Watonga; Mrs. Harry L. Berry, Tulsa; Don L. Bolton, Norman; Ivan D. Brown, Bixby; Mrs. Maud Brown, Eufaula; Sidney G. Bryan, McAlester; J. M. Burton, Dewey; Robert J. Butts, Enid; John R. Calloway, Jr., Oklahoma City; Barney E. Christy, Weatherford; George Dewey Cummings, Norman; Paul G. Darrough, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Shirley M. Duckwall, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Essie Dunham, McAlester; Janice Evans, Palo Alto, Calif.; Herbert J. Forrest, Tulsa; Edwin W. Frazer, Marion, Ky.; Mrs. Nelly M. Gilmore, Blossom, Texas; Mrs. Bertha Gilpin, McAlester; Mrs. R. L. Ginter, Tulsa; Mrs. Florence M. Glass, Tulsa; Lawrence G. Hammerstrom, Minneapolis, Minn.; Richard L. Hammett, Wagoner; Miss Marion Harrison, McAlester; Mrs. Charles W. Haygood, Shawnee; Mrs. H. S. Henley, Cherokee; Ira J. Hollar, Stillwater; R. E. Howard, Muskogee; B. N. Jenkins, Oklahoma City; Everett S. Johnson, Jr., Tulsa; U. V. Jones, Sr., Snyder; D. P. Karns, Watonga; W. L. Ketcham, Tulsa; Mrs. Jeanette Lambert, Eufaula; Mrs. Glen Leslie, Shawnee; Claud E. McCaughey, Oklahoma City; Joyce S. McCleve, Trail, Oregon; Mrs. Lulu McGuffee, Marlow; Chester C. McKinney, Muskogee; Evalyn A. Maurer, Tulsa; Arthur McCool Meyer, Shawnee; Mrs. J. B. Milam, Claremore; Mrs. J. O. Misch, Tulsa; Mrs. Edgar Moore; Spiro; O. B. Mothersead, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Laura J. Nelson, McAlester; George R. Parks, Tulsa; Herbert Miner Pierce, Wilburton; Mrs.

Effie G. Reed, Oklahoma City; D. A. Rennie, Oklahoma City; Floyd L. Rheam, Tulsa; M. W. Richardson, Antlers; C. R. Ross, Okmulgee; E. J. Schermerhorn, Tulsa; Mrs. M. C. Shank, Chicago, Ill.; Enola Shumate, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Daniel L. Sollock, Tahlequah; Paul Sparks, Oklahoma City; Chester Arthur Squire, Arnett; W. C. Smoot, Bartlesville; Francis Stewart, Muskogee; C. A. Summers, Muskogee; Mrs. Leta Summers, McAlester; J. S. Tissington, Muskogee; Dale Vanderford, Tulsa; Mrs. Daisy Walters, Caddo; Tom Ward, Tulsa; S. A. Warner, Jr., Oklahoma City; Hugh Webster, Tulsa; Mrs. A. C. West, Commerce, Texas; F. B. West, Idabel; Mrs. J. P. Williams, Fairfax; Virginia Nunn Williams, Tulsa; Mrs. Mary Winton, McAlester; Fred B. Woodard, Dewey; Lura Woosley, Eufaula.

Dr. Harbour made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list and that their names be published in *The Chronicles*. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary read a letter from Mrs. Ruth Craig, Librarian of this Society, in which she asks for leave of certain hours each day in which to attend Central State Teachers' College at Edmond to continue her work toward a degree in library science.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that Mrs. Craig be granted the leave requested by her. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Eugene Whittington had asked if the Society would like to have a portrait of Mr. J. J. Culbertson. Judge Edgar S. Vaught stated that Mr. Culbertson had given forty (40) acres of the 650 acres donated by citizens to the State upon which the Capitol building is now located; that this 40 acres has perhaps yielded as much as a million dollars in oil; that he was a friend of the State and has been interested in building a great Oklahoma. He then made a motion that Mr. Whittington be invited to present a portrait of Mr. J. J. Culbertson to the Society. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

At this point Judge Edgar S. Vaught paid a warm tribute to the life of the late Lloyd Noble stating there had never been a more public spirited man in Oklahoma than Lloyd Noble and he made the motion that the heirs of Lloyd Noble be asked to present his portrait to the historical Society. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that a portrait of the late U. S. Senator W. B. Pine be procured for the portrait hall of the Historical Society. Hon. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips made the motion that the Society secure a portrait of the late Ted Beaird who had contributed beyond measure to the building of the University of Oklahoma and whose devotion to the soldiers of the recent wars had endeared him to all veterans' organizations in the State. General Key, with some degree of emotion, said a better soldier or finer citizen could not be found in the records of Oklahoma. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that the July 1950 meeting of the Board of Directors be dispensed with and that the next regular meeting be held in October 1950. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

The President suggested that since the Legislature would meet in January 1951 a special committee should be appointed to study the needs of the Society and report at the meeting of the Board in October. He stated that one of the needs of the Society is a qualified guide to receive and conduct the visitors through the building, at least to the various departments

where the custodians of those departments can take them through. He said the Society has a very splendid man who is a utility man but there is need for a competent guide. He also suggested that some thought be given to re-arranging the offices; that the Executive Offices should be near the entrance, where the Secretary and his stenographer would be nearer to the public. He stated that he would not recommend that this be done now but thought the matter should be investigated.

General Key stated that it would be necessary to ask the Legislature for increased funds; that the Legislature has been generous with the Society and that the Society does not want to impose on their generosity and asked that he be authorized to appoint a committee to discuss the coming budget.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught made the motion that the President be authorized to appoint a committee to discuss the matter of securing legislation to appoint a Guide for the Society and a proper appropriation. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Nealy Tilly, the man who takes care of the Society's diversified duties, handles the mimeographing of all letters, the addressing of all envelopes, and, in general, is most useful, is called upon very often to drive over town in his car; that he spends some money for gasoline; and suggested that he be allowed out of the Special Funds an amount for the use of his car that is just and fair.

Mr. Bowman made the motion that the matter be referred to the Secretary and that he be authorized to pay Mr. Tilly whatever is fair for expense of running his car for Society business, and that the Secretary submit a report of this at the next meeting of the Board. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. Mountcastle reported that five (5) Historic Markers were being erected in Muskogee County, and that Dedicatory ceremony would be held at Fort Gibson Sunday, May 28, at 2 P.M. and that the members of the Board and all other persons were cordially invited to be present.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour stated that on August 16, 1950, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, would be 80 years of age, and made the motion that he be made a Life Member of the Society and given a bound set of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for a birthday present. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

The President then introduced the following visitors: Mr. Cyrus S. Avery of Tulsa; Mrs. Ed Perry of Oklahoma City; Judge Dickerson of Chickasha, 87 years old; Mrs. A. T. Kidwell of Stillwater; Miss Katherine M. Tidd of Oklahoma City; W. K. Southers, Frank Northrup, charter member of the Society; Albert Eaton of Weatherford, life member; L. T. Lowe, of Oklahoma City, a Life member; Joe Dickey, of Weatherford, and a few others. They received a round of applause.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore made a motion that a total of $35.00 be allowed from the Special Funds of the Society for the writing and framing of a scroll, listing Indians who served with the Union Army in the Civil War, the scroll to be hung in the Union Memorial Room of the Society. Mr. H. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which passed.

There was a motion made at this point that the meeting adjourn to meet in the Auditorium immediately for a box lunch presented by the Society to its visitors and members.

After the lunch hour the meeting was called to order by General W. S. Key, President, and the program of the afternoon as set forth on Founders Day Program which had been sent out to all the membership over the State, was taken up.

In his preliminary remarks General Key stated that he would like to introduce some new Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. So in happy order he paid tribute to Judge N. B. Johnson of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, and Hon. H. Milt Phillips, Editor of the *Seminole Producer*, who had served with distinction through two world wars and had been identified for years with the public life of Oklahoma; and Colonel George H. Shirk, who made an illustrious record in World War II, and is a leading attorney in the state and an able historian. He spoke of Hon. N. G. Henthorne, Editor of the *Tulsa World*, who could not attend this meeting. Mr. Henthorne's position as leader of one of the greatest newspapers not only of the State but of America, testified to his splendid and lofty position in the State. "Judge Edgar S. Vaught, another new member of the Board of Directors," said General Key, "will be introduced later." He said in honoring these men in making them members of the Board of Directors the Society had honored itself.

Mr. Tracy Silvester, Minister of Music of the First Christian Church of this city, and his accompanist, Mrs. Willie Troyer, were introduced at this point and gave a happy rendition of "Carry Me Back to the Lone Prairie."

President Key, before taking up the order of the next feature of the program, introduced with splendid tribute, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour as a leading educator, a distinguished club woman and a former President of this Society, whose services have been invaluable to this institution and the State. He presented Mrs. Jessie R. Moore as a distinguished member of the Board, a member of a distinguished pioneer family of Oklahoma, and who through the years has made a contribution to all Oklahoma. He stated she had been Treasurer of this Society for more than thirty years. He paid tribute to the character and world war service of Admiral Marc Mitscher, once a citizen of Oklahoma, in asking that his sister, Mrs. Hugo Hoevel, stand and receive greeting.

All of those introduced were cordially applauded by the assembly.

At this point the portrait of Mr. Eugene Lorton, Editor of the *Tulsa World*, was presented to the Society by Mr. Cyrus S. Avery of Tulsa, former chairman of the Oklahoma Highway Commission and serving Oklahoma in many spheres for a half century.

In his remarks Mr. Avery said "I went from Oklahoma City to Tulsa in 1901. Shortly after I came there Mr. Eugene Lorton of Walla Walla, Washington, came to Tulsa. He bought the *Tulsa World* and from that time on not only the *Tulsa World* grew but Tulsa grew. . . . . The *Tulsa World* through many years was but the projection of the marvelous character of Eugene Lorton. It is a great pleasure for me to present to this Society the portrait of this great man to adorn the walls of this building through all the years to come."

Judge Redmond S. Cole, Vice President of the Society, was introduced at this time to receive the portrait. He said, in part, "I knew this man intimately for forty years. He was my friend. He was a man who impressed everybody with the fact that he believed what he believed and was ready to fight for it. Lorton built a great newspaper and helped build a great State. I am sure I speak for this Society, its President, its Board of Directors and its members when I say here that I am happy that this fine portrait of my friend and fellow-townsman is to be hung on the walls of this Society as a perpetual monument to this man."

General Key asked Judge Cole to convey to the family of the late Mr. Lorton profound thanks for the splendid portrait.

The Program Committee had given General Key the subject, "High Points on my Trip to Europe." He said he would only deal with the subject in a very brief way. He had gone to Europe with Mrs. Key not to

observe the economic and political conditions there so much as to visit his son, a young officer in the American Army, and to observe the charm and beauty of their youngest granddaughter. He found conditions, however, to be greatly improved through that part of Europe not controlled by the Communists. The contrast between Western Germany and Eastern Germany was so obvious that people who were outside of the Iron Curtain rejoice in the progress which Western Germany so distinctly revealed. Italy and France disclosed remarkable progress. He said that the rank and file of the tax payers of America are largely responsible for this improvement in Western Europe because of the Marshall Plan. He spoke of entering England and visiting the manor house ancestral home of General George Washington and as Americans, he and Mrs. Key had a better understanding of the close ties that bind England and America. "Many of the rich historical monuments of Europe have been destroyed by the last war. God forbid any further destruction by another war." He said, "Frankly I don't believe we are going to have another war in the near future in Europe."

Judge Edgar S. Vaught of the United States District, 5th District, was presented as the speaker of the day. Among other things he pointed out that to him the historical society is a wonderful institution; it is an organization that is little known in the State now but will be better known. He said he was challenged a few years ago by a visitor to the state who said, 'The trouble with Oklahoma is that it has no history. You have just been born.' This aroused me to investigate and I found that Oklahoma possessed a history that would compare with that of any State in the Union measured from any standpoint. . . . . There isn't a State in America that has accomplished as much in the last fifty years as has Oklahoma. Study of our educational institutions will reveal no other state has anything like the facilities for higher education. More people attend church in Oklahoma City on Sunday than any city of its size in America. Here are such cities as Tulsa and Oklahoma City, ranging from two hundred thousand to three hundred thousand in population, a growth of just fifty years, there is nothing to equal it in human history. I recall very well when I came to Oklahoma City forty-nine years ago this week there wasn't a foot of pavement in the city. There were very few houses except frame houses. What we need in Oklahoma is to revive Oklahoma loyalty to our state. We want to be proud of it, not apologize for it. You can't get a Texan to concede that any other state is superior to his in any respect. This loyalty has done more to build Texas than any other one thing. This Historical Society, the University, the A. and M. College and all our colleges, together with the homes and churches, should consistently drive home to the youth of Oklahoma a need for constant expressions of pride in the State of their birth or adoption." With a smile of amusement on his face Judge Vaught said, "I am proud to be an Oklahoman and although my vote hasn't been counted for twenty years (a life long Republican) I am still proud of Oklahoma. . . . . This word I would convey to you today, let us be proud of the State of our adoption and our birth; never let us miss an opportunity to boost for Oklahoma."

The Auditorium rang with a round of applause as Judge Vaught closed his address and the audience revealed that they not only agreed with the substance of his eloquent address but they also held in highest favor this leading jurist and this eminent citizen of America and Oklahoma.

In conclusion Mr. Tracy Silvester gave his song, "To my Mother."

The Secretary was asked by the President if there were any further business. It was reported there was none and so the 57th Birthday Program of the Oklahoma Historical Society came to an end.

W. S. KEY, President.

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Dr. Charles Evans, *Editor* Muriel H. Wright, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The President
Edward Everett Dale
N. G. Henthorne
H. Milt Phillips
George H. Shirk
The Secretary

Volume XXVIII Number 3

Autumn, 1950

CONTENTS

Amiel Weeks Whipple 226
By Francis R. Stoddard

Itemized List of the Whipple Collection 231
Charles Evans, Secy.

The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple 235
By Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk

German in Okarche, 1892—1902 284
By W. A. Willibrand

Memorial Genealogical Library, D.A.R 292
By Josephine Sperry Hickam

The Sequoyah Convention (Part II) 299
By Amos Maxwell

Sarah Beatty Wilson of Lukfahta, 1835 341
By Muriel H. Wright

Notes and Documents 351

Book Review 362

Necrologies 365

Frederick Simpich ..... By Grant Foreman 365

Merritt Julius Glass ..... By Thelma Brooks 366

Ad Interim Report 231

AMIEL WEEKS WHIPPLE

*By Francis R. Stoddard**

Introduction

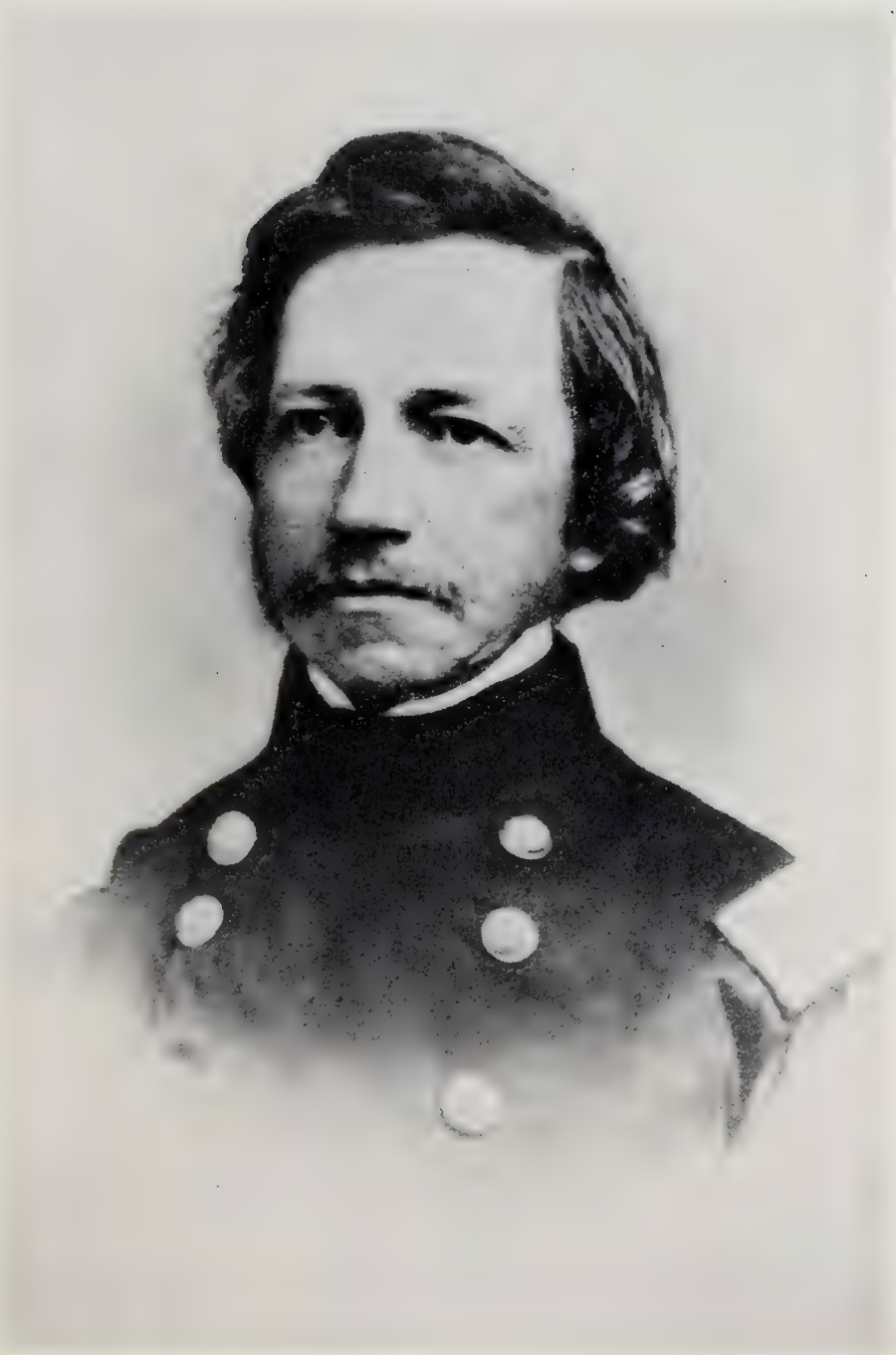
The Oklahoma Historical Society has recently received one of its finest collections of historical material: the original journals, manuscripts, drawings, paintings, maps, charts, and other data preserved by General A. W. Whipple, relating to the Mexican Boundary Survey in 1851, and the Pacific Railroad Survey that was made through Oklahoma in 1853. The donors of this valuable gift to the Historical Society are Professor William Whipple, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Colonel Sherburne Whipple, Asheville, North Carolina; Mrs. Arthur M. Collens, Hartford, Connecticut; and Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard, New York, New York.

Editor

Amiel Weeks Whipple was born on October 21, 1817. He was a son of David Whipple who at one time kept an inn in Concord, Massachusetts. His mother, Abigail Pepper, was a daughter of Joseph Pepper, Lieutenant in the Revolution. Through her, he was descended from Thomas Prence, Governor of Plymouth Colony, whose wife, Patience, was daughter of the beloved religious leader of the Pilgrims, Elder William Brewster.

Whipple attended the Concord schools and entered Amherst College in 1836, from where he was appointed to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point by the Honorable Samuel Hoar on July 1, 1837. He graduated fifth in his class on June 22, 1841. Upon graduation he was commissioned and assigned to the First Artillery as of July 1, 1841, because probably no vacancy existed in the engineers. Before joining his artillery regiment upon completion of his graduation leave of absence, he was transferred as of

* Colonel Francis Russell Stoddard, native of Boston, Massachusetts, attorney (partner in law firm of Hamlin, Hubbell, Davis, Hunt and Farley of New York City), married Eleanor Sherburne Whipple. He was a member of New York State Assembly (1912-15), and widely known in New York and New Jersey state banking and insurance departments, is arbitrator, Greater New York, for fidelity and surety companies of U. S. and for casualty companies. He is a veteran of the Spanish-American War, the Mexican Border War, World War I (Maj. 17th Div., U. S. Army); became Colonel commanding 533d C.A. (1923-35); and served as Military Aide of Mayor La Guardia during World War II. He is an active member of leading American genealogical societies (Sons of the Revolution, Society of Mayflower Descendants —ex-gov. and gov. gen. soc.—, Order of Cincinnati, etc.), and of Masonic Order and American Legion. He is the author of *The Stoddard Family* (1912), *War Time In France* (1918), *The Pilgrims* (1935), *The History of Acquisition Cost in the State of New York* (1944), and numerous technical articles on insurance. —*Who's Who in America,* Vol. 26 (Chicago, 1950).—Ed.



AMIEL WEEKS WHIPPLE

September 28, 1841, to the Topographical Engineers and was appointed Assistant Topographical Engineer on work in Patapsco River, Maryland. From 1841 winter to 1842, he was on military reconnaissance duty near New Orleans, Louisiana. From 1842 to 1844 he was engaged in the survey of the harbor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where through the offices of an army friend stationed at Fort Constitution at the entrance of the harbor, he was presented to Miss Eleanor Mary Sherburne, whom he married at Portsmouth on September 12, 1843. Her father, Col. John Nathaniel Sherburne, had commanded a regiment in the war of 1812, was a representative in the legislature, and was then Navy Agent of the Port. His wife was connected with most of the old Portsmouth families. She was descended from Governor Thomas Dudley of Massachusetts Colony, Governor Theophilus Eaton of New Haven Colony and Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire Colony. Her family lived in the historic Warner house, which is mentioned later. She was a great grand-daughter of Captain John Blunt who guided General Washington through the ice and storm across the Delaware River on the night before the Battle of Trenton.

From 1844 to 1849, Lieutenant Whipple had special charge of the instrumental work of the Northeastern Boundary Survey. From 1849 to 1853, he was assistant with the Mexican Boundary Survey. The Chief Topographical Engineer was unable to do the work most of which was done by Whipple. Meanwhile he was promoted to First Lieutenant on April 24, 1851. Upon the completion of his Mexican Boundary report, he was assigned to the command of the Pacific Railroad Survey for which Congress had made necessary appropriations. His party started from Fort Smith, Arkansas, and the line pursued carried it through an almost unknown section of the country, including the region south of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers in present Oklahoma and on west to the Pacific Coast at San Diego.

The route passed through territory occupied by powerful Indian tribes, but was accomplished without serious mishap. His report, published by the Government, attracted great attention both in this country and in Europe. Baron Alexander von Humbolt was particularly interested in it and corresponded with Lieutenant Whipple very voluminously and for several years. Whipple had been promoted to Captain on July 1, 1855. On completion of his Pacific route survey report, he was ordered to take station at Detroit, Michigan, where he was placed in charge of the 10th Light-House district of the upper and lower lakes and the improvement of the waterways over ship channel over St. Clair flat and through Lake George and St. Mary's River, Michigan, within the territory that extended from Lake Superior to Ogdensburg on the Saint Lawrence River. He was engaged in this work when the Southern Confederacy undertook to secede from the Union. Captain Whipple was im-

mediately ordered to report to the Chief of Topographical Engineers in Washington. There was then a dearth of maps giving any but the most meagre of information concerning the State of Virginia, and to him as Chief of Topographical Engineers of the defenses of Washington, South of the Potomac, was entrusted the very trying and responsible duty of making armed reconnaissances to collect the topographical details required. It was hazardous work in a country thickly wooded in places, where small bodies of men could be concealed with absolute impunity; and the first skirmishes of the war, such as that at Fairfax Court House, were fought during its continuance. The work, however, was successfully and very quickly done, and reliable maps were soon in possession of the Union commanders. Captain Whipple, thereafter, became Chief Topographical Engineer on the staff of General McDowell, Commander of the Army of the Potomac. He participated in the battle of Bull Run or Manassas on July 21, 1861, for which service he later was awarded a postumous brevet for gallantry in action. From July 25, 1861, to March 13, 1862, he was with a division engaged in the defence of Washington, then constantly threatened with attack. On December 26, 1861, President Lincoln signed his commission of major to date from September 9, 1861. From March 13, 1862, to April 2, 1862, he served with the First Army Corps. From the latter date to September 8, 1862, he commanded a brigade in the defences of Washington, having been commissioned a Brigadier General of Volunteers as of April 14, 1862, and thereafter he commanded a division until October 10, 1862.

The headquarters of General Whipple were the former residence of General Robert E. Lee at Arlington. The house had been deserted by the Lee family, but many of the family slaves were left behind who were hoping for the return of their very kind master. With untiring energy and skill, General Whipple added to and improved the fortifications which extended from Chain Bridge above the City of Georgetown to Alexandria. President Lincoln frequently drove over from the White House and after a simple lunch and a glass of lemonade, he rode to attend the review of a regiment or to visit one of the forts. On these occasions the President, drawing the General's two sons to him and with an arm about each, would listen attentively to the General.

Not content with defending Washington, Whipple applied for service in the field. On October 10, 1862, he took command of the 3rd Division of the III Army Corps, and from December 13 to 15, 1862, he participated in the Battle of Fredericksburg, for which service he was later breveted again posthumously for gallantry in action. It was while Whipple was in the Army of the Potomac that one of the Corp Commanders gave a dinner in honor of President Lincoln. The latter asked that his friend, General Whipple, be seated beside him, which was done.

At the Battle of Chancellorsville, which began on May 2, 1863, the III Army Corps attacked and separated General Lee from General "Stonewall" Jackson. The latter continued and next morning attacked the XI Army Corps, which gave way causing Whipple's division to be attacked from both front and rear. Jackson was killed opposite Whipple's men who held their ground at all points. On May 4, 1863, while near a battery directing construction of some earth works near the apex of the salient which extended into the Confederate lines, Whipple was mortally wounded by a sharpshooter. The bullet passed through his belt and stomach and came out of the small of his back close to the spinal column. The General was taken to Washington where he never regained consciousness. Just prior to death, President Lincoln caused him to be commissioned a Major General of Volunteers. He also eventually received posthumously additional brevets for gallantry in action at Chancellorsville and for gallantry and meritorous services during the whole war.

Whipple died in Washington on May 7, 1863. President Lincoln attended his funeral and said that he was there as a friend of the family and not as President of the United States. The President not only gave his autographed photograph to the widow but he gave a Presidential appointment to the older son of his friend. After Lincoln was assassinated, there was found on his desk a note asking his successor, if anything happened to him, to appoint the younger son of General Whipple to Annapolis. This was duly done by President Andrew Johnson. When the fort now called Fort Myer was built, it was named Fort Whipple. Fort Whipple, Arizona, is also named in his honor.

General Whipple had saved much of the material which concerned his explorations. Certain of his diaries in his own handwriting he gave to his son. The remainder, including his books and all his sketches, surveys and other data connected with the Pacific Railroad route exploration, was placed in three trunks which were stored in the old Warner House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where his wife had lived. During recent years, descendants of his wife's family sold the house to a group who have since maintained it as a museum. The trunks with the General's name on them were found in the attic and were returned to one of General Whipple's granddaughters who, in agreement with her sister and brothers, donated the Pacific Railroad route exploration and the Mexican boundary survey material including the diaries to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

General Whipple had four children. The oldest, Elizabeth Sherburne Whipple, was wife of Colonel Robert W. Huntingdon, who commanded the marines that were the first to land at Guantanamo, Cuba, in the Santiago Campaign of our war with Spain. Of twin boys, his son, Charles William Whipple, survived infancy. The

latter was appointed to West Point by President Lincoln as already stated and, after graduating in 1868, entered the Ordnance Department of the Army. He was Chief Ordnance Officer and later Inspector General of the expedition to the Philippines led by General Merritt in our war with Spain. He eventually died from the effects of that service. One of his fondest memories was being with Abraham Lincoln when the latter visited his father in the fortifications of Washington during the Civil War. The General's youngest son, David Whipple, was appointed to Annapolis by President Johnson and entered the Marine Corps. While stationed at Dry Tortugas, yellow fever swept the garrison and the soldiers were sometimes found dead on post. He was ordered away but refused to go because some of his men were to stay. He stayed and died with his men.

The General's son, Colonel Charles William Whipple, had five children. The oldest, Walter Jones Whipple, is deceased. The next, William Whipple, has been a Professor at Louisiana State University. He has several children among whom Walter Jones Whipple graduated from Annapolis and was Captain in the Navy on the staff of Admiral Halsey; William Whipple graduated from West Point and was Colonel on the staff of General Eisenhower; and John Randolph Whipple was Captain of Engineers all in the Second World War.

Charles William Whipple's son, Colonel Sherburne Whipple, graduated from West Point and served against Moros in the Philippines. For services at the front in World War I, he received the Distinguished Service Medal and the French Legion d'Honneur. His son, Colonel Sherburne Whipple, Jr., graduated from West Point and commanded tanks in the thick of the fighting in the Second World War. His daughter, Sarah Bailey Whipple, and her husband, Colonel Lang, were at Pearl Harbor when Japan attacked.

Colonel Charles William Whipple's daughter, Annette Bailey Whipple, is wife of Arthur Morris Collens, Chairman of the Board of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company in Hartford, Connecticut. Their son, William Leete Collens, was Lieutenant in the Navy stationed on a munitions vessel in the Pacific during the Second World War.

Colonel Charles William Whipple's youngest child, Eleanor Sherburne Whipple, is Mrs. Francis Russell Stoddard. Her husband, Colonel Stoddard, served in our war with Spain, on the Mexican Border and the First World War. Her older son, Howland Bradford Stoddard, was Inspector General of the 35th Division in Germany, after being an Inspector General of the Fifteenth Army, during the World War II. Her younger son, Dudley Wentworth Stoddard, served as a combat infantryman in the 8th Division which led the attack on Cologne, Germany, during World War II. While on the attack near the outskirts of that city, he was shot, but eventually recovered from his wounds. It was he who brought the Whipple material to Oklahoma.

LIST OF JOURNALS, DRAWINGS, PAINTINGS, MAPS, MANUSCRIPTS, ETC., COMPOSING THE A. W. WHIPPLE COLLECTION PRESENTED TO THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY THE WHIPPLE FAMILY.

JOURNALS OF LIEUT. A. W. WHIPPLE:

(1.) *Three Notebooks*: August 27, 1851 to August 30, 1852. On Mexican Boundary Survey: Beginning at Santa Rita Del Cobre on the Gila River, New Mexico.

(2.) Notebook (Leather Bound — Original. Barometric-Observations-Rio Gila &c)

(3.) *Twenty-eight Notebooks*: April 15, 1853 to March 22, 1854. Pacific Railroad Survey on 35th Parallel, Mississippi River to Pacific Ocean (including survey route through Oklahoma, 3⅓ notebooks.)

MAPS:

(1.) Map No. 1. Reconnaissance and Survey of a Railway Route from Mississippi River near 35th Parallel North Lat. to Pacific Ocean made under the direction of the Secy. of War by Lieut. A. W. Whipple T. Eng., assisted by Lieut. J. C. Ives Top Eng. and A. H. Campbell Civ. Eng. 1853-4. (Printed)

(2.) Map No. 2. Same as above. (Printed)

(3.) Topl. office of the Dept. Oct. 30, 1850. A true copy. Signed J. E. Johnston, Bt. Lt. Col. The map gives route from San Antonio to El Paso and return. Showing rivers, creeks, mountains, etc. (Original drawing on parchment.)

(4.) A newly constructed and improved map of the State of California showing the extent and Boundary of the different counties according to an Act passed by the Legislature April 25th, 1851. With a corrected and improved delineation of the Gold Region compiled from the best and most recent Surveys by J. B. Tassin. Lith. by Pollard & Perrigory-Published by Cooke and Lecount, San Francisco. (Folded in booklet.)

(5.) Map of a Survey and Reconnaissance of the Vicinity of the Mouth of the Rio Gila by A. W. Whipple, Lieut. U. S. Corps Top. Eng: Nov. 1849. (Original on parchment paper.)

(6.) Map U. S. and Territories between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean and part of Mexico—(2 parts)—Corps of Topographical Engineers—1850. (Printed)

(7.) Rocky Mountains. Sahwatch Mountains or Sierra San Jaun. *General Profile*—From Westport Near the Western Border of the State of Missouri to the Sevier River [Great Basin] (Printed)

MANUSCRIPTS:

(1) "Computation of Zenith Obsvs. made at Capitol Hill, Junction of Rios Gila & Colorado California 1849" A. W. Whipple

(2) "Extracts from a Journal of an Expedition from San Diego, Cal. to Rio Colorado from Sept. 11 to Dec. 11, 1849 by A. W. Whipple, Lieut. U. S. Topl. Engineers."

(3) "Probability" (fro the Encyclopaedia Britannica)

(4) "The United States & Mexican Boundary" report.

(5) Report of two Mexican Commissioners given at the Mouth of the Rio Gila, Nov. 30, 1849. Re: Boundary line between the U. S. and Mexico; signed—A. W. Whipple, also Jose Salazar and Harregin.

(6) Letter from Joseph Henry, Secy., Smithsonian Institution, to Lieut. A. W. Whipple, dated July 9, 1851, acknowledging receipt of Magnetic

observations, etc. (In envelope addressed to Lieut. A. W. Whipple, U. S. Top. Engineer, Boundary Survey, Initial Point, near El Paso, New Mexico.)

(7) Letter from J. D. Graham, Washington, to A. W. Whipple, dated Sept. 16, 1852.

(8) Small sheet of paper "Population of Rio Colorado" listing tribes and population of each.

(9) Letter from C. Girard, Cambridge, Mass., to Lt. A. W. Whipple dated Oct. 11, 1854.

(10) Letter dated Dec. 15, 1849 from A. W. Whipple, San Diego, (Cal.), to Bvt. Maj. W. H. Emory, U. S. Top. Engineers, Chief Astr., Texas, U. S. B. Comn.

(11) Letter, unsigned, to "Sir" dated San Diego, Cal., Feb. 18, 1852, stating the forwarding of certain specimens, collection taken upon route from the copper mines of N. W. to San Diego, showing Indian agriculture, art, science, etc.

(12) Unsigned letter to "Sir" undated, transmitting the accompanying results of the survey of the U. S. & Mex. Boundary west of Rio Grande del Norte, etc.

(13) Letter, undated, to "Sir" telling of the route from Oct. 16, 1851 thru "23rd" during the Survey of the U. S. & Mexican Boundary.

(14) Unsigned and undated letter to "Sir" describing Indian tribes (Coyoteras & Pinal Llenas) occupying territory lately acquired from Mexico with comments on their languages and their characteristics.

PAPER FOLDER: "NO. VI—DRAWINGS BELONGING TO THE PACIFIC RAIL ROAD SURVEY—LT. A. W. WHIPPLE, COMMANDER."

I. *BOTANICAL SPECIMENS* drawn by H. B. Mollhausen, unless otherwise noted.

DRAWINGS:

Mami Vavia Vivipara var neo Mexicana (No. 3)
Mami Vavia vivi para var neo Mexicana (No. 4)
Echinocactus polyenistorus (No. 5)
Echinocactus Wesliyeni and Echinocactus Le Contei (No. 6)
Echinocactus Bigelovi (No. 7)
Echinocactus Engelmanni (No. 8)
Echinocactus Engelmanni (No. 9)
Echinocactus Whipple (No. 10)
Cereus Conodeus (No. 13)
Cereus Phoenicens (No. 14)
Cereus Trighochidiatus (No. 15)
Opuntia Davisii (No. 18)
Opuntia Acanthocarpa (No. 19)
Opuntia Arborearens (No. 20)
Opuntia Whipple (No. 21)
Opuntia Tesselata (No. 22)
Opuntia Vaginata and Opuntia Fruteseus (No. 23)
Opuntia Clavata (No. 24)
Opuntia Crachyarthra (No. 25)
Opuntia Casilaris (No. 26)
Opuntia Spaerocarpa (No. 27)—Sandia Mts. Octr. 10, 1853
Opuntia Chlorotica (No. 28)
Opuntia Engelmanni (No. 29)—Gallinas River Septr. 25, 1853
Opuntia Camanchia (No. 31)
Three drawings of botanical specimans on tissue paper scraps, No. 107, two for No. 91 (Laguna Colorado Sept. 22, 1853)—Mollhausen

PAINTINGS IN COLOR:

Cereus Fendleri (No. 11)—Signed Robert Metrenoth—1855
Mannillana neiacantha (No. 12)—Signed Robert Metrenoth—1855
Opuntia Engelmanni (No. 30)—Unsigned
Clitoria (No. 37)—Kamp No. 1 The 17th of July 53 (Mollhausen)

II. *PAINTINGS*—By H. B. Mollhausen

An Indian on a Horse (No. 16)
"Shang-bee and Alatakabee-Choctaws" (Plate 2)
Group, boat, crossing stream (No. 70) (Rio Colorado near the Mohave Village).
Mountain Peaks (No. 59)
Two Views—Stone bluffs showing Indian inscriptions (No. 55)
River—sand—green bluffs (No. 34)
Game—two Indians in figure. (framed)
Three Indian figures. (framed)

ORIGINAL DRAWINGS:

Artist—H. B. Mollhausen (most sheets 9′ x 14½′)
"Fort Smith, Arkansas"—Camp Wilson (No. 14)
"Fort Smith and Town View from the N. Bank of the Arc. r." (No. 12 & 14)
"Ring's Farm Camp No. 1 16th of July 1853" 9 m. from Fort Smith (No. 15)
"Fort Koffee on the Arcansas 15 m. above Fort Smith the 13th of July 1853 (19)
An Indian wearing a turban
Indian Boy (No. 21)
"Kitty and Nancy"—Indian women (No. 24)
"Camp 9 Pacific Railway Exploration Aug. 3rd 1853" (No. 26 & 27)
"Old Fort Arbuckle now a settlement of Delaware Indians under the command of Capt. Black Beaver." (No. 28 & 32)
"Natural Mound near the Termination of the Cross Timbers" (No. 36)
Two Indian Men
An Altar (small, miniature)
"Rio Colorado below junction of Bill Williams Fork" (No. 63 & 16)
"Alamo Sept. 8, 1853" (a tree)
"La Cuesta Sept. 28, 1853"
"White Sandstone Bluff resembling a colonade Mouth of Canon of Rio Santa Fe Oct. 2, 1853"
"Pueblo de Santa Domingo Oct. 2rd, 1853"
"Covero"
"Artillery Peak near Bill Williams Fork"
"Mojave Raft" (small, miniature)
"Zuni Sacred Spring" (A) unsigned
"Petrified tree near Lithodendron Creek" (small, miniature)
Fort Smith—unsigned
"Mary and Jenny—Choctaws" (No. 19)—unsigned
Artist—Lt. J. C. Tidball, 4th Arty. (small sheets— 9′ x 6½′)
"Cereus Giganteus—Near Bill Williams Fork"
"Canon of Bill Williams Fork"
"Aztec Range and Black Forest"
"Last Gate of Bill Williams Fork"
Artist—Unknown (small sheets)
Yucca (no title) —17
Indian pottery and design (no title)
"Pueblo Indians from Santo Domingo in New Mexico in the Comanche Country to Trade"

"Inscriptions upon rocks near the banks of Rio Gila"
Sketch on piece notebook paper with notes.

PRINTED ITEMS:

(1) Blank pamphlet to be filled in for study of Indian languages, entitled *Comparative Vocabulary Of The Languages Of The Indian Tribes Of The United States.*

(2) *Report Of Explorations For A Railway Route, Near The Thirty-Fifth Parallel Of Latitude, From The Mississippi River To The Pacific Ocean,* by Lieut. A. W. Whipple, H. Doc. 129. 154, printed pages and Index. Pages uncut and unbound.

(3) 136 pages of page proofs of Pacific Railway Survey, 35th Parallel, tied in a brown paper cover. Page proofs for printed report appearing in *Reports Of Explorations And Surveys, To Ascertain The Most Practicable And Economical Route For A Railroad From The Mississippi River To The Pacific Ocean.* 1853-4, Volume III (Washington, 1856).

(4) Book: *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country, Made with the Troops under the Command of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel John M. Washington, Chief of Ninth Military Department and Governor of New Mexico, in* 1849. By James H. Simpson, A.M., First Lieutenant Corps of Topographical Engineers (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., Successors to Grigg, Elliot and Co. 1852.)

LITHOGRAPHS:

From Sketches and Paintings by H. B. Mollhausen (Identified in *Pacific R. R. Survey Report*, Vol. III)

"Fort Smith, Arkansas"
"San Francisco Mountain"
"Valley of La Cuesta Rio Peco"
"Indian Altar and Ruins of Old Zuni"
"Ceremonial Visit"
"A Conical Hill, 500 Feet High"
"Canadian River Near Camp 38"
"Indian Designs and Manufactures"

From Sketch by Lt. J. C. Tidball—

"Camp Scene in the Mohave Valley of Rio Colorado" (plain tints)
Same as above (no title, color tints)

From Sketches by R. H. Kern—

"Sangre de Cristo Pass" (Near the Summit, looking down Gunnison Creek)
"View of Sangre de Cristo Pass" (Looking northeast from Camp north of Summit, Aug. 11th).

5 Unidentified Lithographs—T. Sinclair written in pencil on mats.

18 small proofs of Lithographs in preparation for publication (Scenes and Diagrams) "Approved—W. P. Blake"

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*

THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT A. W. WHIPPLE

By Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk

When Doctor Grant Foreman in 1941 published[1] his *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* it would have been difficult to visualize that he was to be thereby responsible for the return years later to the State of Oklahoma the manuscript original of the report he there edited. Yet, such has been the case; and the original memoranda, charts, notebooks and other papers of General Amiel Weeks Whipple are now the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society, thanks to the generosity of the Whipple family.

While all of the papers are intensely interesting, the section dealing with the 1853 expedition west from Fort Smith is the center of attraction. A complete list of the papers and documents now in the Oklahoma Historical Society is given with the Secretary's report in this same issue of *The Chronicles.* The present article is limited to the original field notes prepared by Whipple day by day during the summer of 1853 as he crossed the region that is now Oklahoma.

The notes of the expedition are mostly in pencil, in Whipple's own hand, and are contained in a series of 28 (4″x6″) leather-bound notebooks. The entry for September 6th, the last day the party was in Oklahoma, appears in the first third of the fourth notebook and the entries in the remaining twenty-four continue on to the west coast and to the completion of the expedition. Except for punctuation, some of which has been added, the text of the *Journal* is here presented as it appears in the original. The Whipple Collection includes a number of original Mollhausen drawings and paintings some of which accompany this article.

In the years following the publication of his book, contact developed between Doctor Foreman and the grandchildren of General Whipple, and eventually the family determined that the Oklahoma Historical Society would be the fitting and proper place for the permanent disposition of the original papers of their illustrious grandfather. Both General Patrick J. Hurley and Governor Turner assisted in the matter, but the full credit for the conduct of the negotiations goes to Dr. Foreman.[2] This spring, Dudley Stoddard,

---

[1] Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman, 1941). The publication of these notes is planned to complement rather than supplant any portion of Dr. Foreman's work. The reader will find this original *Journal* especially interesting if it is read in conjunction thereto.

[2] See Minutes of meeting of the Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society for May 26, 1950, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), p. 219.

a great-grandson of General Whipple, and the son of Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard, the General's grand-daughter, delivered the collection to Oklahoma City. All Oklahoma is grateful for this generous gift.

Amiel Weeks Whipple[3] was born in Greenwich, Massachusetts, in 1817. He attended Amherst College, at Amherst, Massachusetts. In 1837 he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point and was graduated in 1841, being appointed a Second Lieutenant of Artillery on July 1, 1841. On September 28, 1841, he was transferred to the Topographical Engineers. On September 12, 1843, he married Eleanor Sherburne of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

In 1844 he commenced a survey of the northeast boundary of the United States, and continued on that assignment until 1849. At that time, following the conclusion of the peace treaty with Mexico, he was engaged in the survey of the United States boundary with that country. His survey duties along the Mexican border continued until 1852.

He returned to Washington and shortly received the assignment of locating the southern route for a Pacific Railroad. It is this portion of his service that is described in his journal following. This work continued until 1856. Thereafter and until the Civil War he was on river and harbor work. He was promoted to Captain on July 1, 1855.

With the outbreak of the Civil War he was topographical engineer on the staff of General McDowell, and was at Bull Run. He was promoted to major in the regular army on September 9, 1861; and a few months later, on April 14, 1862, was made a Brigadier General of Volunteers. Commanding a brigade and later a division, he was assigned to the defense of Washington City. His headquarters were within the area of present Fort Myer, and a fortification erected there in 1863 was named Fort Whipple. In December, 1862 he was a divisional commander in the Battle of Fredericksberg. He was wounded at Chancellorsville, and from these wounds died in Washington on May 7, 1863. A hastily completed promotion to Major General reached him only a day before his death.

The demand for a transcontinental railroad, linking the East with the West, was the motivating background for the Whipple survey in 1853. The clamor was, of course, brought to the boiling point by the discovery of gold in California. More significant though, the Union of the 1850's, comprised of some 31 states, was bursting at the seams; the veterans of the Mexican war were demanding their due; and it was the country's "manifest destiny" that it should expand across the West to California. By then, for the first

[3] *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), Vol. XX.

time, the territorial integrity of the United States as we know it now, with the possible exception of the Gadsden purchase, was complete. A "great national highway" across the continent as suggested by Senator Thomas Hart Benton was essential.

While the agitation took form in countless meetings and resolutions, it reached tangible proportions in the Congress by the Act[4] of March 3, 1853. This enactment granted $150,000 to the Secretary of War for use by the Corps of Topographical Engineers in making surveys to ascertain the best railroad route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific.

The Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, implemented this act by directing three surveys; the Northern route, along the valleys of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, was to be surveyed by Isaac I. Stevens, the newly appointed governor of Oregon; the central one along the 38th and 39th parallels, under the direction of J. W. Gunnison, was designed as the shortest route to San Francisco; and lastly, the one destined to cross present Oklahoma, was the southern route along the 35th Parallel from Fort Smith west, and to be under the direction of Lieutenant Whipple. The Secretary allocated $40,000 of the appropriation to cover the southern survey.

The formal report[5] of the Whipple Expedition is in Vol. III Senate Ex. Document 78, 33rd Congress, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys,* being a series of reports on the railroad surveys; and it is particularly interesting to follow the Journal as given there, noting the more formal style of the official report as compared with the actual notes compiled in the field.

Whipple arrived in Washington on April 15, 1853, and within a few days had learned of his new assignment. He started his first note book in good and proper fashion with his letter to the Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, acknowledging receipt of the orders. The first page, dated April 27, 1853, is a copy of the letter:

To: Col J. J. Abert
Chief of Corps Top Engs
Top. Bureau
Washington, D. C.

Portsmouth, N H
Apl 27 / 53

Sir: In compliance with instructions this day rec from Bvt. Maj. W. H. Emory I have the honor to report to you for duty. I shall endeavor to reach Washington on Saturday next to report in person.

I remain Sir, Very Respect-

Your Obdt Servt
A. W. Whipple
1st Lieut T. Engrs.

---

[4] 10 *U. S. Stat.,* 219.

[5] *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean,* 1853-4, 33d Cong., 2d Sess., Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 78 (Washington, 1856), Vol. III. Hereafter this will be cited as *Pacific R. R. Survey Report.*

That same day he left Portsmouth, and "started in cars for Amherst." There he spent the night, and went on to Boston the next day to meet his family. On April 29th, the Whipples "arrived at New York, breakfasted at Irving House and went on to Washington." He at once plunged into the job of organizing and outfitting the expedition. The next few pages of the *Journal* are notes and lists of needed supplies, personnel requirements, and tenative assignments of individuals. That he had many applications for membership in the company is well indicated from the number of changes of names and reassignments of personnel reflected by the next few pages. The notes for April 30 include the name of Lieut. David S. Stanley,[6] indicating that he had been selected early for the post of Acting Quartermaster and Commissary. Under "Books Requested" Whipple listed "Colonel Long's RR manual at Baltimore, Wm. Moody's manual, Lardners treatise on RRs, Gillespie's do on RRs."

He closed out his personal pay accounts to include April 30, 1853. At this point in the notebook is an entry, made much later, reflecting that his pay accounts for the months of May to August were settled by him in San Francisco.

When the party was finally organized it contained in addition to Lieutenant Whipple:[7]

Name	Residence	Duties
J. M. Bigelow, M.D.	Ohio	Surgeon and Botanist
Jules Marcou[8]	Mass	Geologist and Mining engineer
C. B. R. Kennerly, M.D.	Va	Physician and naturalist
A. H. Campbell	Va	Prin. Asst railroad engineer
H. B. Mollhausen[9]	D. C.	Topographer and artist
Hugh Campbell	Texas	Asst. Astronomer
William White, Jr.	Penna	Asst. meteorological observer and engr.
George Gibson Garner	Md	Asst. astronomer and secretary
N. H. Hutton	D. C.	Asst. engineer
John P. Sherburne	N. H.	Asst. meteorologist and surveyor
Thomas H. Parke	Penna	Asst. astronomer and computer
Walter Jones, Jr.[10]	D. C.	Asst. surveyor

[6] David Sloan Stanley was born in Ohio; graduated U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1852; commissioned Bvt. 2nd. Lieut. 2nd Dragoons. Rose to rank of Major Gen. of Volunteers during Civil War. Remarkably enough, Lieut. Stanley likewise kept a personal diary while on the journey, which has been published by the Oklahoma Historical Society. See Lona Shawver, "Stanley Explores Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn 1944) p. 259.

[7] *Ibid.*, "Itinerary," p. 3.

[8] Jules Marcou was born at Salins, France, April 20, 1824. He joined the faculty of the Sorbonne in 1846, and two years later was made traveling geologist in North America for the Jardin des Plantes. He returned to Europe in 1854, teaching in Zurich. He again came to America in 1860, and lived in Cambridge, Mass., until his death April 17, 1898.

[9] H. B. Mollhausen was born near Bonn, Germany, Jan. 27, 1825. He came to America in 1849, and in 1851 accompanied the Duke of Wurttemburg on his ill-fated Western expedition. Mollhausen returned to Berlin in 1853, came under the influence of Alexander von Humboldt, and came back to America in May, 1853.

Regular daily entries in the *Journal* commence with May 30th, 1853. On that day Whipple, together with his family, left Washington for Philadelphia. Garner, Hutton and Jones left them "at the relay house on their way to Napoleon, Ark." Whipple noted that he had to loan Garner $35.00 to pay his passage.

The Whipples "arrived about midnight at Phila, stopping at Jones' Hotel." The lay-over in Philadelphia was short, for the next evening they "took cars for N. York, stopping at the Irving House at 10 P.M." Sightseeing occupied the next day, as the family "visited the Crystal Palace as it is called, all of us disappointed." That evening Mrs. Whipple and the children returned to Portsmouth, leaving the head of the family for his adventure to the West. Whipple met Sherburne (June 2) the next day, "as expected," and departed for Philadelphia, leaving Sherburne "to come on in the morning."

In Philadelphia, Whipple picked up the various instruments and articles for which he had made arrangements when there on his way north. Several pages are devoted to payments and expenses; and the first 20 vouchers reflect purchases totaling $6,303.18. He apparently wasted no time in working with his newly acquired instruments, for the entry of June 3rd contains a number of barometric and other observations made from "a 3rd story room" in the Jones Hotel. On the same day he recorded purchases "for Indian gifts";

14 plumes at 19 cts	2.66
19 artificial flowers at 4 cts	.76
3 baskets at 5 cts	.15
1 mirror at 5 cts	.05
1 lb tobacco	1.25
1 pipe	.12½

On the 4th he "took cars for Pittsburgh. Country beautiful in the extreme. Fare $15 from Phila to Cincinnati." Even the beauty of the country did not absorb all of his attention, for a page is devoted to meteorological observations made on the way "at heighth of 3° inclined plane on Penna RR." The experiment was not a success for he finally concluded "Inst. not in adjustment." He stayed over night at Pittsburgh on the 5th, stopping at the Monongahala Hotel, and "had 12 leeches applied to my eye." Notwithstanding the leeches he entered a series of observations from the "fifth story, Monongahela House"; found time to loan Sherburne $100.

He found employment with Whipple, and also was commissioned by the Smithsonian Institution to act as naturalist on the expedition. He made several trips to Berlin, serving a while as librarian for King Frederick William IV. He died in Berlin May 28, 1905. A tireless author and student, he prepared his own journal of the Whipple Expedition, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific, With a United States Government Expedition.* 2 Volumes (London 1858).

[10] Jones left the expedition July 30th, and was replaced by Abner C. Gaines, of Oregon.

and to see some sights, for he recorded that Pittsburgh "contains a very fine court house, a pretty Episcopal Church and a magnificant Catholic Church. Monongahela House excellent."

Whipple and Sherburne left the next day, Monday June 6th, to complete the trip to Cincinnati by way of Columbus. He found the journey "on the cars" absorbing, for he used an entire page making entries of each stop along the way, the miles between stations, the fare, and the "time in running." He "arrived at Columbus about 7 P.M. the Cincinnati train having previously left we were obliged to await the morning train." At Columbus he "stopped at the Capitol House which does not promise to be a capital house." The next day, Tuesday, he again started for Cincinnati, recording that Columbus "is quite a pretty place and the State House in process of construction promises to be magnificant." He arrived at Cincinnati that night and found Campbell and Lieut. Stanley awaiting him. He had a week's lay-over in Cincinnati awaiting river passage, which time was spent in making more purchases; attending to last minute details; and permitting the party to assemble.

On Thursday of that week he "went out to make purchases for Indians":

7½ prs blankets at $8	60.00
Cotton drilling 31½ yds at 8¾	2.76
10 prs blankets 3.75	37.50

At Jones Bros. Co. he secured "yellow print at 11 cts, unbleached sheeting at 8 cts" and at J. and J. Slevins 11 prs "red blankets at 5.75, $86.25."

The next Tuesday, June 14th, he hoped to commence the journey down the river and "went on board Steamer Midas which proposed to sail this day for N. Orleans. But she failed. Evening went to Theatre and saw the Batemans." The steamer was able to leave the next day; and on Thursday the group arrived in Louisville. The boat took "nearly all day to pass the canal and at night lay at anchor at foot of locks." Until Monday of the next week they "continued floating down the river Ohio," stopping at Cairo, and on the 21st reached the Mississippi. After leaving the Ohio River some passengers were discharged and Whipple was able to secure a fourth state room. With the additional space thus provided he assigned his party out to the four cabins:

Self	1st Jose 2	Cook
Campbell White Hutton Sherburne Jones		German Cook 1

3rd

Dr. Bigelow
Mr. Marcou — German Cook 2
Mr. Mollhausen

4th

Garner
Parke

With indefatigable care in making notes, Whipple apparently used every occasion to make his entries, as some, such as the observations made on the "inclined plane on Penna RR" are jerky and irregular, indicating no doubt that they were made while the writer was in motion. Later on, other entries have the same appearance, suggesting that they were written while Whipple was on horseback.

They also reveal that he was an informal banker for the members of the party, as the *Journal* has many entries and notations covering loans of money, advances, and credits back and forth with members of the group. For example, the inside front cover of the first note book shows, dated June 4th, transactions with Sherburne:

loaned him one day at Phila	2.00
Hack him to Depot	.37½
Fare from Phila to Cincinnati	15.00
	17.37½
for dinner at Harrisburg	.50
	17.87½

The above $17.87½ loaned to J. Pitts Sherburne which added to previous 32.00 makes $49.87½
later also 100.00
149.87½

Wednesday, June 22, was the last day aboard ship for the group in the four state rooms, and by now they have arrived at Napoleon, Arkansas. We take up the *Journal* at this point:*

[First Notebook]

Thursday June 23d 1852 [1853]

Arrived at Napoleon, Ark., Lt. Stanley Mr Campbell & Mr. Sherburne. No boat here ready to ascend the Arkansas

Dr. Wells and Lt. Cabel here from Ft Gibson en route to Washington.

* Editorial additions within the text of the Journal as here presented are in brackets. Biographical data in the footnotes for army officers and scientists mentioned by Lt. Whipple are based respectively on Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* 1789-1903 (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, and *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1944), Vols. I to XXI.

I am informed by those who have travelled by land from Memphis to Little Rock that the road distance from the Mississippi River to river St. Francis is raised ten to 15 ft. above the general level of the country. That the whole surface of the space between the two rivers is frequently submerged by the overflow of the Mississippi so as to be from ten to twenty ft below water. For a R. Rd. therefore would require an extensive system of piling or embankment.

Thence to Little rock the country is generally level and presents a favorable location for a Rl Road. A few hills are encountered before reaching Little Rock. Beyond this toward Ft Smith the Osage Mts block the way and render exceedingly difficult the passage.

Friday June 24th

Met Col ————————from Arkansas who tells me that no difficulty exists rending it impracticable to construct a Rl. Rd. from Memphis to Fort Smith.

Steamer "Gov. Meigs" arriving we take passage for Little Rock. Left two letters for Mr White giving him authority to engage transportation as he may deem proper to Fort Smith. The Banks of the river Arkansas as we pass appear exceedingly rich. The soil is said to be very productive. We left Napoleon at abt 2½ P.M. The river beautiful

Saturday June 25th

River continues beautiful with level banks & rich soil. James Armstrong on board late of West Point now a resident of this state. Considered a talented but dissipated man.

Passed "Pine Bluffs" the first town of importance situated on a plateau about 8 ft above the previous level of the river banks. This plateau extends for several miles bears pines and appears of a less rich soil than the lower bottoms. The next place noticeable was a bluff still higher—about 20 miles from Pine Bluff—upon which are some houses and a steam sawmill.

Sunday June 26th

Morning 7½ AM Aproaching Little Rock—7 miles—. Banks still low and fertile but as ever little cultivated. Very few plantations line the banks. Evidently fine country for constructing Rail Roads. Grades could be level as the river itself. At 9 AM arrived at Little Rock, a charming place situated on a Bluff 300 miles by river 150 by land from Napoleon. Went to Episcopal Church morning & evening. Services well performed.

Gov. Conway called on me but I was taking a siesta & saw him not.[11]

---

[11] Elias N. Conway served as Governor of the State of Arkansas from 1852 to 1860. He was born in Tennessee in 1812, settled in Arkansas in 1833, and served

Monday June 27th 1853

With Lt. Stanley drove to the Arsenal where Capt Kingsbury[12] commands He is soon to be relieved by Capt Dyer,[13] & he goes to Charlestown, S. C. Mrs. Kingsbury nice lady. Bought one Colts six shooter for $20.50.

Returned call of Gov. Conway. He invited Lt S. & myself to take tea with him.

Publish advertisement in newspaper for laborers Spent the evening very pleasantly with Gov. Conway in company with Mr. Beebe Prex. of Cairo & Fulton Rl. Rd. Co.

We desire

2 **Inst attendants & chainmen**

1 cook	for	Bigelow Marcou	tent
2 servts		Mollhausen	tent
		Garner Parke	tent
1 cook	for	Campbell	
2 servts		White Hutton Sherburne Jones Gaines	2 tents
7 teamsters		Scientific Party	
5 Do		Escort	
2 packers		Escort	
2 packers		Scientific P.	

Tuesday June 28th 1853

Employed for service on U.S.Pacif' Rl. Survey at $25.00 per mo., the following persons.

H Boswell	Teamster
Geo. Sailor	Do
John R. Simpkins	Do
Geo. Minmier	Do
Geo. S. Owen	Do
Pleasant Akin	Do
John Kenton	Do
Archibald Neeland	Do

---

as Auditor from 1835 to 1849. He was the youngest brother of James S. Conway, first Governor of the State in 1836. They were the sons of Thomas Conway, of the distinguished Tennessee family originally from Virginia.

[12] Charles P. Kingsbury, a native of New York, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1849. He was Commander of Little Rock Arsenal at the time of Whipple's visit there.

[13] Alexander B. Dyer, a native of Virginia, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1837. He succeeded Capt. Kingsbury as Commander of Little Rock Arsenal.

Thomas Kay	Cook
John R. Fetter	Cook
William Spaniard	Herder
Thomas Doyle	
" Mathews	
" Hicks	Herder
	Emp' by Capt. M.
one	servt
Cornelius Eagen	Cook
Wm Irvine	Cook

June 29th 1853

Little Rock Ark.

We the subscribers having been employed on the Pacific Rlway Survey at $25.00 per mo. hereby acknowledge to have received in advance $10.00 in part payment for duties which we agree to perform from Fort Smith westward.

June 29th 1853

Visited Col. Beebe Pres. of Fulton & Cairo Rl. Rd. Co. Beautiful place. Saw maps & convinced on Railroad in general. Accepted invitation to take tea with him this evening to meet the Gov. of the State, Col. Johnson M. C. & others. Returning to Hotel learn the Steamer Umpire No. 3 will start for Fort Smith this afternoon. So we returned the calls of Col. Johnson & Gov. Conway and go aboard. Start at about 6. PM.

June 30th Thursday

Proceeded slowly up the river Arkansas—Gov. C. pronounces the word Ar-kan-saw', but other educated gentlemen call it as spelled Ar-kan'sas. Banks still rich fertile & beautifully wooded although slightly cultivated. We pass today a ridge of mountains densely wooded & sloping gently to the rivers bank. Not yet have we observed upon the rivers banks any obstacle to the construction of a Rl. road But as I write at sunset we are turning a spur of the mountains which appears to terminate in a bluff upon the river. Still it is easy to excavate or scarp its side for a railway.

We now leave the mountains and have a long vista of prairie. The mountain range left is the "Petit Jean" and the Petit Jean river unites with the Arkansas from the South by turning the western base of these mountains. This and the previous range called "La Fourche" are said to extend between 20 & 30 miles south where they slope into a plain. Here is supposed the Rl Road from Little Rock to Ft Smith would pass without obstruction in nearly a straight line.

Having journyed about 120 miles from Little Rock we tied up to the bank for the night. I have been quite unwell today. With no

appetite the hot weather takes hold of & weakens me.

July 1st Friday

Started soon after daybreak arrived at 7½ at Dardenelle rock—a fine precipice 150 feet high of sandstone apparently. River bank still luxuriant in forests of cotton wood with pines upon the hill tops as usual.

We pass also the Magazine mountain 1100 ft high and 3 or 4 miles from the river. Petit Jean Mt is said to be 950 ft. high. At 10 AM we pass the mouth of Piney river where pine timber is floated down.

Coal is said to be abundant in this vicinity less hard than the Lehigh & less soft than the bituminous It is said to burn with a clear flame without smoke and with little residium. It crops out & is easily obtained. It is used in blacksmith shops, grates & steamboats.

July 2 1853 Saturday

Loaned Mr. A H Campbell $40. forty dollars—borrowed of him $1.00 leaving due on this acct $39.00

Fertile banks still line the river, with here & there a solitary planation. Some of the land is said to be subject to overflow once in about ten years. But since 1844 no overflow has occurred. The previous overflow was in 1833 and that of 44 was less extensive than that of 33. Perhaps it may not again occur.

July 2 Saturday

Arrived at Van Buren at about noon, visited the town with Mr. Bishop a merchant of this place. Visited at his home and was agreeably entertained by his accomplished wife & daughters. Campbell & Sherburne accompanying.

Near sunset started and soon arrived at Fort Smith. Lt Jones and the gentlemen of my party met us upon the boat. Went to Rogers Hotel.[14]

July 3d Sunday

Went to church and heard a miserable sermon. called on Col Wilson.

---

[14] The "Rogers Hotel," built by Captain John Rogers about 1841 on old Washington Street (later Second Street), was for many years "the largest and best house" in the town of Fort Smith and well known throughout Arkansas. The town's first hotel "near the end of the bridge" had been a two room log house "with a wide hallway in the center and stone chimneys at each end outside." It had been built in early days and kept by Captain Rogers as a needed convenience for "occasional visitors and not for gain by Rogers. His known generosity as a host would bar any views of profit to himself thereby."—W. J. Weaver, "Old Fort Smith," in *Fort Smith Elevator*, in scrapbook of his reminiscent articles (dating from 1896 to 1905), in the Oklahoma Collection of Muriel H. Wright.

July 4th

Called on Capt. & Mrs. Montgomery & others.[15] Wrote letters &c.

July 5th

Arranged vouchers, paid transportation &c. obsd with Gambey sextant.

Fort Smith July 5th 1853

Sex. observations by Lieut Whipple.

[Here follow two pages of meteorological observations.]

Laborers &c employed for PRS—July 6th William Shanks—cook.

July 6th observed at Camp formed by Lt. Stanley.

July 7th Thursday

Dined at Capt. Montgomery, present about a dozen. Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Campbell & Mr. Mollhausen returned from Sugar Loaf Mt. 31 miles S. of this place, the peak being 2000 ft above here and just within the line of the Indian Territory.[16]

July 8th Friday

Sent to Van Buren for sheep.

July 9 Sheep arrived, engaged writing.

July 10th Sunday

July 11th Monday

Recd. letter from Mr White on Bar Ohio River, Louisville.

Made arrangements for starting on Wednesday.

---

[15] Alexander Montgomery, a native of Pennsylvania, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1830. He had been commissioned Captain and was serving as Quartermaster at Fort Smith at the time of Lieut. Whipple's visit. Captain Montgomery was much admired for his "soldierly bearing, courtly manners and social amenity." His first wife was the beautiful daughter, an only child of wealthy parents, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who had married the Captain against their wishes. Her tragic death when shot from ambush in an Indian attack on her military escort during the Florida War, and the time (after the Seminoles were moved to the Indian Territory) when the Captain caused great but suppressed excitement among the citizens of the town as he set forth armed with a knife and pistols, seeking vengeance against the Indian who was reported to have fired the shot that had killed his wife, were a part of one of the romantic stories of old Fort Smith.

[16] Sugar Loaf Mountain, located just west of the Arkansas line, can be seen for a long distance in the region. It was noted by many early day travelers and explorers in their reports. The name was adopted as that of Sugar Loaf County (*Nvnih Chufvk Kaunti*) adjoining Skullyville County (*Iskvlli Kaunti*) on the south, among the first counties organized in the Choctaw Nation in 1850.—Muriel H. Wright, "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September, 1930), pp. 318-19.

(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen, Whipple Collection)

Camp Wilson with glimpse of Fort Smith in background.

July 12 Went into Camp.[17]

July 13th Commenced Survey.

July 14th Bought Carretela.[18]

Astronl Star 8 feet below Barometric Star. continued survey across river Poteau.

July 15th Friday[19] [Camp 1]

Determined to move camp, settled accounts with Capt. Montgomery by paying for mules &c and receipting for other public property, tents wagons &c. Crossing the ferry of the Poteau occupied several hours. Got over at about 12½ midday. Today the spirit lever [*sic*] was replaced by the syphon Barometer. The observations seemed satisfactory. Back and fore sights were taken with Rl. Rd. Transit.

Finding survey tediously slow I sent word to wagon master ahead to stop at the first house. At 4 or 5 P.M. we broke off survey to follow to camp. Having taken two of the surveying party into the already too heavily laden carretela, going up a hill we ran against a stump and broke the cross piece of the tongue. Leaving two men with the carretela we then went on on foot but found no camp at 1st house. Rain commenced, darkness reigned between the flashes of lightning and we waded actually knee deep in pools 2½ miles further. Discharged the wagon master for disobedience to orders.

Saturday July 16th

Mr. Campbell & party went back to bring up the work. to Mr. Hulton loaned mules to go home. Sent Carretela to be repaired. Sent letters to Mr Stanley & Mr. Jones enclosing requisition for small field piece for use. Recd courier with mail for me. Mr. White has reshipped stores on other steamer.

Sunday July 17

Men & animals needing rest survey is not resumed. Mr. Gaines allowed to go to town to see his brother.

---

[17] The Survey started from a temporary bivouac established by the party a few hundred yards south of Fort Smith and was called "Camp Wilson."

[18] A long, low cart, usually two-wheeled.

[19] Camp 1 was at Ring's plantation, east of present Spiro. Henry C. Benson in his *Life Among the Choctaw Indians* (Cincinnati, 1860), p. 99, wrote: "Mr. Ring was a white man, married to a Choctaw wife; they lived about four miles from the mission [Ft. Coffee Academy], on the Fort Smith road. Mr. Ring had an excellent farm, in the edge of an extensive canebrake, well cultivated by negro servants, who were kept under his personal supervision. Mrs. Ring, although an Indian, was sensible, tolerably well educated, energetic in business, and altogether a superior woman."

Employed Robertson chainman to come tomorrow.

Arrived at Camp on visit Lt. Stanley & Messrs Rogers. Mr. R. desiring to accompany us to Pacific.[20]

Monday July 18th

Continued survey from Pt. left on Saturday to Camp No. 1. 15 to 20,000 Choctaws

Tuesday July 19th 1853 [Camp 2]

Moved Camp to Choctaw Agency.[21] Survey proceeded to that Pt. Dined with Agent Cooper,[22] Indian Agent. Saw book of Choctaw laws printed in the Choctaw nation by natives. Also the Cherokee laws by Cherokees, very well done. Also a newspaper printed partly in English & partly in Cherokee language. Genl. Pimo article in it. Dr Bomford arrived in camp messenger arrived from Capt Montgomery informing me of the arrival of Mr. White & the wagons for transportation. Recd note from Mr. Stanley Plotted survey. Compt. time cloudy night but observed for time.

Read viameter No 1—2282
No 2—2018.5

---

[20] This was John Rogers, better known in the history of Fort Smith as "Captain John Rogers," who conducted extensive trapping enterprises in the Far West in early days. He had been a partner of Gen. John Nicks who served as sutler at Fort Smith in 1821 and was noted in the history of that post and of Fort Gibson to the time of his (Nicks) death in 1832. Nicks and Rogers had a large log store well stocked with merchandise and did a good business. Captain Rogers was appointed postmaster at Fort Smith in 1829, and for many years was a noted citizen of the place. A native of Rhode Island, he had enlisted as "Military Store Keeper" in the U. S. Army, March 9, 1819, and was honorably discharged on June 1, 1821, while in service at Fort Smith. Soon afterward, he laid out the town near the military post. When Fort Smith was re-established as a military post, and new stone and brick buildings erected in 1838, the Government bought the new location from Captain Rogers, a tract called the "Reservation" (about 300 acres) lying between the Choctaw line and the town. (The life of General Nicks is given by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General John Nicks and His Wife, Sarah Perkins Nicks," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 [December, 1930], pp. 389-406; see also, Grant Foreman, "Report of Placing a Marker in the National Cemetery at Fort Gibson for Col. John Nicks, Veteran of the War of 1812," *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 4 [December 1932], pp. 553-55.)

[21] Camp 2 was at Skullyville, the present town of Oak Lodge, east of Spiro. The Choctaw Agency was located there, and the town was a thriving one. See Morrison, "The Saga of Skullyville," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June 1938), p. 234.

[22] Douglas H. Cooper was a native of Mississippi who had served in the Mississippi Volunteers commanded by Col. Jefferson Davis, in the Mexican War. He was appointed U. S. Indian Agent to the Choctaws and had just taken over the position at the Choctaw Agency upon the arrival of Col. Whipple. He was serving as Agent to both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws at the beginning of the Civil War. He was commissioned Colonel of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, Confederate States Army, in 1861, and subsequently was promoted to the rank of Brig. General. He was prominent in Choctaw and Chickasaw affairs in their relations with the Government for many years. He died at Ft. Washita on April 30, 1879.

"Mcreans Feary at Bills ford theare will Be no Feary at the Fill place unteel Fall"

The above unsatisfactory sign[23] was placed at the fork of the road, but I took the road to the left due East and in about ½ mile reached the Poteau. Reading of viameter No. 1: 2492 r. Do No. 2: 2127.5 r. Read in the west bank of Poteau—course of river north with turn Easterly 15 ft. wide, banks 20 ft. high each side. Brook emptying from west.

The left hand road from the fork leads 3 miles through bottom bad road to Bellsford ferry.

At ferry called for boat on other side till our throats were sore when a man approached to our side & for a dollar offered to swim for boat.

E bank river V. No. 1—2525 Thence course E.S.E. & E & E N E to prairie 1 mile from river then E N E across prairie, N

At Rogers at Ft Smith viameter No. 1 reads 7480 r

Visited friends. Saw Lt. Williams &c.

July 21st Thursday

Turned over to Lt. Stanley vouchers for transportation of Q. M. stores amounting to $53.90

Amt of vouchers approved by me for Lt Stanley	$885.37
approved vouchers	114.63
amt	$1000.00

Recd from Mr. White by vouchers to the amt of 374.03 for Surv.
and 53.90 for Esct

amt	$427.93
	516 85
	88.92

July 22d
July 23
Camp No. 2 Choctaw Ag.
July 24
July 25th

Loaned Mr. Garner	$3.00
Loaned Newland	$2.00
Loaned Mr. Hutton	$10.00
" Mr. Mollhausen	$10.00

[23] This is the literal copy of a sign Whipple happened to see on July 20th while returning from Skullyville to Ft. Smith to check on certain supplies.

July 26th [Camp 3]

Left Choctaw Agency (Scullyville) with Survey. Travelled ten miles. Purchased a wagon two horses & harness to be paid for as follows: I employ the original owner to drive at $25.00 per mo. If he does his duty & yet I discharge him at New Mexico I pay him $250.00 But if he goes on to New Mexico or is discharged for any fault of his I pay only $215.00

Hired three teams of Mr. Warren at $5.00 per day

July 27th [Camp 4]

Proceeded five miles to Camp No. 4. Mr. Campbell left Survey in woods.

July 28th Went out with Mr. Campbell and brought Survey from hills to big prairie[24] which evidently extends from Choctaw Agency to this point.

July 29. [Camp 5] Mr. Campbell sick I took party and carried survey[25] five miles to Indian Trail Then turned toward road 3 miles & found at Johnsons house Mr. Strickland who consents to become my guide. Mr. Jones sick today. He becomes disheartened by ill health and proposes to return home according to my advice he asks opinion of Dr Bigelow and concludes to go home. Settled with him, allowing him sufficient to take him home.

Did not observe tonight as it was at first cloudy and being encamped at springs in wood trees were too thick.

July 30 Saturday [Camp 6]

Paid off Mr. Jones & Victor both being sick. They stopped with Mr. & Mrs. Strickland at Johnson. Strickland went to Pine hill to show me the country. Could not go with me till Tuesday on account of sickness of child.

---

[24] The survey party was several miles south of the expedition and had through inadvertance run up into some hills rather than stay in the flat extending due east from Bokoshe. This latter route was followed by the Ft. Smith & Western R.R., nearly a half century later.

A few miles west of Camp 4, on the headwaters of Owl Creek (Le Flore County), a species of minnow native to the type locality of this section of Oklahoma was found and the speciman drawn by H. B. Mollhausen. Charles Girard, M.D., in his report on "Fishes" found by the U. S. Pacific R.R. Survey of 1853-54 and published in *Pacific R. R. Survey Report, op. cit.*, Vol. X (Washington, 1859), describes the minnow found by Mollhausen (illustrated by Plate LVIII, No. 1), p. 266. This species of minnow and its native type region in Oklahoma (place where found) was a research subject by special request to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1944, from the Biology Laboratory, Conservation Department of Wisconsin, in its scientific studies of "Fishes of the Southwest" including species found in Oklahoma (where and when discovered).—Letters signed John D. Black, Biologist, Biology Laboratory, Conservation Department, The State of Wisconsin, dated July-August, 1944, with carbon copies of replies to same, in special Historical Research Files, Muriel H. Wright, Editorial and Research, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[25] Camp 5 was in the vicinity of present McCurtain, in Haskell County.

Continued Survey through forest & over prairie to Camp No. 6[26] six miles from No. 5.

Thus far evidently rail road can pass nearly the whole way over prairie from Ft. Smith up Poteau then along south of Scullyville and the road hither.

July 31st [Camp 7]

Continued march & survey along the road to Sans Bois. No obstacle occurs to construction of railroad. We do not follow Marcy's trail but go north of it. His trail is over top of high ridges to our left. At Frazer house found Frazer an intelligent Indian whom I employed to act as guide to Gaines Creek.[27] We then moved on to San Bois. Encamped[28] near the water. Survey brought up to camp.

Observed as usual

Aug 1st [Camp 8] Moved on 8 miles crossing Sans Bois and Coopers Creek. We passed Cooper's House and encamped[29] at Indian rancho one mile beyond. Route for railroad good. Mr. Marcou very ill. Thinks of returning. Issued rifles & pistols today.

Aug 2 Tuesday. [Camp 9] Continued route 8 miles & encamped No. 9 at foot of big hill over which road runs rough & steep.[30] But I rode over the bank of the river & found good route for railroad at Base of hill. Purchased a wagon & six mules of Mr. Warren[31] giving him at the rate of $150 for each mule & $210 for his wagon amounting to $1110.00. But in return I give him 2 horses for $110.00 & one thousand cash. Promised Matthews & Robinson as cooks $30. per mo.

[The following general descriptive notes follow the entry for Aug. 2]

At Napoleon were the first Choctaws seen. They had been to Little Rock as they said to draw their annuities and were returning to their homes in Mississippi. They had money & were nearly all intoxicated but were jovial good humored & happy. Their money was stolen from them but they laughed at it & said Indian a fool to get drunk. It appears that some imposition had been prac-

[26] Camp 6 was in the vicinity of present Lequire.

[27] Gaines Creek is designated "South Fork" or "South Canadian" on earliest maps of the Indian Territory after the settlement of the Five Civilized Tribes in this country.

[28] Camp 7 was a few miles south and east of Kinta.

[29] Camp 8 was in the vicinity west of Kinta. Coopers Creek is present Beaver Creek.

[30] Camp 9 was in the vicinity of Quinton, in Pittsburg County.

[31] This was Abel Warren, living at Skullyville at this time, engaged in the freighting business by contract, to southwestern posts. He had first located at Fort Smith. He established a trading post, called "Warren's" or "Warren's Trading Post," on the east bank and near the mouth of Cache Creek, in about 1842.

ticed on government by them in going to Arkansas or the Choctaw Nation to draw annuities as a reward for emigration from Missi. and then returning to their old homes with their money. One of these fellows was nearly white, one almost a negro. It appears that the mother alone decides the nationality of the individual.

At Fort Smith were many Indians trading for various articles of which whiskey was principal. No spirituous liquors being allowed within the Choctaw nation.—the western boundary of Arkansas is lined with grog shops for the detriment of the poor heedless Indian.

[The notes continue following the entry for August 4th]

At Camp No. 1 near Rings Rancho several Indians passed but little intercourse occurred before reaching Scullyville at Choctaw Agency. Here met my old friend Mr McKinney[32] a fine looking, wealthy well behaved Choctaw gentleman. He was educated at college I think in Kentucky & has been to Washington. His house is carpeted & respectably furnished. His eldest son a lad of 12 yrs is a handsome & gentlemanly little fellow. He attends the Choctaw high school at this place supported by private subscription. His studies were, he said, Algebra, Geography, History &c. The little boys were quite expert in the spelling book.

The present Choctaw Indian Agent Genl Cooper has been here but a few weeks. He seems a high minded & honorable gentleman and bids fair to succeed his lamented predecessor in the deep affection of this people. The former Agent, Mr. Wilson,[33] by devoting all the energy both of his body & mind to improve the condition of Choctaws won their admiration, respect & love. It was with extreme reluctance that they accepted anyone in his place.

---

[32] "Colonel Thomson M'Kenny was a prominent citizen, an intelligent, educated, and shrewd half-breed. He was about thirty years of age [1845], a small, active, and sprightly man . . . . quite a politician . . . . . He served as a trustee for the several academies of the nation, and was well qualified for the duties of the office; he manifested a lively interest in behalf of education, and frequently visited the schools and exerted himself in their behalf; his social and conversational qualifications were of a high order."—*Life Among the Choctaws, op. cit.*, pp. 102-3. His name is found in a number of old records spelled "Thompson McKinney." Upon the authority of his granddaughter, Mary Locke Archer (Mrs. C. E.) of Antlers, he himself spelled his surname "*McKenney*,": he was always referred to as "Mr. McKenney." His name is listed among the Choctaw students in attendance at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, August 1, 1832, as "Thompson McKenny," aged 14 years, having entered the school on April 30, 1832. (See ref., Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4 [December, 1928], p. 476.)

[33] William Wilson, a Presbyterian, was a graduate of Washington College, in Pennsylvania. He was employed as a teacher by the Government, in the first school (day school) opened near the Choctaw Agency in 1837, under provisions of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek that had provided for the removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory, in 1830. He served as principal of Spencer Academy for boys from the opening of that school in January, 1844, until about 1848, and was subsequently appointed U. S. Agent to the Choctaws.

Ring's plantation home east of Skullyville, Choctaw Nation.

The Choctaw Nation is divided into four districts with an independent chief at the head of each. One of these chiefs resides[34] at Scullyville and by invitation we went one evening to hear an address from him to his people. The stoop or porch in front of a trading house was to be his rostrum. The people slowly & quietly collected in front. A spirited conversation took place in Choctaw between Mr. McKinney & the Chief & other Choctaws regarding the road or way necessary for us to take. They all seemed deeply interested in our operations and are eagerly desirious to have a railroad built through their country. At length the chief disappeared and I was informed that like other orators of other lands he required a drink of water to move the spirit of orpheus but unlike their beverage brandy formed no part of the stimulating ingredient. A lantern hung from the shed roof cast a glow upon the red faces as they circled in knot around. At length in a loud harsh tone one of the subchiefs called to audience. The Chief with quiet dignity addressed them. In silvery tones and with well modulated cadence, persuasive in manner and without apparent effort he held the crowd in mute [The notes continue following the entry for Aug. 6th.] and undisturbed attention. Their dress was as various as there are degrees between the civilized & the Barbarian. From the breechcloth the simple shirt the pants, you saw the gay hunting shirt, the calico frock the high crowned hats with silver bands, beaded moccasins, wampum belts. And there too sat a few of the tribe dressed in their daily attire and listening to their Choctaw Chief—men who but for the swarthy complexion of their skin might sit in Broadway unnoticed. With beaver hat vest of satin & coat & pants of black broadcloth they seemed perfectly at their ease.

For the privilege of residing within the nation the Cherokees [error for Chickasaws] have paid a handsome sum invested by the Choctaws in stocks, the interest for which $15,000 per annum is appropriated to the support of free schools & Academies. One of these latter is located at Ft. Coffee[35] formerly a military post near

---

[34] Cornelius McCurtain had recently been elected Chief of Mosholatubbee District, the northeastern part of the Choctaw Nation, in which the Choctaw Agency and the village of Skullyville were located. Chief McCurtain had the distinction of having three sons subsequently elected at different periods as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation: Jackson McCurtain (1880-84); Edmund McCurtain (1884-86); Green McCurtain (1896-1902, and 1902-06) who served as the last elected chief until his death in 1910.—John Bartlett Meserve, "The McCurtains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September, 1935) pp. 296-312.

[35] Fort Coffee was established in 1834, named in honor of Gen. John Coffee, a Tennessean and personal friend of President Andrew Jackson. At this time, Fort Smith was abandoned as a military post. The location of the new post was about 15 miles above Fort Smith, on a high bluff (Swallow Rock) overlooking the Arkansas River, and about 6 miles north of the Choctaw Agency. In 1838, Fort Smith was re-established, at which time the garrison was withdrawn from Fort Coffee and the log buildings dismantled. The property reverted to the Choctaw Nation. In 1842, the Choctaw General Council established Fort Coffee Academy for boys, with

the Agency. This is for lads only and agriculture constitutes one portion of the system of education. Under the direction of Methodists at present it is prosperous & useful. On Sunday I attended divine service at the school house. The old man eloquent was entertaining as well as instructive. He praised the Indian full blood—said they became Christians with their whole soul but that half breeds were wilder & more thoughtless. Throughout the assembly much white blood had evidently been springled. . . . . There sat before me in a snow white sunbonnet and modest white frock a young lady whose neck and arms so plump & fair attracted much attention. Her face when seen was sweet enough to fix the charm and many an envious look followed the favored beau who escorted the Choctaw belle to her home.

When ready to start from Choctaw Agency I was told that an Indian woman claimed my best cow & calf bought of Mr. Ring & stood at the gate, not permitting the herders to drive her out. Mr. Ring I found at the spot. He said the cow was his—now mine—and to take her. The Indians persisted that she was theirs. As I was riding to take leave of the Agent I submitted the affair to him. He decided that the cow should be left, Mr. Ring refunding the money recd from me. It was done to the annoyance of Mr. Ring & to the delight of the Indians, who thus as I believe took away what honestly belonged to the white man.

Genl Cooper showed us a newspaper (weekly) printed by Choctaws—half in English half in Choctaw characters and a similar specimen of Cherokee [*sic*] civilization. Both seemed quite respectable country newspapers. Mr. McKinney gave me the Choctaw Definer containing phrases in Choctaw & English. All that I have seen shows an immense progress made toward civilizing & refining these Indians. The problem is solved that the wild race of America are men susceptible of understanding evil from good. Their extermination from the face of the earth is not a necessity ordained by the Creator but a fatality which our cupidity is not unwilling to sanction. Let us pay the pristine foresters for the land they possess as if they were Englishmen or Americans and expend the price in leading them to the Knowledge of civilization & Christianity, and we may then save the red man from destruction, in truth turning the sword of war into the ploughshare of peace and plenty.

From the Choctaw Agency we passed many comfortable farm houses and saw many of these peaceful quiet Indians. Few could

---

appropriation of funds for the repair of the buildings at the abandoned post, and the erection of a new two-story frame dwelling. The school was placed under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the Reverend William H. Goode as Superintendent, and the Reverend Henry C. Benson as Principal. Benson's *Life Among the Choctaws, op. cit.*, is an authoritative source and rare item in Oklahoma history. Mr. Goode devoted several chapters to his experiences in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, in his book *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863).

(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen, Whipple Collection)

Fort Coffee established 1834. Abandoned as military post and in operation as a Choctaw Academy for boys, 1842-55.

talk· English. Every where in the wildest forest we rode singly & unarmed as *fearless* of violence from natives as we would be in New England. We would ask for milk at the farm houses and give to the unscared child the levy in payment. At Frazers Creek we found an honest looking Choctaw Blacksmith who spoke English fluently & employed him as guide. We found him exceedingly intelligent & useful. He desired to lead us a short road but we had not the men required to cut it out. But evidently from stream conformation of the country he was right & that is the way by which the railroad should pass taking a route south of our road as I have marked it in red upon my map. He is a very good Indian having one eighth white blood. Large & muscular he is a good speciman of Indian.

Upon the west side of Gaines Creek[36] is a Chickasaw settlement. Here lives Stephen Perry[37] who looks the full blooded Indian but claims Chickasaw-Choctaw & white blood. He says one of his brothers has a clear white skin. He has several very fine looking slaves, who seem more at home and more happy than their master. From what I have seen, I infer that the negro has more energy than the Indian and while they accomplish the work the sway is nearly their own. The children appear almost universally more healthy, robust & happy than young Indians. From them no work is required until they arrive at the age of ten or 12 years and then their duties are very light. The buying & selling is generally done by the slaves who seem as close at a bargain as if the profits were their own. Stopping at the home of Tecumseh Jefferson[38] I saw a negro boy of about 6 years & was told that he had just been bought for $200.00. Tecumseh said [he was] educated at an academy in Ky. [The remainder of the descriptive material is at the end of the first notebook.]

Continued

If the railroad proceeds from St Louis passing Springfield, Misso., it may be readily prolonged to and unite with the Canadian at Choteaus trading post or farther west;[39] by this means there would

---

[36] The survey party reached this point August 5th.

[37] Stephen Perry (Choctaw-Chickasaw), born about 1816, was reared in Yalobusha County, Mississippi, and attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. He came west during the removal of the Chickasaws in 1838.

[38] Tecumseh Jefferson, born in Mississippi about 1825, was listed among the Chickasaw boys who attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, in 1839.

[39] In July, 1851, the building of a railroad was commenced from St. Louis to the West. By Act of June 19, 1852 Congress gave aid to the project by grant of lands; and by Act of Dec. 20, 1852 the Missouri Legislature extended a loan and granted lands. It was proposed that the line would be extended to the southwest, passing old Ft. Holmes, at the mouth of Little River, and joining Marcy's route to Albuquerque. It was this line to which Whipple makes reference. "Choteaus trading post" was located near present Lexington, Cleveland County (see fn. 62 below).

be avoided the hills of carboniferous sandstone between Ft Smith & Delaware Mt.[40]

From Springfield 50 miles to the Verdigris the road would follow the coal measures group. Beyond we would meet the Trias formed of red clay & argillaceous sandstone. This route offers no difficulties for the establishment of a railroad and materials for its construction, free stone, lime, &c are found in abundance upon the route. The only difficult points will be the construction of bridges over the Neosho the Arkansas & Canadian rivers

[The following, headed "Marcou," appearing at the conclusion of the descriptive material, seems to have been added later.]

Marcou

Ft Smith is situated on the upper carboniferous or coal measures & several mines of Bituminous Coal begin to be explored in the environs. This carboniferous formation extends to Camp 14 near Shawnee Village over an interval of 100 miles. Coal crops out in several places especially on Sans Bois & Coal creeks. Many ordinary wells in Choctaw territory 40 to 50 feet deep traverse beds of *"Honille grasse"* 2 to 3 ft thick. Besides bituminous coal this formation contains sandstones & limestone excellent for construction of bridges & viaducts.

From Camp 14 to 19 beyond Delaware Mountain the route is constantly in the lower carboniferous composed of sandstone & limestone. From Shawnee Village to Little River is sandstone. Delaware mount is of limestone affording building material & quicklime. Between Camps 19 & 20 we leave the carboniferous group and enter upon the new Red Sandstone or Trias—which leads to Anton Chico & Canon Blanco. The rocks which it forms are red & grey sandstone and in some places white amorphous gypsum with crystaline veins, saliferous clay and dolomite. From Camp 20 to Camp 29 red clay with red argillaceous sandstone predominates and the country is fertile, well watered, with numerous rivulets and having water the whole year. From Camp 29 to Camp 36 it is white gypsum with red clay predominating. The country is equally very well watered by numerous rivulets, only the water is slightly charged with salts of magnesia in dissolution, which gives it sometimes a disagreeable taste. Grey Sandstone sometimes white predominates from Antelope Hills (Camp 36) to the Llano Estacado; the rivulets in this part of the country being often dry especially near their confluence with the river Canadian; the water disappearing in the sand at short distances from the sources of the streams. Nevertheless as the grey sandstone is often replaced by dolomite or sandy clay there

[40] Delaware Mountain lies immediately east of the City of Ada, extending as a range of hills from northeast to southwest in Pontotoc County.

are always springs & streams with water all the year. Besides water upon our route can be obtained by springs or by common wells 40 to 60 feet deep or by artesian wells 2 to 500 feet deep or by establishing reservoirs to preserve water during the dry season.

[Here follow three pages of geological observations of the region west of Oklahoma.]

August 3d Wednesday [Camp 9]

Our camp ground being very fine, on the water pools of a little creek called "Santa Rita" or Mule Creek, which in a few hundred yards empties into Rio "Sans Bois" and as we had many things to do, we determined to remain for the day.

Mr. Hutton took up the plotting of the survey line; Mr. Campbell still sick assisting. Mr. Garner & Mr. Parke brought up the compilations of Astl Obs. to last nights work. Mr. White plotted his reconnaissance & Mr. Sherburne computed Barometric heights. Dr. Bigelow & Mr. Mollhausen went with guide to Rio Canadian. They had a very interesting trip. Found the Canadian 12 miles N. from camp following "Long town Creek" to its junction with Canadian which occurs 25 miles from the junction of Canadian with Arkansas. They found the Canadian about 60 ft wide; & less than knee deep water, a sluggish stream of whitish color nearly clear. After crossing the mts near camp another high range was crossed before reaching the valley of the Canadian which appears several miles wide. On the Canadian were found great quantities of very large & fine cedar trees, oaks, hickory & c. They found new specimens of plants shells, fishes & turtles.

Wednesday

Paid Mr. Warren $1000 & two horses for wagon harness & six magnificent mules. Settled accounts with Lt. Stanley, taking his vouchers and his receipt for balance of money advanced for purposes of survey. Settled also with Mr. White taking his rect for balance.

Observed at night as usual. Mr. Garner sick.

Thursday

August 4th [Camp 10][41] Took a pretty early start. Road exceedingly rough with short pitches to pass ravines putting in to Sans Bois from mountains. One wagon broke yoke, another broke coupling pole. A long delay ensued. Passed on with main train & survey to La Honda, a branch of Gains Creek, Camp No. 10 17½ miles from

[41] Camp 10 was on the east side of Gaines Creek, in Pittsburg County, a few miles east of Reams. Until this point the survey had been generally that of the future route of the Ft. Smith and Western. They now started south and west, along the route of the future M. K. & T. Railway.

Camp No. 9. In the bottoms belonging to Gaines Creek road very bad, full of miry mud holes, & steep ravines. Wild mules lost & found. Broken wagon not yet up. Trees to thick to get good observations.

Friday

August 5th [Camp 11]

Crossed La Honda & beyond 1000 yds Gaines creek, through forest, part rancho to walled spring & Terrapin creek. 3 miles encampment No. 11. Heavy shower 2.5 in.

Terrapin Creek	3 mi
San Saba Creek	5 mi
Capt. Colberts	4 mi
Creek Coal	5 mi
Creek	12 mi
Shawnee Vill.	12 mi
Good water west	
to Ft Arbuckle new	60 & more
to old Ft Arbuckle from	
Shawnee Vill lower	25
Up Shawnee Vill to lower	25

Ft Arbuckle is about 3 miles from Up Shawnee Vill & here lives Black Beaver.

Frazer, Guide, having heard that his child was sick received his pay & returned. We are now guideless.

August 6th Saturday [Camp 12][42]

Stephen Perry, part Cherokee [error for Chickasaw] part Choctaw part white, but complete Indian in feature & color, returned from the Perryville races last night.[43] He knows so little of the country west that he is unwilling to undertake to guide us. In fact I think his services would be valueless. The horse races must have been interesting. There was also a council on strayed & stolen property. My Shawnee guide employed, lagged behind. Coming to a high ridge which the road ascended I took a turn to the left around its base & found a railroad way nearly level.

---

[42] Camp 12 was in the vicinity of present McAlester. They now start west along the present route of the Rock Island Railway.

[43] The site of Perryville is about three miles south of the City of McAlester. Perryville was a well known village on the Texas Road, named for James Perry who had a farm and trading establishment there. He was an elder brother of Stephen Perry.—Muriel H. Wright, "Additional Notes on Perryville, Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930), pp. 146-7.

Sunday August 7th

Moved six miles to Long Pond Creek[44] where made camp No. 13.[45] Survey brought up. Country passable for Railway, but very rolling like Worcester Co Mass. The wood lands are both upon heights & in ravines. Prairies also are rolling more so than east of the San Bois. Singular the cause which produces extensive patches of woodland and prairies.

[End of First Note Book]

[Inside cover—Second Note Book]

A W Whipple [signature]
Aug 20

Pd. one Indian to hunt mules	0.50
Pd. one Indian to hunt cattle	2.00
Loaned to Kenton	5.00
Do Jas F. Short	5.00

Monday

August 8th 1853 [Camp 14][46]

Left Camp 13 & soon came upon bad hills. Got upon my mule & rode mile south near branch Coal Creek then turned summit & got over pretty well. Guide—

Es-Man'-en-eh' Chickasaw lives on hdwaters Coal Creek. 41 yrs old, his son 17 yrs. Came from Miss 16 yrs ago.

Shawnee Guides name Wen-the-eh-beh'. His son name Jim. Keenoan Kumseh. Traveled about 10 miles to middle branch of Coal Creek where formed Camp No. 14. Here found Shawnee Guide. Went on to examine [extra note at bottom of page here on course of creek, plat and date Monday 8th 1853] bad hill ahead. Rises, the road, high ridge, steep & rocky. Wagons & survey.

Tuesday August 9th [Camp 15]

Wagons & survey passed on road—much worse even than was anticipated. One wagon upset. At another place all let down hill with ropes. Aneroid Barometer broken.

Mr Campbell & I went up the western branch Coal Creek to its head in mts then crossed summit not very high 50 ft perhaps to another creek called from the Shawnee Guide "Wen-the-eh-beh." One deep cut of 50 ft 1500 feet long would unite the two valleys and then the road could probably be carried to the valley of the

[44] Probably present Deer Creek.
[45] Camp 13 was in the vicinity of Haywood, in Pittsburg County.
[46] Camp 14 was in the vicinity of Stuart.

Canadian.[47] But this would be the dernier resort. A far better route would undoubtedly be obtained by keeping the course of Coal Creek to point south of last nights camp and then running S 50 or 60 W. to head of the range of hills we have today passed and cross a prairie country according to information of Shawnees to the waters of River Boggy. Then we could continue to point south of Delaware Mt. Thus saving not only all the terrible hills on this route but much of the distance. The lower Shawnee village is small containing but eight houses. We visited several & found the finest looking set of women ever seen among Indians. Men too are intelligent. They are generally dressed like & nearly as well as very poor white people & their household arrangements to a certain extent conform thereto.

But an indication of the savage appears in the fact that women do all the work both field & household. They break the soil, they plant they gather in the corn & grind it into flour. They then bake the bread cook the meat & do whatever is to be done unless supplied with slaves—either negro or mexican. Men hunt deer, shoot turkies & loaf. He is both too lazy & proud to work.

Wednesday Aug 10th [Camp 16]

Started & crossing creek wagon upset & broke tongue. Alexander takes rifle No 21. Travelled on with "Jim" as guide. He took me new road 2 miles well made & staked out by Shawnees. He says that Black Beaver[48] told him that to the S.W is a burning mountain whence have issued smoke & flame for the last 3 years. That the earth falls in at the top. A Delaware saw it. He says there is no chief to the Shawnees, that should one man kill another a third, any one, might kill the murderer. That when a man wishes to marry a squaw he gives her a horse & saddle & some goods, then without further ceremony takes her to his cabin. If however he becomes tired of her he may put her off & take another. Women do all the work. They cultivate the fields & attend to household duties besides. The men merely hunt & bring deer & turkies home.

Jim in explanation of my volcanic theory seems to take away the foundation of my hypothesis. He says the Delaware told that when hunting a bear was pursued into a cave. Taking a torch he followed & shot the bear. But leaving his torch the ground took fire and has

---

[47] Whipple followed the route of present U. S. Highway 270, in Hughes County, from Stuart to Calvin. Camp 15 was on the south side of the Canadian a few miles east of Calvin.

[48] Black Beaver, famous chief of the Delawares, was living at "Beaversville", the Delaware village at the site of old Camp Arbuckle, near present Byars in McClain County. For extended treatment of Black Beaver, see Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma*, (Oklahoma City, 1936) p. 95 et seq. and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946) pp. 269-92.

been burning ever since. It may be that subteranean gasses took fire but more probably a bituminous coal mine. He says also that Delawares make balls of hair & shoot them by hand so as to kill a man at 20 paces. Said he knew not how it was done but some Shawnees did. This is probably a wizzard story.

Arrived at Camp No 15, [Camp 16?][49] on small creek. Messrs Rogers arrived with letters & papers from Ft Smith. I had a letter from Capt Montgomery &c but not from home. Mr Rogers wish so desirous to join the party. It could not be. Wrote letters, one to Capt. Montgomery & one to Dear Nell. Made Astl Obv.

Thursday August 11th

Pablo son of Manuel Melendez of City of Durango, bought of Comanches by Mr. Warren & sold to Mr Stevens, is a boy of from 10 to 12 yrs old, has been a slave of Shawnees for 3½ years. He looks as much like an Indian as any boy seen but speaks Spanish very well. He was stolen from his friends by Comanches & sold to Shawnees. His mothers name Guadalupe Gonsales. He says he prefers going back to his friends. But he seems very happy here. Indians speak of him & to him kindly. Another "Spanish boy" as they are called lives with Johnson a Shawnee. Jesse Chisholm[50] the man I hope to make guide has 3 of them. I suppose that from two to three hundred dollars each is the value set upon these boys. Almost all these Indians—Shawnees Creeks Chickasaws Choctaws Cherokees and Delawares, posses either African or Mexican slaves. It is a singular state of things where almost universally the master appears to be in mental capacity inferior to his slave. This Pablo I saw at the house of his master & conversed with him. His tale corroborated by others was doubtless true. Passed through Shawnee Village to Camp No 16 [Camp 17][51] on branch of Rio Boggy, head waters of red river. The road today also has been hilly & rocky, so that we could make but 10 miles The Survey has progressed far beyond. One broken wagon left this morning in camp to be repaired. Yesterday I obtained a very good vocabulary of Shawnee language. It has been tested and I believe it correct.

Observed as usual. Camp ground good. Thus far we have been favored with plenty of grass water & wood. The whole country

---

[49] Camp 16 was in the vicinity of Allen. At this point his camp numbers vary one from that given in his formal report contained in *Pacific R. R. Survey Report.*

[50] Jesse Chisholm, of Cherokee descent, was a noted trader among the western Indians in the history of Oklahoma, and owner of several trading posts. His name was commemorated in that of the "Chisholm Trail," the famous cattle trail over which great herds were driven north from Texas through Oklahoma to the shipping points in Kansas.—H. S. Tennant, "The Texas Cattle Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1936), pp. 86-122; T. U. Taylor, *The Chisholm Trail* (San Antonio, 1936), and ....., *Jesse Chisholm* (Bandera, Texas, 1939); Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail* (Guthrie, 1936).

[51] Camp 17 was east of present Oakman, in Pontotoc County.

is densely wooded & well watered. Today those who went to Canadian & crossed to Little River found fossil shells in rocks indicating strata beneath the coal formation. From Ft Smith we have been upon the Coal measures but now we are stepping to the strata below. Gypsum now begins to appear.

"Quapois,"[52] according to Shawnee authority are the remnant of a tribe from Miss. lately from the west & now live at or near Little River. Their language differs from the tribes surrounding. Took a sketch this morning of a Creek—a good looking boy with Grecian face & features.

Friday August 12th

Waited today to get king bolts made at Little River.[53] Also desire to hear from Jesse Chisholm—the guide I have long sought to get. He has gone to hunt horses expected back tomorrow. Having set the whole party at work computing plotting &c I rode to Indian Village hoping to get guide to go back down Boggy & over to Coal Creek on level ground. But the Indians were all too sick or indolent to be willing to go with me, so determine to await Chisholm or Beaver or some other guide to show me south from Boggy to Coal Creek.

Observed for time & magnetic declination. Latter found to be E. of N.

Saturday Aug 13th 1853

The Major Domo, Hicks not having yet returned from Little River with king bolts we remain encamped [Camp 17] today. Continued plotting notes of survey and computing Astl & Barometric observations. After noon arrived Shawnee Indian William ———— who claims to be half Delaware nephew to Black Beaver. He says he knows well this country & can show me the way from Boggy to Coal Creek where are no hills & where a smooth road may be made. He says also that from here he can go to Black Beavers north of Delaware Mt and near the Canadian. I have employed him to guide me and tomorrow with Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Campbell, Jose & Indian I propose to make explorations back to Coal Creek.

---

[52] The reference is to the Quapaw ("Downstream People"), of the Siouan linguistic family, that had migrated south in prehistoric times to what is now Arkansas, near the mouth of the Arkansas River, where they were living at the time of the De Soto Expedition in 1541. They ceded their vast land claims that extended over into what is now Eastern Oklahoma to the United States by treaty in 1818. In 1833, the tribe was assigned lands by the Government in what is now Ottawa County though all the members of the tribe did not settle there until many years later. A band of Quapaw lived in the Creek Nation, near the mouth of Little River, to the time of the Civil War.

[53] Edwards Trading Post. On the west bank of Little River near its mouth, James Edwards, the father-in-law of Chisholm, operated an important trading post.

Sunday Aug. 14th 1853

Prepared to move camp. Indian guide went to village & not yet returned. Determined to make the exploration, the train started ahead while Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Campbell, myself & Jose returned. Having gone back 7 miles to Shawnee Town after much questioning I learned that one Indian, named Johnson knew something of the country in question. When found he said he knew part but for 3 dolls. per day he was willing to guide us across and he did so. We passed down the waters of Boggy & crossed over the divide between the affluents of Red River of the Canadian & Coal creek without ascending a hill apparently of more than 20 or 30 ft high, and those with exceedingly gentle slopes. When we arrived[54] beyond the divide & within sight of Coal Creek where we encamped, with a prairie intervening we took a sketch and then returned by a different route to Johnsons home where we remained all night. Our exploration was perfectly satisfactory. A wagon road could be easily cut out and a railroad with curvatures of 5000 ft. radius could probably cross from Coal Creek to Boggy with less than 50 ft. ascent to the mile. Had we known the ease with which the road could have been opened, saving at least 5 miles distance in 20; we could I think have saved one day in time. We could have saved the upsetting of nearly every wagon in the train, the breaking of half a dozen king bolts and other difficulties too numerous to mention. I presume that this cut off would shorten the road to Fort Arbuckle at least six miles and furnish instead of break neck hills a good road. If I were tomorrow going back with a train, with Johnson for guide I would strike out a new path instead of following the old road. Johnson also says that the country is open & level from Boggy where we strike it directly west of Beaver Town passing north of Delaware Mount over which the road now runs. I think to employ him to go on with us to determine the route as far as Beaver's.

Johnson appears to be a fair speciman of these Shawnee Indians. He possesses a little shop in which he sells coffee sugar, saddles &c. He has several fields of good corn, squashes &c. He has a magnificent peach orchard, trees breaking under the burden of fruit. He has 20 horses 50 cattle and an abundance of hogs, turkeys, chickens & dogs. His household furniture is quite respectable for an Indian, chairs tables china ware spoons knives & c. Their corn bread is quite palatable. It is prepared by first soaking in ley [lye] to free from the hull—then soaked then pounded in the hollowed trunk of a tree with tools until free from lumps when it is ready to be made into bread. Their hominy is not bad.

---

54 Whipple has returned to a point east of Guertie and within sight of the area of his old Camp 14.

Monday Aug 15th 1853 [Camp 19]

Employed Johnson to go with us. Here is the other Mexican boy bought five years ago from Comanches. This boy is from 10 to 12 yrs old; thin melancholy looking dark complexion has forgotten his Mexican name says he came from San Juan, is unhappy here & wishes to go back. Says he works very hard & that he is treated harshly. But when Johnson was asked what he would take for him he said he "No want sell. Him most same as son." Appearances however indicate that the boy is right. And while we saw him evening & morning he was busily employed in waiting upon everybody; while the true son was called upon for nothing.

With & conducted by Johnson we kept the dividing ridge between the Canadian & the headwaters of Boggy to avoid as Guide said the bad canons of that stream and the steep hills of Delaware Mt. From one spur to another of this ridge we passed by winding from NW to SW without deviating greatly from the horizontal. Mr. Campbell & myself were convinced that no difficulty would be experienced in locating a railroad with light grade & gentle curvature. Having passed the ridge and arrived upon the Rolling Prairie which guide said extended to Blk Beavers near old camp Arbuckle[55]—and far as the eye could reach so it seemed—we determined to put toward the place where camp was supposed to be. We found them at dark encamped.[56] They had passed the beautiful Valley watered by the branching waters of Boggy for 20 miles, then ascended the ridge about 40 feet and were upon the Prairie referred to. They did not follow Marcy's road and the Survey was satisfactory.

Tuesday Aug 16

Johnson continues as guide at $3.00 per day. On the morning of 15th I paid him for previous services 5.50. We proceeded this day about 15 miles, crossing several branches and the Topofki itself.[57] We passed the latter—a very small stream now but with a gravel bed about 30 ft wide—and encamped about 3 miles beyond, upon a stream flowing toward Topofki. The country passed today has been rolling, passing hills of 50 to 75 ft high above the base.
Camp 20[58]

Wednesday August 17th

One wagon axle broken yesterday to be repaired this morning. Started with train & struck a beautifully level prairie extending

[55] Camp Arbuckle was established in 1850 by Marcy a mile Northwest of present Byars in McClain County. The garrison was removed in early summer 1851 and the establishment was occupied by the Delawares of Black Beaver. See George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), p. 313.

[56] Near Ada, Pontotoc County.

[57] Present Sandy Creek, west of Ada. —*A Pathfinder in the Southwest, op. cit.* note on p. 54.

[58] Camp 20 was in the area east of Stratford, Garvin County.

(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen, Whipple Collection)

Old Camp Arbuckle, home of Capt. Black Beaver's Delaware band, 1853.

many miles. Country beautiful for Railroad. We now have left the coal & struck the gypsum formation. All nature, animate & inanimate seems to partake of the change.

Travelled a very gently rolling prairie with wooded ravines 14 miles to Beaver Town the residence of Capt. Black Beaver the Delaware Indian where formerly was Camp Arbucle. Fort Arbuckle is now on R. Washita about 30 miles S.W. by S.[59] Found quite a settlement of Delawares. But Capt Blk Beaver say he is yet sick and refuses to go with us as guide. This is a great annoyance. Obs at night as usual. This far Railway finds no obstacle by the way surveyed or reconnoitered.

Thursday August 18th

Awaited today at Beaver Town to shoe mules, put axle tree in wagon, & secure guides. Jesse Chisholm & John Bushman[60] arrived at Beavers. Chisholm is the great Comanche interpreter and famed guide. He seems unwilling to go with us for fear of Indians. Will let me know tomorrow.

Bushman I have employed at $2.50 per day. Johnson I pay off & he returned He is a good guide but fears the wild Indians & will go no further.

The next Indians upon our route are Keechies[61] at Choteaus[62] and they are said to be quiet

Plotting computing and office work generally carried on today. Sent to Dr Shermond [?] for Prof. Baird one box of botanical collections. By Mr Warrens wagon.

Friday August 19, 1853

Another day we are compelled to lie by for corn & to secure guides. Chisholm did not come to see me till late in the day. In the meantime others in camp informed me that he did not intend to go and that Jno. Bushman said *he* himself would not go.

When I saw Chisholm I asked him if had made up his mind to go with us? He replied that he had made up his mind not to go with

---

59 Fort Arbuckle, located some 7 miles west of present Davis. For extended treatment see Morrison, "Fort Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VI, No. 1 (March 1928), p. 26.

60 John Bushman was a Delaware, a neighbor of Black Beaver at old Camp Arbuckle.

61 Lieut. Whipple subsequently changed from use of the phonetic form (Keechi) of the name of this tribe to its proper form "Kichai." The Kichai are af the Caddoan linguistic family, and as part of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes were allotted lands in severalty on the Wichita-Caddo Reservation in 1901.

62 Established near present Lexington in 1835 by Col. A. P. Chouteau. See Howard Van Zant, "The History of Camp Holmes and Chouteau's Trading Post," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September 1935), p. 316.

us. I was provoked. We had tried flattery & kind treatment we had invited him to our table and treated him like a gentleman. We had offered money & provisions more wages than any of these guides had ever before received and they all—every one—decline going with us. Their excuse was fear of Indians on their return. I told Chisholm that it was nonsence. That there was no excuse for refusing to go. That if it were dangerous to return by this route they could easily go with the mail carriers to San Antonio & thence safely home. I told him that I was annoyed & offended that men as intelligent as I had supposed him should show so much apathy in the operations we are engaged upon. That they should refuse—even when offered high wages—to aid in explorations for a railroad which would be vastly more beneficial to their country than a mine of gold—the largest the world ever saw,—placed in their midst. I was surprised at their stupidity & offended at their indiference.

Chisholm had the good sense to see that there was truth in my remarks and he at once offered to send with me a Mexican lad—who lived a long time with Comanches after having been stolen by them from Durango, and now speaks their language—and promised to endeavor to persuade John Bushman to fulfil his contract. I thanked him and he departed to fulfill his promise.

This morning I conversed with Black Beaver. He is the only Indian who has travelled the route of the upper Canadian; but he is truly sick and says that money could not tempt him to go with us. He says there are about 500 Delawares upon the Canadian. They are less advanced in civilization & the arts than those of the tribe who live in Missouri. But that country although fruitful he says is too cold to suit him.

I wrote a vocabulary of the Delaware language which Black Beaver showed much interest in giving me. He said he knew but little of the superstitions of the Delawares as he did not much believe in them—in fact said he [“] sometimes I believe and sometimes I dont. [”] The Delawares like the “Creeks” have priests or medicine men who having been warned by a dream put on the sacerdotal robe and minister at the holy fires. Once a year with great ceremonies this fire is renewed. It is then kept up continually by these Priests who are paid by a tax like a tythe—each man giving according to his means a mule, a horse, a cow or of the produce of his fields. The Medicine men pretend to cure diseases and foretell events. Jesse Chisholm is a Cherokee a man of excellent sense and has travelled far among Mexicans, Americans and various tribes of Indians. He speaks—beside his native tongue—English, Spanish, Comanche, Creek, Kioway Keechi and I believe Delaware, Shawnee, Chickasaw & Choctaw.

He has traded with and been much among Comanches. He tells me that all these tribes have the same firm conviction of the

existence of an omnipotent & omniscient overuling Spirit—punishing in this world and rewarding in the next the actions of men. And the wilder the Indian the less he has seen of the white men, the more unshaken his belief in the Deity in whom they implicitly

{ Vincente son Demencio of Parras has lived six years with Mr. Chisholm }

trust.

He says that the people are beginning to put less faith in the Creek fire, although it is still kept burning. The Cherokees also are less strict in the performance of their ancestral rites. But still their ceremonies are interesting. They maintain their ancient custom of having one family of the tribe set apart for the priesthood. A son of this family having been born, for seven days he is not allowed to nurse his mothers milk. On the 3d day he is baptized ["consecrated," written above] On the 9th some other ceremony is performed in the nature of which my informant knew not. The boy is then trained to his profession and becomes a priest—or "medicine man" to win celebrity & power in proportion to his talents & ambition. When any undertaking of magnitude is contemplated the priest is consulted for an augury. Not long since Chisholm attended one of these ceremonies. They enquired of the Priest whether any of their enemies were lurking near. He arose with dignity and addressed the assembly. He told them that God equally loved all people. But those that prayed to him & believed most implicitly in his power he condescended to favor with knowledge denied to others. The priest then addressed to the Deity a prayer, such as Chisholm said he had never heard, replete with eloquence and power. Having concluded he brought forth a small black affair like metal or stone and said that "in very ancient times God had been pleased to give us his people this substance to indicate his will." Then taking a curiously wrought bowl of the same antiquity, it was filled with water and the black substance placed within. He then caused it to move about in the bowl from one side to the other, from bottom to top by a word. Then speaking of danger, & hostile foes, the enchanted metal fled from the point of his knife. But as he began to speak of peace & security it turned toward the knife embraced and clung to it until lifted entirely from the water. The Priest interpreted the omen by informing the people that peace was in the ascendant, no enemy was near.

With Cherokees the custom from time immemorial has been to baptize with water all children when three days old. They believe that with out baptism they cannot live. Their custom of sacrifice and burnt offering is most singular. The offering is generally of Deer. Sometimes whole animals—at others—the heart and select portions of the entrails, are burned.

They believe in future rewards but not in future punishment. They believe in God and heaven but know nothing, except that learned from the white man, of the Devil and his kingdom. All men they think are punished in this world for their misdeeds; hence sickness, poverty, woe & even death.

All Indians of North America Chisholm believes to be of the same race & origin. His sojourn with Comanches has impressed him with a high opinion of their naturally good sense & mental qualifications. Their language is copious but difficult to learn. Words are numerous and there are often many words to express the same idea. Comanches have the same unwavering confidence in the Great Spirit, and believe that,—however great may be the disproportion of numbers or strength,—if God be on their side they will win the battle. If beaten in fight they say He was angry with us and this is the punishment of our sin. The Comanches have also yearly gatherings to light their sacred fires. For this they build a large collection of huts and in crowded numbers seat themselves. Here they take medicine to purify themselves and fast for seven days. Those that may be enabled to endure the fast unbroken are sanctified in the eyes of the rest. While the ceremony lasts a perfect silence reigns. No one speaks, no prayers are audibly uttered. But occasionally one will rise and dance in his place till exhausted and sit again in quiet.

The custom of fasting is universal with the tribes of this region. With Cherokees it is the prevailing mode of purification and fast seven days, renders the devotee famous. Seven is a magic number with them. The tribe was divided into seven distinct clans. The seventh son is a prodogy, [*sic*] and the seventh anything is the acme of excellence.

One is struck with this resemblance of many of these ceremonies & customs to the ancient Jewish rites. How unfortunate that there is no hand able to lift the dark veil and penetrate the cloud which envelopes the origin of this race in unfathonable obscurity.

The usual office work has been in progress today. Observations have been computed and more made at night. The weather warm & dry. Today the herders probably slept—for the mules strayed and fifty

August 20th Saturday

were reported lost. We were awaiting another day in order to secure some guide, to mend or rather renew a broken axletree and to allow Mr. Gaines & Mr. Hicks—both quite sick—to recover. The report of the loss of so many mules was like throwing a thunderbolt in camp. Lt. Jones, Lt. Stanley & others at once started in search. I sent Jose & Vincente better than 40 Americans & hired some Indians. Before night all but three were recovered. The

The Guides have all refused to go with us, and this morning I got Black Beaver to point out

our route and show where he thought there was & where was not be found water. He says we can go safely without a guide. This I propose to attempt and make an early start on the morrow.

This evening soon as the stars appeared there was discovered for Camp a Comet about 15° above the horizon and 12° North of West. its train was vertical directed from the Zenith. When the extents

Whipple's *Journal*, entry for August 21st, 1853. The sketch shown is that of the Creek boy mentioned in the entry for August 11th.

cattle bought of Chisholm by night broke from corral and broke for home 8 miles. These also were returned. Plotted, Computed & observed as usual. Made splendid offers to all the guides—they refuse.

Sunday Aug 21st '53

Mr Gaines too sick to move today. Mules not yet found. Two cattle broke from corral & herding last night and are gone.

Work was suspended for the day. Mr Gaines feeling worse determined to resign his position and to Ft. Arbuckle for medical attendance. He is paid off and Black Beaver will attend to him furnishing guide &c Mr. Gain[e]s is an excellent young man, and I regret to part with him. Wrote a letter of introduction to Capt S. G. Simmons[63] and a note to Mr Gaines of Roseville, Ark.

The guides have all refused to go with us, and this morning I got Black Beaver to point out

[pen sketch of "Creek Boy Aug 10th 1853"]

our route and show where he thought there may & where may not be found water. He now says we can go safely without a guide. This I propose to attempt, and make an early start on the morrow.

This evening soon as the stars appeared there was discovered from Camp a *Comet* about 15° above the horizon and 12° North of West, its train was vertical directed toward the zenith. When the sextant was prepared it was too low to be observed in altitude. But is [its] distances from Jupiter, Arcturus & Polaris were observed. Its nucleus appeared as large as Jupiter but faint as a star of the 3d magnitude; its train was bright extending about 1½ degrees.

Our mules are not yet found—three are yet missing but even without them we must proceed tomorrow.

Many bright meteors seen tonight. Every night they are seen, but they appear to be increasing in number.

Obsd for Time &c. With Jesse Chisholm are the following named Mexicans:

Mazimo
Guadalupe
Cedro Canales
Marian Fransito
other women—
Vincente—son of Demensio of Parras

---

63 Captain Seneca Galusha Simmons was stationed at Fort Arbuckle at this time. He was a native of Vermont, and graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1829. He was commissioned Bvt. 2nd. Lieut. 7th Inf., July 1, 1837; and rose to the rank of Colonel, 5th Pennslyvania Reserves, June 21, 1861, in the Civil War. He was killed in action June 30, 1862, in the Battle of Glendale, Virginia.

[Third Notebook—Outside Cover]

1853

Aug 22 to Sept 2nd

[Inside front cover]

Shawnee & Delaware Indians universally wear a moustache.

Aug 22 to Sept 2nd

Monday August 22nd, 1853 [Camp 22]

Leaving word with Black Beaver to send our mules to us & that we would pay the finders, camp was struck & we prepared to start. Mr Gaines being ready I took him & his baggage in carretela to carry him to the home of Blk. Beaver who agreed to furnish him transportation & guide to Ft Arbuckle. Upon arriving at the village Beaver was absent and the people all, both women & men were carrousing over a cask of whiskey brought here last night by a party of Creeks. At one house we were attracted by sounds with cadence and found a room full of men singing in their usual hī hō-hí-è-ò—accompanied by a fellow with a sort of flute—each a bottle of whiskey being brandished in one hand & beating time with the other. The old women were dancing and with bunches of little bells on their feet kept excellent time to the music. After watching their orgies for a while some condescended to notice us and offered a bottle for a drink. We then went to another house & found gambling & drinking. The men here were if possible more decidedly drunk than the others. One turned to us with a wild look and with a curse upon us bade us begone. I pretended not to understand him and after a few questions to another Mr Gaines returned with me to camp. Indians drunk seem scarcely human, they are worse than brutes—I feared to leave Mr Gaines in their hands and sold him my six shooter for $20.50 when under other circumstances I would not have taken $50. Seeing Beaver I told him that I could not permit Mr Gaines to go with a drunken Indian & he promised to send a sober man & a horse. We waited Dr. B. & myself until we saw Mr Gaines safely and satisfactorily on his way. Overtaking then the train we travelled over beautifully rolling prairies for about 21 miles, and encamped on a branch of Walnut Creek as I suppose Simpsons Camp 28.[64] Jose being ahead today looking for water saw two Indians before him setting fire to the Prairie. He went to them—one crouched in the grass, the other rested his chin on his hand and to Jose's question

[64] Lieut. J. H. Simpson was the topographical engineer accompanying Capt. R. B. Marcy in 1849 on his escort of an emigrant party from Ft. Smith to California. Simpson did the actual surveying of the Marcy route; and his report is in Senate Ex. Documents 12 and 64, 31st Congress, 1st session. See Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers,* (Norman 1939). All of the way across present Oklahoma Whipple followed generally the Marcy-Simpson route.

for the locality of water replied there was none beyond. He enquired if they were Comanches & they replied that they were Kio-ways.[65] But we are inclined to think them Keechies—who live on the opposite side of the Canadian at Choteaus. The Kioways are very bad Indians wandering thieving murdering like Comanches. The fire they kindled was in the way of Camp & we were obliged to build another fire & fight it. We think thus a[ft]er infinite labor we are comparatively safe for the night. Water has been found today in four different pools. Here there is plenty at the head of the creek probably near a spring. At some few hundred yards below water disappears. We are encamped on a little prairie ridge which divides two littl[e] creeks one flowing to the Canadian the other to Washita. Camp[66] No. 22.

The comet seen & observed last night soon after the disappearance of daylight 15° Alt in the west with train 1½° in length directed toward the zenith, its nucleus being of the size of Jupiter & of the brightness of a star of the 4th mag., its train very distinct to the naked eye, was again observed tonight. Its motion has been toward the East. It appears much less distinct tonight but possibly due to the atmosphere thick with smoke from burning prairies. Its distance has been observed from Jupiter, Arcturus & Polaris or rather & Cassiopiae. Obsd. also for time & latitude.

Tuesday August 23d 1853

Water in the creek abundant apparently more than last night. Mules grazed from 3 o'clock till 6½ started at 7½ and soon made bend north toward Choteau's. Here live Ki-chais, supposed to be in civilization intermediate between Delawares & Comanches. They cultivate some maize but do not object to predatory habits.

Over the same gently rolling prairies we passed about ten miles to Camp 23.[67] Water has been found upon the right & left at various places today. Springs are frequent. But their vicinity is too boggy for mules to go to it. They are watered with buckets. As yet the[re] seems no difficulty in constructing a railroad. The curves would be of large radius, the grades gentle, the former a mile the latter 1/200 perhaps.

The burning of prairies all around us has created an atmosphere of smoke which envelopes us so that we have barely seen the sun today.

---

[65] The Kiowa ranged south from the Arkansas River through what is now Western Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle at this period. Their claims or right of occupancy to this region were tacitly recognized by the U. S. in a treaty signed at Fort Atkinson, in 1853.

[66] Camp 22 was in the vicinity west of Wayne, in McClain County.

[67] Camp 23 was at Dibble, in present McClain County.

This evening after dinner two Ki-chais came into this camp. One was tall fine looking. They were naked with the exception of moccasins & a blue cotton blanket about the loins. They wore eagle feathers in their hair, brass wire bracelets about their arms and were painted with vermillion. Their bows of bois d'arc and their quivers of cowskins filled with arrows were very nice. The bow was about 3 ft long, arrows about 26 inches with steel heads very sharp. They were made very skillfully & tastefully. The Dog-wood arrow very straight & symetrical, the feathers with which it was tipped beautifully tinted with various colors red blue & green. The shaft was tinted red & they said it was poisoned. They were feasted & smoked & then they confessed they were not Ki-chais but Huécos.[68] Their ears were bored in holes extending nearly around the rim and for the want of rings sticks were inserted.

I mentioned that before we left Black Beavers, Chisholm let me have his Mexican captive boy Vincente for $25.00 per mo & I pay his passage home. He was son of [blank] at Parras, Mex. from whence he was taken by Comanches many years ago on one of their marauding excursions. They fell upon the place by surprise & massacred many of the inhabitants, the parents of Vincente probably included and carried away the boy & his sister. The sister married a Comanche is living with them yet against her will. The boy lived with them a long time, learned their language, their signs & their [customs] until he was purchased by the Cherokee Chisholm on one of his trading expeditions. His price was in goods to the amount of $200. Vincente is probably 18 yrs old but not larger than a well developed lad of 11. His face is oval, his eyes black but mild & intelligent, his features are all Spanish & pleasing. He speaks English & Spanish equally well with Comanche. Six years he has lived with Chisholm who has treated him kindly & well. This man has at his home six other Mexicans redeemed from the Comanche yoke, 3 women, 3 men. They have little to do and he tells tham that when 21 yrs old they may go where they please. This boy, however, he is anxious to have returned to him.

When the Huecos came to camp I called Vincente to talk with them. They could speak neither Spanish, English nor Comanche. But this did not disconcert my linguist. With a few grunts and hoots interlarded among signs with the hands and contorsions of every limb of the body, he carried on a most rapid & interesting conversation. It struck us all as being one of the most amusing sights we have ever witnessed. The words were of the Caddo language and the signs were those of the universal Indian race. Questions & answers were made with more rapidity in these signs than they could be uttered in any language. These mute symbols

---

[68] The "Huecos" were the tribe commonly called Waco. They are of the Caddoan linguistic family, and are now counted as a part of the Wichita in Caddo County.

seem like the wings of thought soaring above the impediment of words.

These Indians had neither beard or moustache while Shawnees & Delawares wear the latter almost universally. Some of the Choctaw & the Cherokees have quite a heavy beard; is it due to the sprinkling of white blood among them?

Our visitors told us that the Hueco tribe numbered "plenty" and they lived beyond the Rio Washita.

Wednesday August 24

As we were prepared this morning for a start another Indian road to Camp; said he was Hueco & came merely to know where we were going. In Vincente's pantomine & Caddo we conversed with him, and asked him to guide us in the road which yesterday was indistinct & not easily found. He agreed & we departed. He said we were out of the right road & proposed to take us to it by a trail. He led us down an affluent of the Washita crossing the edge of a strip of the Cross timbers to a ravine bad to pass. Explorations showed that far to the South (2 miles) no road was to be encountered. Our guide in the meantime disappeared. At this moment a Kichai presented himself said we were too far south and for a reward agreed to conduct us to the trail. He did so, & then we passed Simpson's camps 26 & 27 & arrived at Camp 28. There was water in all the branches of Walnut Creek. Branch 27 is a beautiful flowing stream. Branch 28 we found (6 ft) in depth, too deep to ford & about 12 ft wide. Our Kichai guide said there was a better ford above but is found bad enough.

Here is a beautiful valley with excellent grass, so we conclude to encamp.[69] Obtained a short list of Kichai words & Mollhausen took a portrait. Gave $1.00 a shirt, a string of beads, a pipe & tobacco. He then left us saying he was afraid to sleep here lest his friends might think we had killed him. So he goes home to tell them promising to meet us tomorrow & guide us onward. We have had rain today about 1/8 inch. Night very cloudy, too cloudy to observe. But a cloud lifted from the west long enough to show the comet which has wonderfully increased in brilliancy & size. Its tail now turned to an angle of 5° W of the vertical seemed about six degrees in length. The nucleus was large as Saturn and of the third magnitude of brightness. Tried to observe it but clouds interferred. Did not get time nor Latitude. Passed numerous streams of water today.

Thursday August 25th 1853

Our Indian came back to camp this morning to beg coffee before going home. Some think he was the one who tried to steal a mule

[69] Camp 24 was near Blanchard.

last night. He promises to return to the train. As we were ready to start a blackman brought an express from Capt. Montgomery & Mr. Aird.[70] There are late papers. We paid $5.00 & sent him back. Bridging the branch of Walnut Creek we pased to the next (5 m) where [we] were compelled to work. Crossed two more all containing running water like New England brooks. At length two roads were found one crossing the Walnut Creek, the other which we took [over two leaves] nearly south 3 miles then wound west & n. west till 12 miles from Camp we found two springs, one flowing into the Washita, the other toward the Canadian. Upon the latter, we encamped.[71] Although this season is said to be unusually dry and this the driest period of the year still this country is found to be a land of springs & streams that water valleys rich as virgin soil can be. The country is rolling with more tempestuous waves than found a few days since. But a track for a railway could easily ascend them. The road could follow the valley of Walnut Creek or take the "divide" between the waters of Red river & the Canadian. The road for several days has been bad. We desired to travel 20 miles each day but crossing creeks & ravines has consumed the time & we do well to get 10 miles. Besides the trail being indistinct we often leave it. This is Camp No. 25.

The night was quite cloudy but succeeded in getting some astronomical observations. The Comet appeared for awhile nearly as last night, covering with its tail about 6°. There being more light in the western horizon the Comet appeared perhaps less luminous tha[n] the previous night. I observed its distance from Polaris & from Arcturus but it disappeared in cloud as I was about to observe its distance from Jupiter.

Friday August 26

At early day a Hueco Indian came to camp said the one who lied to us and led us from the road told them that I wished to see his Chief. The Chief started with him to follow us but he had parted from him & he supposed had gone back. Having given him breakfast & tobacco, I took a part of the Hueco vocabulary. This was done through Vincente in Comanche language & by their exceedingly graceful & expressive signs.

After travelling about 5 miles we were stopped by a prairie fire, the roaring flames with thick volumes of smoke rolling rapidly upon us. Having turned into a ravine for shelter & fought the

---

[70] Thomas A. Aird operated a trading post at the mouth of Little River, across from the site of old Fort Holmes.

[71] Camp 25 was a few miles southeast of Tuttle. On this day they passed within a short distance of the July 31, 1834 camp of Colonel Henry Dodge and the Dragoon Regiment on their return from the Wichita Village. See George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII (Spring 1950) p. 35.

fringe of fire to the windward an entrance was effected to burned field where we pressed our way to safety. The latter part of our journey was over an immense plain extending in every direction to the horizon. After travelling 20 miles we encamped. We had a shower in the afternoon and several in the evening. The night was stormy so as to preclude Astl obsns. During the night arose a severe norther. The mules suffered greatly. This was at Camp No 26 with fine Sp. water but little wood.[72]

Saturday Aug 27

The storm continued but with less violence. Our Hueco Indian left us this morning. Thus far we are no less pleased than surprised to find water so plenty. For the last ten miles I think no water was seen. But previously a spring creek or pool of water was found probably every 3 miles.

On this day much gypsum was first seen on the surface. The Cross timbers continue. We follow Deer Creek[73] south bank; Road often indistinct; crossing of Deer Creek branches very bad and miry. Traveled about 16 miles to Camp No. 27.[74] Very little good timber for railroads for several days marches; but plenty for wood to supply all purposes required. Deer creek & a multitude of branches furnish abundance of excellent water. A finer country for grazing or agriculture I do not know. The norther was broken at midday. At night the wind ceased but clouds arose so that I obtained but imperfect observations for Time. Comet was not visible from Clouds. An Indian lodge in ruins across the hill at camp.

Sunday Aug 28th

Deer Creek at this place is a beautiful stream rapid, clear 2½ ft deep & 6 ft wide. The deep furrowed trails here indicate a Buffalo crossing. Starting from Camp we soon came to the crossing of Deer Creek where had been a large lodge of Kicapoos [*sic*]. Then travelling north 2 miles we turned westward & passed parallel to the river Canadian which appeared about 2 miles to our right. Water undoubtedly plenty today near the road in ravines leading to Deer Creek. Camp No 28 is at a spring near head of Creek.[75] Distance traveled about 13 miles. Country rolling today but with moderate cutting & filling railroad would be made. The railroad however should follow either Deer Creek or the Canadian.

The Comet this evening was beautiful with tail about 18° in length. Made Astl obsns.

---

[72] Camp 26 was in the vicinity of Minco, in Grady County.

[73] The stream now colled Boggy Creek. *A Pathfinder in the Southwest, op. cit.*, p. 69.

[74] Camp 27 was north of present Cogar, in Caddo County.

[75] Camp 28 was probably in the extreme southwest corner of Canadian County.

[Page] 30

Jules Marcou, Geologist to this expedition, a gentleman of 30 yrs., tall, of finely chiselled features and of elegant manners, was a son of La Belle France. He was educated at the Polytechnic school & entered the army but soon resigned to be appointed Geologist upon a military expedition to Algiers. He afterward was employed by the Museum of Paris and in this country made a name in the scientific world. He married a lady of Boston and became half American.

Look back to page 20 [Here Whipple decided to utilize an earlier page left blank]

[Page] 20

(Continued from page 30) By the society of the Garden of Plants, Mr. Marcou was selected to make geological researches in America. Having explored nearly every state in the Union, he became acquainted with the lovely Miss Belknap, granddaughter of the great historian of N.H. and left the graden of plants to plant the garden of Elysium in the Union State of matrimony. He published in Boston a geological map of the U.S. and elements of geology with practical hints for observations. When he recd. my appt. to this expedition, he refused an offer to accompany an exploring party to New Granada with Salary $500 per month and all expenses paid. I pay him but $100. per mo.

Monday Aug 29th

The clouds began to dissipate at 8 AM. Got a late start but traveled 19 miles to Camp 29.[76] Passed today Rock Mary[77] and other hills similar to Simpsons description. Water courses frequent to the right & left. Encamped on fine spring flowing rapidly toward the Canadian. Water & grass yet abundant. Tail of Comet inclined about 8° to S. of Vertical. Night cloudy few Astl. obsns. Timber becomes scarce. Trees occur only on water courses. Since leaving Deer Cr. no large trees seen.

Vincente says that Mr. Chisholm has several Mexican boys taken captives by Comanches of whom he purchased them. The largest is grown, named Jackson Masimo. He is to be freed next year. He is slim, light complexion, sandy hair, good looking. The next is Guadalupe from Durango. Thick set, very dark complexion, bushy hair & ill looking as well as illtempered.

The next is Vincente, son of Dimensio [*sic*] of Parras, formerly of Tineja. He is my interpreter with Indians & will be described

---

[76] Camp 29 was probably in the extreme southeast corner of Custer County.

[77] Rock Mary is an unusual formation located in Caddo County, a few miles southeast of Hydro. It was named in 1849 by Lieuts. Simpson, Harrison, and other junior officers in honor of Mary Conway, a popular young member of the emigrant party, under escort of Capt. R. B. Marcy.

hereafter. The last boy as Cedro Canales about 10 or 12 yrs. of age was bought of Comanches by Chisholm 6 years ago. Stolen by them from Rio Grande. He is short, thick set handsome boy, dark hair, very light complexion.

Vincente is probably 15 yrs of age but small with dark complexion black eyes & hair & oval features. He says that Chisholm treated him well & he is willing to return to him. But Indians Comanche treated him & all their slaves, American & Mexican, badly, making them work & whipping them. Comanches live almost exclusively without bread or vegetables. Eat Buffalo, not mules or horses except of necessity.

Tuesday Aug 30th 1853

Moved on to Camp 30 on large and fine spring to the right of the road.[78] Gypsum today has appeared in very great quantities. Several very extensive gypsum caves were entered & explored to the right of the road. Travelled 16 miles. Query whether we are on Marcy road or Emigrant trail, no turnout being seen. Our spring is said to run west then south, road crossing it a mile west—large stream there with timber.

Little timber seen today. Bones of Buffalo scattered along the road. Grass less green today, water slightly brackish often found right or left from the road.

Wednesday August 31st 1853

At 7½ AM proceeded one mile from Camp 30 to a beautiful creek of running water containing deep pools full of fish, many specimens of which some undoubtedly new were caught & preserved. This being the first creek of importance in the gypsum formation we call it Gypsum Creek.[79] It is finely wooded with red oak & post oak, Alamo[80] & elm. Its waters are tinchured with sulphate of lime. The stream flowed in a deep cañon difficult for the wagons to cross. Four miles beyond, having crossed a gently rolling prairie, we were pleased with the sight of an extensive basin intersected with many well wooded creeks all flowing into one greater which further south appeared to be the recipient of Gypsum Creek. As we were descending into the Cañon of the first, two black bears issued from the wood and rolled their ungainly bodies toward the prairie. Hence, the name of Bear Creek[81] adopted by this pretty stream flowing south through a dense thicket of white oaks & Alamos. Again we moved on S of W over a plain 3 miles to a stream about 12 ft. wide & 3½ ft. Deep flowing toward the main affluent of the Washita. From the Trees

[78] Camp 30 was in the vicinity of Arapaho, in Custer County.

[79] Probably East Barnitz Creek.

[80] Spanish name for "poplar," and in this instance no doubt referred to the cottonwood.

[81] Probably West Barnitz Creek.

which line its banks this we call Elm Creek. The crossing at present is exceedingly bad. At high water it would not be fordable. The canon in which it flows is however not more than 30 or 40 ft wide & 20 feet deep, but presents no obstacle to the construction of a road by a bridge. After crossing a small wooded ravine within a mile we enter the beautiful valley of the main stream which we believe to be "False Washita." A compliment is thought to be due to our splendid visitor who for several nights has beckoned us westward. We therefore follow the valley of this False Washita for about 4 miles & encamp[82] on the branch called Comet [Warm Water lined out and "Comet" written above] Creek. It is large as the previous, flowing in a deep canon with boggy slopes. Tried to observe the Comet here but it was so hazy in the west that it was invisible until daylight was passing away when it appeared in the horizon for a moment, to bid us I fear a long farewell. Indian fires have been seen today. Tonight a bright light is seen to the N.E.

We have passed today the prettiest country in the world for a railroad. A gently rolling prairie intersected every two or 3 miles with flowing streams with timbered banks & fertile valleys, grass everywhere luxuriant & green.

Thursday September 1st 1853

Repaired the crossing of Comet [the words Warm Water again lined out] Creek and at 9 AM passed. Crossed rolling prairie with fine views of beautiful valleys with streams fringed with rich foliage of trees. Today we came to the lower bed of the Cretacious formation overlying the Gypsum. There was oolitic sandstone limestone & oyster shells in abundance. Mr. Marcou is delighted. It proves his theory that the sandstone we have just passed is like that of lake Superior the *New Red.* The fine valley & stream of False Washita we have to our left. Passing a long distance in sight of it we cross a long rolling prairie and encamp[83] on a small creek flowing toward the Washita. Distance from Camp 31 to Camp 32, 15 miles.

Excellent water & grass at Camp. Wood on the stream below. Grass of the Prairies still green.

The western horizon was bordered by a low cloud bank under which the Comet must have set. Time & Latitude observed.

The "False Washita" through whose valley we have passed would undoubtedly afford a fine location for a railway to Red River. Thence via Shreveport & to New Orleans and other southern ports no obstacle is supposed to exist.

---

[82] Camp 31 was in the vicinity southeast of Butler, in Custer County.
[83] Camp 32 was in the vicinity of Moorewood, Northwestern Custer County.

(Map published 1859)

OKLAHOMA SECTION

Map of Whipple Pacific Railroad Survey in 1853, showing proposed railroad route and survey camp sites west from Fort Smith to the Antelope Hills.

The other branch from the Canadian near longitude 99½° to Springfield, Mo. the route is believed to [be] equally practicable. The gypsum formation extends north of the Canadian and probably there produces a country like that we are now passing—the most beautiful in the world for railroad purposes. Thence it would cross the new red sandstone & Carboniferous formation and probably pass at the foot of the Ozark range of Mountains. I believe that either of these routes would be even preferable to that by Ft. Smith.

Nous vivrons

Friday Sept 2nd 1853

Having travelled about 4 miles we arrived at another small creek with water & more trees than the last. Here was a geological outcrop which contrary to expectation proved gypsum.

Five miles further and another small creek like the last with running water & fringed with trees gave us some trouble to cross. Elm, cotton wood & oak were there. 2½ miles over prairie brought us to another very pretty creek with flowing water, trees & fine valley.

From the number of fine oaks this may be called Oak Creek. Follwing west its valley for 4 miles were encamped[84] on its W. bank. Burnt praries are almost surrounding us. Obsd. for time & lat. No Comet visible tonight although eagerly sought for. Buffalo grass first appeared today. Many Buffalo signs and two dead Buffalo were seen. In Oak Creek the water tastes less brackish but the banks are full of efflorescent salts of sulphate of magnesia.

Thus far in our route it is believed that quarries can easily be found in the vicinity of places where stone may be needed to construct bridges across Creeks and Cañons. In all the excavations necessary none will probably be found in solid rock. Some will occur in loose friable rock but generally the cuttings will pass through soil.

Timber has been scarce since leaving Deer Creek. Before that there was enough to build the railroad to the Pacific. Coal is abundant in the vicinity of Coal Creek. Gypsum & carbonate of lime occur further west. Sandstone for foundations of bridges may be found at suitable intervals.

The valley of False Washita far as seen by us affords the prettiest country in the world for a railroad. I believe this valley might readily be followed to red river and afford a mine of agricultural wealth to enterprising settlers. The route thence to Shreve-

[84] Camp 33 was in eastern Roger Mills County. Foreman gives present Quartermaster Creek as "Oak Creek."—*A Pathfinder in the Southwest, op. cit.*, p. 73.

port would open a channel and markets for the rich productions of red river and her abundant harvests would be poured into the lap of Southern commercial ports.

[Fourth Notebook]

List of Persons on P.R.S. to whom Colts six shooting pistols have been issued, they being acctd. for same

Name of Recv.	No of pistol
G. G. Garner	7186
W. White, Jr.	7124
Vincente	6665
J. Marcou	6826
T. M. Parke	6837
A. H. Campbell	6806
N. N. Hutton	7858
Doct. Bigelow	6615
Lt. Jnoth. Jones	6713
Newton Hicks	6149
Jose Mestes	5986
Lt. D. S. Stanley	7959
Mr. Mollhausen	6957
Matthews	6822
Spaniard	7049
I. Willet	6736
J. G. Burgin	6737
Barker	6819
Robinson	6810
Murphy	7145
A. W. Whipple	6708

List of persons P.R.S. to whom Mis. Rifles have been issued.

Name	No. of Rifle
Dr. Jno. Bigelow	1
Geo. Minmier	2
Sharrock	3
Haney	4
Jack Burgin	5
Robertson	6
Jose Mestes	7
(Teamster) Hicks	8
Matthews	9
Tucksford	10
Geo. Sailor	11
Murphy	12
Mr. Jno. Sherburne	13
Crispin	14
G. G. Garner	15
Mr. Jules Marcou	16
Jno. Kenton	17
Abm. Clough	19
Jno. Craven	—
Spaniard	21
I. Willet	22
A. W. Whipple	23

Saturday Sept 3d 1853

From Camp 34 [Above in ink appears "(33)," Whipple's correction of the camp number] leaving "Oak Creek" we crossed a rolling prairie six miles to Buffalo Creek. This is a well timbered ravine with large Alamos & oaks but to our surprise where we crossed, it contained no water. The dark green foliage, however, clearly shows that water is abundant not far beneath the surface. A species of grama called Buffalo grass being now predominant & Buffalo signs covering the prairie suggest the name given this creek. On passing was found a beautiful silicious specimen of petrified wood erratic. Nine miles beyond we came to Alamo Spring where the train was watered. Thence passing the Divide five or six miles more led us to a spring which flowing toward the north becomes tributary to the river Canadian. This is supposed to be near Capt. Marcy's Camp 40, and is our Camp 34.[85] Let us call this, as we propose lying here tomorrow, Sunday Spring.

Vincente & others pursued a Buffalo today but in vain. It was the first wild [buffalo] I had seen.

Sunday September 4th 1853

The water being extremely brackish, we change the name from Sunday to Epsom Spring and proceed in search of better water. Two miles N.W. brought us to the river Canadian, covered with blood red sand through which flowed rivulets of muddy water a foot deep perhaps. The water was palatable to taste although thick with red earth. [words "The banks in," crossed out] The valley was [words "quite dry," crossed out] sprinkled with thickets of trees wherever a ravine gave indication of water which seldom appeared above the surface except at some distance from the Canadian, where it was generally found in pools. The valley does not seem as fertile as those of tributaries of the Washita. This season, however, being exceedingly dry, the very driest perhaps, that fact should be considered before passing condemnation. For about six miles we pursued the even surface of the valley & then ascending the mesa which bounds it our course was shaped for the Antelope Hills which appeared in the distance. But unexpectedly striking a creek of sweet water, we encamped[86] 12 miles from Epsom Spring. This is Camp 35 on Cañon Creek.

Monday September 5

The beef cattle being sore footed & greatly fatigued it was deemed necessary to await here today to allow them to recruit. The men also desired to wash their clothes, coal was to be turned and many things to be done.

---

[85] Camp 34 was in the vicinity several miles north of Strong City, in Roger Mills County.

[86] Camp 35 was in the vicinity of Crawford, in Roger Mills County.

Plotting has been recommended. Computations of Astl. obs. carried on. Observed for time and lat. at night. Day very hot. Night brought a norther with high wind and a sprinkling of rain.

Tuesday September 6th 1853

Norther continued but cold not great. Found this morning creeks in deep ravines. In the worst of them Mr. White's carretela was upset breaking the Gay Lussac barometer and probably doing some injury to Sextant & chronometers. One singletree was broken; that replaced and seeing the carretela out of the bed of Sandy creek (150 ft wide) I moved on to Antelope Hills. These examined consisting of sandstone cemented with lime. Some volcanic sconiae (erratic) was found upon the side.

Meanwhile the train moved on. Mr. White, however, has not been seen for miles back. We await him 1½hours.

At length he appears having lost but found the viameter. Sherburne saw an Indian who crossed his track several times in front of the carretela probably with his companions meditating an attack. The Creek is therefore Indian Cr. Five miles beyond Antelope hills we passed another sandy bed of a stream—no water appearing on the surface. From fruit there found we call this Grape Creek. Continuing our journey to another sandy arroyo we followed its bank ½ mile to the Canadian where was made Camp 36.[87] Our route today through Antelope Hills & over ravines has been dry and somewhat sandy. Little water has been found. The grass less green. Fewer trees, less foliage. But the Canadian where we strike it appears to be changing character. The bottoms look wider with greener grass & more foliage of trees. The sand less red & the water less muddy & more plenty.

Five Buffalo we saw on the prairie & I sent some men to shoot them. Dr. B. & Lt G. accompanied but without success. However, Vincente killed a nice fat doe and several turkies were shot, as well as two prairie dogs & an owl.

An Indian & a herd of Buffalo render this days march more interesting than before. A large cougar was discovered in a thicket near camp. Little wood on bank of Canadian from which water was obtained. Upon the opposite side of River is a long, high white bank, visible from afar and therefore a good landmark to the traveler.

Wednesday Sept 7

Started as usual at 8½ AM. Canadian seemed to contain more flowing water than last night. Seemed to do little else all day than

[87] Without doubt the party at this point was still in present Oklahoma. Camp 36 was immediately south of the Canadian River in the extreme western part of Oklahoma. This was the party's last night in Oklahoma.

cross aroyos, creeks, ravines some with some without water. Grass generally dry. Prairie dog villages frequent. Owls were seen in them, one killed & taken as specimen. Soon after starting shots were heard. Dr. Bigelow & his servant had asked permission to roam near the Canadian & now they were not to be seen. Other shots following in rapid succession we became fearful lest the Dr. might be in trouble. Lt. J. several of the gentlemen & a few soldiers went to render aid. They found Jose & a wounded Buffalo which Lt. Stanley put out of misery. While watching with anxiety from my carretala, the Dr. arrived in safety, having fired his six shooter at a rattlesnake. At length the party of relief returned bringing two Comanches who had appeared to Jose. They said there were plenty "Muchos" Comanches on the other side of the river.[88] Having given them tobacco they departed with signs of friendship, promising to bring their companions into camp tonight. Since a Comanche has been seen reconnoitering & concealing himself near the train. Having travelled about 18 miles we encamped on a large stream where water was flowing called Wolf Creek. The natural mounds appear South & S.W. The creeks are generally fringed with trees large & small; little timber, however. From what I have seen the proper & most economical line for a railroad would be found upon the last slope of hills that bound this valley of the Canadian. True it might be carried over the hills but the expense of cutting & felling would be great. The researches of ours show a probability of finding near the first slope of the valley a most favorable route. Our Comanche friends have not returned to us, as I feared, we probably shall see them no more.

Yesterday Mr. Whites carretela upset & broke one barometer. This evening I find one chronometer deranged. Having set it moving again, it stopped during observations and with another chronometer, a new set of observations was taken. This deprives me of the use of my previous main dependance.

[88] The Northern Comanche had located their tipi villages along the Canadian River in this region for many years. Their claims to this country together with their allies, the Kiowa, were tacitly recognized by the U. S. in the treaty made at Fort Atkinson, in 1853.

GERMAN IN OKARCHE, 1892-1902

*By W. A. Willibrand**

Okarche is situated on the Kingfisher-Canadian county line, one mile west of the 98th Meridian, which was the eastern boundary of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country.[1] The place was a mere cattle-loading station on the Rock Island railroad until the afternoon of April 19, 1892, when participants in the run of that date transformed it into a village of crude and primitive shelters.[2] During the next ten years it was to develop as the center of a "Little Germany" in Oklahoma. By 1902 this community had something in common with the "Big Germany" across the sea: Several dialects were spoken there but standard German was the official language of four religious groups and of a locally organized mutual insurance society. To a lesser degree it was also used and taught in two parochial schools, and even the public school was not without its influence. And it was the language of the press for most Okarcheans. They subscribed generously to newspapers in the German language, some of which were published in Oklahoma.[3]

Okarche was not predominantly German during the years immediately following the "run." Early in 1893, when the editor of the local weekly urged that it was time "to make rapid and permanent strides towards metropolitanism," the officers of the Commercial Club were people of non-German origin. We find here the names of E. C. Coon, George Watson, H. S. Speer, Frank Wil-

---

* Dr. W. A. Willibrand, Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Oklahoma and a native of Missouri, has been with the University at Norman since 1924. Before receiving his Ph. D. from the University of Iowa (1940), other schools that he attended included the University of Chicago, University of Montpellier (France), Stanford University (California), National University of Mexico, University of Heidelberg (Germany), and the University of Strasburg (France). Dr. Willibrand is now Consulting Editor of *Books Abroad,* having served with Dr. Roy Temple House as Assistant Editor from 1928-1949. Dr. Willibrand's publications include papers in professional journals on German authors—Goethe, Franz Werfel, Ernst Toller; and articles on German-Americans in *American-German Review.* He is listed in the A. N. Marquis Company's *Who is Who in the South and Southwest* (Chicago, 1950).—Ed.

[1] The word "Okarche" is pronounced in three syllables, with the accent on *kar* and the last syllable like *chi* in "chicken," but unstressed. Orthographically the *Ok* is derived from "Oklahoma", the *ar* from Arapaho and the *che* from Cheyenne. Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names,* (Norman, 1933), p. 90. (On the same page the coining "Okeene" is also described.)

[2] Golden Anniversary, *The First Bank of Okarche,* 1892-1942, p. 2.

[3] Cf. *The Okarche Times* of May 13, 1898. The title of this weekly newspaper, (our main source of information) is abbreviated hereafter as *Ti* without a period. Use of files in possession of Mr. W. F. Voss and of Oklahoma Historical Society is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

THE MOFFATT HOTEL, OKARCHE, O. T.
(From print in *The Oklahoma Magazine*, June, 1895)

liams, H. H. Laney, A. J. Thompson, and B. F. Buffington. A glance at the names of thirty-two places of business reveals a preponderance of non-Germans. Only the following can be positively identified as being of German origin: G. F. Gleichmann, I. H. Hummel, F. J. Waldman, Hermann Lindner, J. A. Becker.[4] In some cases the names of firms were not surnames and it is therefore not always possible to determine the nationality of the owners of certain shops. The "First Bank of Okarche" was headed by Julius Loosen, a native-born German.[5] Non-German, however, was Charles E. Hunter, editor and business pioneer not only in Okarche but in several other areas of Oklahoma.[6] The early preponderance of non-Germans is also suggested by the fact that the Congregationalists built a church in 1892, several months before any of the German-speaking religious groups were ready to build.[7]

Early German settlers east of the 98th Meridian took the initiative in attracting people of German speech to the newly opened territory west of this meridian. Thus, William Lemke, later to become one of the original members of St. John's Lutheran congregation, had a considerable correspondence with prospective settlers who had read his letters to the editor of a German newspaper.[8] There were no doubt others who wrote similar letters.

Prospective settlers interested in purchasing relinquished claims came from older German-speaking areas in the United States in considerable numbers. Early in 1893 a real estate man by the name of I. F. Crow found it advisable to secure the services of a Herr Herber to help him with his German-speaking clients.[9] Four of the early-day religious groups, namely the Catholics, Lutherans, Evangelicals, and Mennonites, (to name them in the order of their numerical strength) were almost solidly German. In the spring of 1893 the Lutherans and Catholics had church buildings of their own and were thus able to attract settlers of their respective faiths. The prosperity of these people is indicated by their impressive ecclesiastical structures of a later date.

---

[4] *Ibid.*, February 17, 1893; March 10, 1893; June 6, 1893.

[5] *The First Bank of Okarche, op. cit.*, p. 4.

[6] Hunter's varied pioneering ventures are outlined in Luther B. Hill's *A History of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, p. 35.

[7] *Echoes of Eighty-Nine.* Kingfisher (Oklahoma) Study Club, p. 160.

[8] For these facts the writer is indebted to Otto Lemke, son of the Okarche pioneer, William Lemke. The elder Lemke and Fritz and Carl Schroeder lived just east of the 98th meridian, in Old Oklahoma, before the run of 1892. They attracted German settlers to the area.

[9] *Ti*, January 27, 1893. In the notes of Mrs. William J. Butler, the former Myrtle R. Thompson, there is a statement about the incoming Germans who purchased good claims at prices ranging from $1500 to $2000. Mrs. Butler is also the author of a manuscript life of her mother, Molly R. Thompson, Okarche pioneer. Mrs. Butler graciously made her manuscripts available to the present writer.

From its beginnings to the present day the Lutheran congregation at Okarche has had German-speaking ministers. Its bilingual character is summarized as follows by the Reverend Paul Hoyer:[10]

> From the time of its founding, St. John's used the German language in its services almost exclusively for about two decades, while its school was bilingual almost from the beginning. Later some English sermons were held on special occasions, and since the great world war a steady natural change has taken place. Children used the English language in their conversation, the school gradually lost the German more and more, and today altogether. While the church services are still fifty-fifty the attendance both in the services and at communion is 39% German and 61% English. At present we have German services at 9:30 and English at 10:45 every Sunday morning, except on the first Sunday of the month, which is always communion Sunday, and is alternately German and English. Business meetings of the congregation, as well as all meetings of the Ladies Aid and Walther League are conducted in English.

This paragraph was written eight years ago. Since that time the German services have continued at St. John's, but with a steady decline in attendance.

Like other frontier towns, Okarche did not have a stable population. Many of the first settlers left to participate in other "runs" or to try their fortunes elsewhere when lack of funds, drouths and bad crop conditions militated against early prosperity. There is an impression that the German element of the population remained in the community while many non-Germans migrated to other regions. This is true only to a limited extent. Church records and newspaper files suggest that many of the Germans were also inclined to be venturesome and migratory and that they, like others, wearied of the drab and harsh realities of pioneering or sought greener fields in the Cherokee Strip and in the Kiowa Comanche country.[11] The early membership of St. John's is a case in point. Only the following charter members of the congregation remained in the community: Fritz and Carl Schroeder, Fritz Peters, Sr., Fred Dannehl, Sr., John Schulze, and the already mentioned William Lemke.[12]

The first resident pastor of these early Lutherans was Rev. von der Au, who also served Lutheran groups at Enid, Kingfisher, El Reno, Choctaw City and Shelly, all in the territory of the Rock Island Railroad. In his one-room rectory at Okarche, von der Au taught a handful of Lutheran children. This was the beginning of

---

[10] *Golden Anniversary of St. John's Lutheran Church* (Okarche, 1942), p. 16. The present writer is greatly indebted to the Reverend Hoyer for his printed contribution to the history of Okarche and for other information given in an unfailing spirit of kindness and courtesy.

[11] *Ti*, August 2, 1901.

[12] *Golden Anniversary of St. John's Lutheran Church, op. cit.*, p. 6. Pages 3 to 11 of this 16-page booklet were written by the Reverend T. C. Otte, Pastor of St. John's 1913—1936. The remaining five pages were contributed by the pastor of today, Rev. Paul Hoyer.

what developed later as the two-room elementary school at St. John's.[13] German was the language of religious instruction during those early years.

This was also true of the Mennonites and the German Evangelical group, who had no separate schools. The Mennonite Sunday school however attracted some non-German children because their parents cherished the fond hope that German might be picked up that way.[14] The small Evangelical congregation held services in the Baptist church, where they were served by German-speaking pastors from Norman and Kiel.[15] (Kiel was renamed Loyal during the local tensions caused by World War I.)[16] By 1902 this group had become strong enough to build a church but it was a strength that did not endure as the years went by.

In the Catholic fold the situation was complicated by the fact that the head of the hierarchy in Oklahoma, Bishop Meerschaert, was not entirely sympathetic with the linguistic aspirations of the Catholic German-speaking settlers. Among these people, like among the Protestant groups, the need for German was both esthetic and religious. They liked to hear the hymns and prayers, scripture readings, announcements and sermons in a language which seemed beautiful and transcendent by comparison with their imperfect English and their German dialects. Some of them spoke only a few words of English and while their dialects were adequate to their material environment, the vocabulary of their inner life, their religious experience, was that of standard German, to which they had been accustomed by the schools and the pulpits of their native communities. This was the only language they could use adequately in going to the sacraments. They found priests in Oklahoma spoke other languages.[17]

The resulting tension was of more than local interest. In 1899 members of the parish at Okarche assumed a sort of leadership in the struggle for the German language. A meeting was called in Oklahoma City "for the purpose of appealing to the Pope for the privilege of holding services" in German. It was attended by the following delegates and visitors from Okarche: F. J. Waldmann, Mr. Kroener, F. Rother, William Knecht, B. Bogner, John Eck and

---

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 6 f and 12 f.

[14] Notes of Myrtle R. Thompson.

[15] *Ti*, March 7, 1902.

[16] Professor Gould is probably in error in deriving Kiel "from a red rock sometimes ca'led kiel or keel." *Oklahoma Place Names*, p. 95.) Before the name of the place became Loyal it had been changed from Cottonwood Valley to Kiel by a German settler named John Wahling, probably in honor of the large "Fatherland" city in Schleswig-Holstein.

[17] *Ti* February 8, 1901, quoting from *St. Louis Catholic Review.*

S. Schneeberger. The press story indicated that it was the intention of the delegates to appeal from the decision of the bishop.[18]

Many German-speaking Missourians had come to the newly opened territory and it was therefore quite natural that Missouri journals should take an interest in the conflict. *The St. Louis Catholic Review* carried this news story in 1901 when the conflict seemed to be coming to a head:[19]

> **The German Catholics of Oklahoma recently held a convention in Oklahoma City, in which they renewed the assurance and promise of their fidelity to the Catholic faith and their loyalty to the Holy Father, but complained bitterly in a series of strong resolutions against the policy of Bishop Meerschaert, who they assert, denies them pastors able to speak their mother tongue, sends the few German priests in his diocese to non-German parishes, and gives the German congregations Belgian and Irish pastors, who either speak no German at all or very little. They intend to take a census of the German Catholics resident in the Territory and request the Catholic press to assist them in their battle for equal rights.**
>
> **We have not sufficient knowledge of the actual conditions in Oklahoma to be able to say whether their complaints are well-founded. If they are the bishop ought to be compelled by higher authority to do his duty; if they are not, the kickers should be publicly exposed and silenced.**

The foregoing passage probably refers to a meeting held in Oklahoma City in the fall of 1900. F. J. Waldmann was again a member of the Okarche delegation and this time he presided at the meeting. Other delegates from Okarche were Henry Hoeschler, F. Rother, John Heinen, Mr. Hau, Sr., B. Bogner, Anton Weber, William Knecht, J. Jacobs and R. Brueggen. It will be remembered that Waldmann, Knecht, Rother and Bogner also attended the meeting of 1899. Another St. Louis paper which took an interest in the matter was the weekly *Western Watchman.* From this outspoken Catholic journal we quote two sentences: "We are with the Germans in this fight. We sternly oppose any interference with the parish organizations and the obtrusion of a foreign tongue in their services."[20] Obviously the term "foreign tongue" here means any language not native to a given group. The *Western Watchman* stood for the principle of parish option in the matter of a parish language and it was this principle that finally prevailed.

The Okarche Times was sympathetic with the position of the German settlers. It was also concerned with fact that the language conflict might keep desirable settlers out of the Territory:

> **Some claim it is also a detriment to the Territory in keeping away a thrifty law-abiding class of farmers, as the Germans are generally conceded to be, and wealthy merchants who are welcomed everywhere**

---

[18] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1899.

[19] *Ibid.*, April 8, 1901. During those years there were many German-speaking priests in the U. S. but they were probably not available to Bishop Meerschaert.

[20] *Ti* December 8, 1901.

and who have helped to build up the great west. We wish our German Catholic friends success in their struggle, which seems to be endorsed by the English press of their own faith.[21]

It should be observed that while some English-speaking Okarcheans favored German as a language of worship, not all German-speaking citizens were sympathetic with the continued opposition to the Bishop's policy. The large majority however wanted a pastor with a fluent command of German; it didn't matter particularly whether such a pastor was of German or of non-German birth.

The man who finally became their pastor and solved the language difficulty was born on French soil. Father Zenon Steber, a German-speaking, Alsatian-born Frenchman was assigned to them in fall of 1902. Ordained at Lyons, France, July 9, 1893, he came to Oklahoma in 1896 and built churches at Corn, Independence and Lawton.[22] As a builder, however, both of parish harmony and of actual structures for religious purposes, he achieved his most significant mark during the many years of his pastorate at Okarche. The end of the linguistic turmoil in the community was the beginning of real parish development. It also removed a barrier to the further settlement of German Catholics in the area. Aside from the Latin ritual, German could now flourish undisturbed as a popular language of worship in the Church of the Holy Trinity. To be sure, English was also used there; and the Catholic High School had German in its curriculum until 1914 while the Catholic elementary school remained bilingual until 1917. Sermons were heard in both German and English until 1936.[23] Today only a few of the older people in the parish make an occasional use of German.[24] The struggle of the turn of the century, which was so tense and dramatic because of the spiritual values involved, is still remembered in Okarche.

Although German was sometimes humorously and disparagingly referred to as "Dutch," there was a noticeable growth in the prestige of the language during the 1890's. New business and professional men who could handle the language wanted the public to know about it. At the closing exercises of the public school in 1898 pieces were spoken in both German and English.[25] At the annual school meeting in 1899 it was suggested that German be taught in the

---

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Cf. *Okarche Chieftain*, July 15, 1943; *Ti* November 14, 1902; "Holy Trinity Parish in Okarche" in *The Orphans Record, Official Organ of the Diocese of Oklahoma*, Vol. 4, No. 7, (July, 1918), pp. 4-9

[23] Some of this information was graciously supplied by the late Monsignor Z. Steber, pastor of Holy Trinity at Okarche.

[24] Based on information kindly given by Father E. von Elm, present pastor of the Catholic Church at Okarche.

[25] *Ti*, June 3, 1898.

public school.[26] It seemed important to some people to learn the language of a comparatively prosperous section of the community.

German newspapers were widely read in the area. In 1898 the local editor complained that "many families" did not subscribe to an English language paper. Significantly he gave his piece of complaint the headline, "All Dutch."[27] A little later he made a feeble start at giving his weekly a bilingual character by publishing some news and advertising items in German.[28] It would have required more writing talent and a more energetic approach to compete successfully, even on a local scale, with German-American newspapers, some of which had already been established in Oklahoma.

In the economic field the seemingly well-entrenched position of German is manifested by a manuscript entitled, *Protokol Buch des Deutschen Farmers Gegenseitigen Feuer Versicherungs-Verein von Okarche Oklahoma.*[29] Some exception may be taken to the syntax of this title but it obviously designates the official book of minutes of the "German Farmers Mutual Fire Insurance Association of Okarche, Oklahoma". In those early days the Constitution of this group provided, in Article 5, that the business of the Association had to be carried on in German. Article 6 provided that only those members who spoke and wrote German could become officers. There was no language test for membership. One just had to be of good moral character, own land, and sign the Constitution of the Association.[30]

From 1899 to 1926 the Minutes of the Association were kept in German. When the change to the total transaction of business in English was accomplished the officers continued to be men of German origin. The early members agreed to remain associated in the mutual insurance business for twenty-five years. That period has now been more than doubled. Only one business organization in the community is older, namely the First Bank of Okarche, which has been controlled by the Loosen family since the date of its establishment October 28, 1892.[31] The fire insurance association began to

---

[26] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1899.

[27] *Ibid.*, May 13, 1898.

[28] *Ibid.*, December 16, 1898; January 6, 1899; July 6, 1899.

[29] As evidence that this mutual insurance association was known outside of Okarche, it might be pointed out that the company was variously mentioned in the German language press of Oklahoma. Thus, *Die Enid Post,* May 22, 1903, and *Oklahoma Volksblatt,* May 12, 1904.

[30] In the archives of the association there is also a printed list of rules, dating back to 1914, entitled *Nebengesetze und Regeln der Deutschen Farmers Gegenseitigen Feuer-Versicherungs-Gesellschaft von Okarche, Canadian County, Okla.* Druck der Enid, Okla., *Staatszeitung.*

[31] *The First Bank of Okarche, op. cit.,* p. 13. Among those who gave oral information to the present writer were members of the Loosen family. A former president of the bank, the late Emil C. Loosen, and the present head of the bank, J. Paul Loosen, gave unsparingly of their time. Paul Loosen's significant contribution to the present-day development of Okarche deserves separate treatment

spread early to a number of other communities, with Okarche retaining the home office. Today it has district secretaries at Yukon, Edmond, Kingfisher, and Okeene. The mutual principle for which its founders stood appeared again later in other local cooperative undertakings, which do much to give Okarche an atmosphere of prosperity.[32]

This paper has been concerned primarily with the first decade of Okarche's history. During this time the community became predominantly German in language and in the character of its people. As the non-German element of the population decreased there was a corresponding increase in the German element. The language was fostered by thriving religious groups and by a strong economic organization which cut across denominational lines and tended to bring about a closer spirit of cooperation among the German farmers around Okarche and in neighboring regions. A more important cohesive influence was the German-American press, which reflected the traditional values and civic virtues of both the American and the German Fatherland. Eventually the language was to disappear almost completely but before it did so, it helped to mold the consciousness of a community which had something to contribute to the development of Oklahoma.

---

elsewhere. His beautiful home and garden have been the subject of journalistic treatment outside of Okarche.

[32] Among these undertakings are "The Farmers Co-operative Association of Okarche"; a flourishing similarly-operated creamery; a community hospital. The story of such projects would be a chapter by itself. It can be safely said that the co-operative spirit of the German pioneers in Okarche had a decisive influence on local business developments and on neighboring communities.

MEMORIAL GENEALOGICAL LIBRARY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

*By Josephine Sperry Hickam**

We are celebrating the twenty-fifth year, the silver anniversary, of the founding of the Genealogical Library of the Oklahoma Daughters of the American Revolution. This beautiful and valuable library is another exemplification of the old adage "Great oaks from little acorns grow."

During the early activities of the writer with Oklahoma City Chapter and as State Regent, she was continually impressed with the fact that Oklahoma had very meager facilities for genealogical research and a consciousness of the large number of women who were seeking membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution. Many of these women were eligible but lacked means of verifying their family records. A solution to this problem would be a library of genealogical books owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution in Oklahoma, to make available the lineage file of members in Oklahoma. Steps were taken to make this dream a reality.

At the State Board meeting held in Ponca City, November 11, 1925, the State Regent presented the need for a library and asked the approval of the Board to launch the project. After a general discussion the Board voted unanimously to endorse the suggestion and approve the creation of a State Genealogical Library. The recommendation that the office of Librarian be added to the list of elective State Officers was made at that Board meeting. It was also voted to contribute $50.00 from the State Treasury, to be the nucleus of a fund for the State Library, and to invite donations of genealogical books and money. Thus our library was created.

Immediate action was taken to place this information before the State membership. On December 3, 1925 the following resolutions

---

* A note of appreciation has been received by the Editorial Department from Mrs. Virgil Browne, Honorary State Regent for Oklahoma and Vice President General, National Society of D.A.R., for the publication of the history of the D.A.R. Genealogical Library, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Mrs. Browne also gave tribute to the writer of this article, Josephine Sperry Hickam (Mrs. Andrew R.), Past Regent of Oklahoma City Chapter and Past State Regent for Oklahoma: "The State Society will ever be indebted to her for her vision in establishing the Genealogical Library and for having published the first lineage records of Oklahoma members. She was also one of the members responsible for securing the Annette Hume Library. One of our first members in years of service, Mrs. Hickam began her work in D.A.R. as Treasurer of Oklahoma City Chapter in 1916. During my term as State Regent she served as State Chairman of the National Building Fund. She loves the work of the D.A.R., and every daughter in Oklahoma loves her."—Ed.

MEMORIAL GENEALOGICAL LIBRARY, D. A. R.

were mailed to all State Chapters, so that final action could be taken at the State Conference to be held at Okmulgee March 18 and 19, 1926:

The executive Board of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Oklahoma present the following resolution and amendments to the By-Laws. (1) That in order to be of more service to our members, we create a State Genealogical Circulating Library and elect a Librarian. (2) We further recommend that Article four, Section one (a) of the By-Laws be changed by striking out the word "and" before the word "Parliamentation" and inserting after the same word the words "and a Librarian" making Section one (a) of Article five to read: The officers of the Oklahoma State Conference shall be a State Regent, a State Vice-Regent, a recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Registrar, an Historian, a Chaplain, a Parliamentarian and a Librarian. (3) We further recommend that Article Five, Section Eight read as follows: The Librarian shall have charge of the Genealogical Circulating Library and other books and shall perform all other duties pertaining to her office.

In the State Regents' *Bulletin* for January 1926, sent to all State Officers, Chapter Regents and Chairman of Committees, was this paragraph: "You will note the suggested change in the State by-laws concerning the creation of the office of Librarian and making it an elective office. Will every Chapter have a part in the successful launching of our State Genealogical Library by donating a book on genealogy?"

In the *Bulletin* for February 1926 telling of the arrangements for the State Conference at Okmulgee, March 18 and 19, 1926 is this paragraph: "Friday morning at 10:30 the book shower for the Circulating Genealogical Library will be held. Either a book on genealogy or a check to pay for one will be most acceptable from both Chapters and members. Two sets of books which have been most highly recommended are Savages *General Dictionary* at $17.50 per volume and American Ancestry at $5.00 per volume."

The State Regent made every effort to keep our new project before the Chapters hoping to make a great success of the coming book shower. The State Conference was held in the Hall of Warriors in the old Creek Council House in Okmulgee. It was in this historic room that the hour approached for the announcement of the Book Shower. The splendid response was a great thrill of joy and satisfaction. Those who had gifts of books or money marched down the aisle and deposited them on the table in front of the State Officers. This was the beginning, the inauguration of our book showers which was an annual event at our State Conferences for many years.

The idea of the Circulating Library was to have the books assembled in charge of the Librarian and upon the request of Chapter Regents or Organizing Regents send them out over the state for use in research work. With the acceptance of the Library Resolutions

by the State Conference the Librarian was elected for the first time and her duties were assigned. Also, rules for lending the books were adopted. Up to this time the Librarian had been appointed by the State Regent and her duties had been chiefly to find and send acceptable books to Memorial Continental Hall Library in Washington. Mrs. J. F. Johnston of Muskogee was the Librarian by appointment and gave her first report on the Genealogical Circulating Library at the Okmulgee Conference. Her report follows:

Madam State Regent, Officers and Members of the State Conference: Because your State Regent was so gracious and your Executive Board so generous we have a report to make to you to-day. A letter to each Chapter telling about the Library was sent out with the Regents Bulletin. I want to thank each one of you for your hearty cooperation. Many Chapters wrote sending the name of the book or amount of money to be given. In beginning our Library we have tried to select those books which meet the needs of those interested in genealogical research, particularly those Chapters remote from genealogical libraries. Mr. Frank Wilder of Boston donated the State eleven books on genealogy and he offers to give $100.00 cash if we will raise $1,000.00 for this work. These books will arouse interest in family history and what is the history of our nation but the history of its families. We owe it to those who have gone before, who made possible this great nation to record their deeds, that future generations may realize and appreciate.

Mrs. J. F. Johnston, Librarian.

A resolution of thanks was sent from the Conference to Mr. Wilder for his generous gift of books and a letter of regret that we were financially unable to accept the terms of the cash gift.

We have had many interested and capable women to serve as State D. A. R. librarians since the beginning. Each librarian has done her part well adding books and enlarging the Library from year to year. Books have been donated and cash has been contributed by members, chapters and the Oklahoma State Daughters of the American Revolution. The Library was passed from one librarian to the next and kept in the home of the current librarian.

The year 1938 marked a milestone in interest in our State D.A.R. Library. Mrs. Lester B. Gum, of Oklahoma City was elected State Librarian. When she received from Mrs. F. S. Etter of Bartlesville the large number of boxes of books, all numbered with D.A.R. bookplates applied, and insured for $1250.00 she appealed to her new State Regent, Mrs. Luther Eugene Tomm of Tulsa for help. Mrs. Tomm was deeply interested in the Library, and approved the purchase of a bookcase to house the state books in her home. As the allowance from the board was only $60.00 she had a bookcase built for the purpose. About this time Oklahoma City Chapter purchased a bookcase to house their books. Mrs. John M. Hill, Chapter Regent, appointed Mrs. John P. Cook, Mrs. Virgil Browne and Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam to make the selection and purchase. Tulsa Chapter, Okemah Chapter, and Bartlesville made a like provision for their chapter books.

At the 1948 Annual State D.A.R. Conference in Enid, Mrs. Virgil Browne, State Chairman of Genealogical Records, presented a resolution that was endorsed by the conference, requesting all chapters of the State Society to write the records of the achievements and history of their chapters from the beginning and "to gather and edit for preservation family records such as wills, Bible Records, Family Histories, Old Cemetery Records, Church Registers of early dates, vital statistics of early county records all to be copied by chapter members, and sent to the State Chairman of Genealogical Records to be placed" in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. At this time Mrs. Virgil Browne organized The State Coalition of Patriotic Societies, whose object was to find and file all source material possible with the Oklahoma Historical Society and to celebrate annually, February 22nd. The State D.A.R. was one of the twenty Societies in membership. Five members from the board represented the Oklahoma Historical Society.

As the D.A.R. library grew and expanded, keeping the library books in the home became an unsatisfactory and increasingly burdensome method of caring for the volumes, so when the State Historical Society offered us space for our several bookcases, Mrs. Gum accepted the opportunity and in her report for 1938, very modestly states, "The State Historical Society has given space to the Daughters of the American Revolution to place the State Library in the Historical Building." Mrs. Gum further stated, "The many requests for many books by members and prospective members indicate that the interest for acquiring a greater knowledge of their ancestry is increasing.[1]

The Library continued to enlarge and soon more space was needed. The State D.A.R. Board provided a bookcase to take care of the great increase of books. Mrs. John P. Cook, of Oklahoma City was State D.A.R. Librarian, 1943-46 she enthusiastically assumed her duties sending out the request to all chapters, "Let us have one of the best genealogical libraries in the Southwest." The response was most gratifying. The first year, chapters subscribed $144.50 in books. The two following years, $425.50 and $264.59. The Oklahoma City Chapter valued its library at $365.59; this was added as a section to the State Library, making for this administration an increase of $1200.09, approximately doubling the value of the library. Many volumes were secured and again there was no space for added books and no bookcases available.

When Mrs. Cook called upon Mrs. Virgil Browne, Regent of Oklahoma City Chapter to secure a new bookcase, they faced a problem for we could not continue adding small bookcases and placing them

[1] The lineage papers were compiled and published in book form in 1926, and can be found in the library. Looking back through the years this project has proven well worth while.

around the walls of the Library reading room in the Oklahoma Historical Society. It was at this point that Mrs. Browne conceived the idea of building permanent bookcases for the D.A.R. collections. She consulted with Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to learn if he would approve the plan whereby the Daughters of the American Revolution might build colonial bookcases across the entire west wall of the Historical Society's Library reading room. He was very pleased that our organization was interested in such a project and invited Mrs. Browne to appear before the Board of Directors of the Historical Society to explain to the members what the State D.A.R. would like to do. The Board was unanimous in granting approval of this project giving a rising vote of thanks. She particularly wanted the bookcases to be colonial, with thirteen panes of glass in each door, and made from the same beautiful mahogany as that already used in the room of the Historical Society Reading room. George Forsythe, architect of the Historical Building was solicited to draw the plans and he did so without cost to us.

We could not have built the bookcases had it not been for our friends. We enlisted the interest of the State Board of Affairs, and were given permission to have them made at the State Penitentiary for cost of labor, material, and transportation. We are deeply indebted to Mr. Virgil Browne, who was Chairman of the State Board of Affairs at that time for his courtesy and co-operation in permitting this work to be done.

The bookcases were to be thirty-five feet in length and as the State organization of Daughters of the American Revolution had thirty-five chapters, Mrs. Browne suggested that each Chapter pay for one foot, or get twelve people to contribute $5.00 each as a Memorial either for men or women in the service of our Country, or for members of the Daughters of the American Revolution who have served their organization with especial honor. It was estimated that the cost would be $60.00 a foot or $5.00 per inch. The plan of financing worked so well and Mrs. Browne was successful in getting so much of the work donated or at cost that there was a surplus amounting to $1,600.00. This fund is being used to purchase additional books.

A Colonial mahogany plaque hangs on either side of the bookcases with the bronze insignia of the Daughters of the American Revolution. One plaque holds bronze plates with the names of related members who served in the Armed Forces, the other one the names of honored members of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mrs. Browne interested Mr. Louis Macklanburg, one of Oklahoma City's most patriotic citizens, in the D.A.R. library project,

and he offered to make and contribute the plaques and the bronze plates on which the names were to be inscribed. The names were engraved without charge by students in the engraving department at the Vocational Rehabilitation School (G.I.), at Okmulgee, which is a branch of Oklahoma A. and M. College. This was through the courtesy of the superintendent, Mr. Keith Carvelle.

Tulsa Chapter, whose enthusiastic Regent, Mrs. Luther E. Tomm, was formerly State Regent and Librarian General, gave the ladder or steps that make all books accessible. This is a beautiful and useful gift from Tulsa Chapter on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Memorial Genealogical Library.

The building of these bookcases is a splendid achievement for which every member of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Oklahoma will always be grateful to Mrs. Browne. The bookcases stand as a living memorial to her foresight in initiating the plan and seeing it through to its final completion during her term as State Librarian.

As State Regent, she appointed Mrs. John P. Cook and Mrs. Frank Sewell to compile a second catalogue of the books in the Library. The first one made by Mrs. Browne has become obsolete for many volumes have been acquired by the Library since it was issued.

Having adequate space to display properly our growing library has been a great incentive for increased contributions. The purchase of the Annette Ross Hume Genealogical Library by Oklahoma City Chapter and its presentation to the D.A.R. State Library is an acquisition of inestimable worth. The following is taken from the report of our State Librarian, Mrs. Henry D. Rinsland:

"The presentation of the Hume Library was a magnificant gift from Oklahoma City Chapter to the State Genealogical D.A.R. Library. The Chapter Librarian, Mrs. John P. Cook writes, 'Special credit for this acquisition is due our Chapter Regent, Mrs. Earl Foster, Honorary State Regent and Chairman of the State D.A.R. Library Board, Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, and our immediate past State Librarian who is now State Regent, Mrs. Virgil Browne.'

"This fine collection of more than five hundred volumes of bound and unbound genealogical books and papers were assembled by Mrs. Annette Ross Hume of Anadarko, Oklahoma. She was a prominent member of the Oklahoma Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, and her hobby was collecting genealogical source material. Through her efforts many members were added to the rolls of the State Society. Mr. Ross Hume, her son valued his mother's collection of books at $2,500.00; and offered them to us because his mother would be pleased to have them housed permanently in our beautiful colonial bookcases in the State Historical Society Building."

The dedication of the completed bookcases was held during the State D.A.R. Conference in March, 1947. On February 23, 1950,

appropriate dedication ceremonies were held for the Annette Ross Hume Library and other recent addition of books to the State genealogical Library as well as the memorial plaques. This was during the State Conference and there was a distinguished group present. Mrs. Virgil Browne, State Regent presided. Miss Helen McMakin, Librarian General, gave a talk on the usefulness, benefits and value of such a library, and Mrs. Roscoe C. O'Byrne, President General of the National Society, D.A.R. gave the dedicatory address.

The State Board that voted to create the State Genealogical Circulating Library was composed of the following members of the D.A.R.: State Regent, Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, Oklahoma City; Vice Regent, Mrs. W. F. Wiker, Ponca City; Recording Secretary, Mrs. C. E. B. Cutler, Okmulgee Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. J. Enoch Piersol, Oklahoma City; Treasurer, Mrs. Fred G. Neff, Oklahoma City; Registrar, Mrs. C. L. Beatty, Blackwell; Historian, Mrs. Carl Kruse, Enid; Chaplain, Mrs. L. N. McCash, Enid; Parliamentarian, Mrs. E. F. Walsh, Bartlesville.[2]

At this time, little did this group visualize that the Library would expand to its present size and worth in twenty-five years. It now contains more than 2,000 books and pamphlets, with an estimated value of more than $8,000.00. These volumes are instruments to assist in the perpetuation of our great patriotic Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In the years that have passed since that memorable day, November 11, 1925, when the Library was officially inaugurated our members have become more and more library conscious. It has been the interest and enthusiasm shown all over the state that has brought the Library to its present proportions. Every Chapter can not make a gift like the Annette Ross Hume Library, but every Chapter and every member who has had a part in the success of this fine accomplishment is to be congratulated. May all of those who have not had a part in building this splendid memorial be fired with enthusiasm and determine now to do all in their power to add worthwhile books to the shelves and make this the finest genealogical library collection in the Southwest.

---

[2] The names and the dates of the terms of office of successive librarians are: Mrs. J. F. Johnston, Muskogee, 1925-1927; Mrs. Frank Hamilton Marshall, Enid, 1927-1929; Mrs. C. R. Richards, Tulsa, 1929-1931; Mrs. D. A. Hughes, Oklahoma City, 1931-1933; Mrs. F. S. Etter, Bartlesville, 1933-1937; Mrs. Lester B. Gum, Oklahoma City, 1937-1940; Mrs. J. P. Curtright, Shawnee, 1940-1943; Mrs. John P. Cook, Oklahoma City, 1943-1946; Mrs. Virgil Browne, Oklahoma City, 1946-1948; Mrs. Henry D. Rinsland, Norman, 1948-1950-1951.

THE SEQUOYAH CONVENTION

*By Amos Maxwell**

Part II

The separate statehood constitutional convention which opened in Muskogee on August 21, 1905, afterward called the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention, attracted considerable attention throughout not only Indian Territory, but the Middle West as well. Besides a number of newspapermen from Indian Territory, the managing editors of the *Saint Louis Republic* and the *Kansas City Journal* and the Washington writer for the News Enterprise Association, a department of the Scripps-McRea Press Association, were there to cover this unusual convention for their readers.[1] There was good cause for this convention to attract widespread interest, for it was the first time since 1889 that a people had met to draft a constitution for statehood without first having an enabling act passed by Congress authorizing such a convention.

Just prior to the opening of the convention at eleven o'clock Monday morning, August 21, Charles N. Haskell was requested by Green McCurtain and John F. Brown, Principal Chiefs of the Choctaw and Seminole Nations, to serve as chairman of the convention. This Haskell declined, stating that Chief Pleasant Porter of the Creek Nation should serve and thereby give it the appearance of Indian leadership. Porter agreed if Haskell would serve as vice-chairman and relieve him of the routine.[2] Shortly after this meeting

---

* "The Sequoyah Convention," Part II, presented here has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, from the thesis for which Amos D. Maxwell, of Okemah, received the master's degree from Oklahoma A. and M. College at the commencement on January 27, 1950. Part I of this contribution appeared in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), pp. 161-192.—Ed.

[1] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 20, 1905, p. 1, col. 6.

[2] Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 51. (The preliminary organization of the executives of the Five Civilized Tribes to promote an international constitutional convention for the admission of the Indian Territory as a separate state had taken place at a convention held at Eufaula on May 21-23, 1903, under the call of Green McCurtain, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation. Representative of this original organization, the final call for the constitutional convention to be held at Muskogee on August 21, 1905, was issued by Principal Chief Green McCurtain of the Choctaw Nation and by Principal Chief William C. Rogers and James A. Norman of the Cherokee Nation. Neither Chief Rogers nor Mr. Norman were elected as delegates to the Muskogee convention. However, as executive of the Cherokee Nation, Chief Rogers was the duly constituted representative of the Cherokee and was doubtless serving at this time as chairman of the original organization that had held over from the Eufaula convention in 1903. In the meeting of this original organization held on the morning of August 21, 1905, Chief Rogers by virtue of his position was selected to open the constitutional convention later on the same day in the Hinton Theatre, at which time temporary officers were chosen, followed by the election of permanent officers. —Ed.)

the convention opened in the Hinton Theatre. It was reported there were "probably sixty delegates and twice as many spectators, many of them ladies."[3]

Immediately after Chief William C. Rogers of the Cherokee Nation rapped the convention to order Reverend A. Grant Evans, president of Henry Kendall College, offered the invocation. Reverend Evans was followed by Mayor F. B. Fite, who welcomed the delegates to Muskogee, and William H. Murray responded to Fite "eliciting as prolonged applause as any speaker during the session."[4] Murray's response was followed by George W. Scott of Eufaula proposing that a resolution of the chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes be accepted. This resolution, nominating temporary officers, was accepted unanimously, and D. C. McCurtain, son of Chief McCurtain, thanked the delegates for electing him temporary chairman.[5] Shortly after this, on the motion of William H. Murray, a Committee on Permanent Organization, Rules, and Order of Business was appointed.[6] Upon the appointment of this committee, with one member from each of the Five Civilized Tribes, the convention adjourned until after lunch.

When the afternoon session began that day, the first important business to be considered was a report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. The part of their report, which was a list of nominees for permanent officers, was adopted as read. The officers elected included: Pleasant Porter as chairman, Charles N. Haskell as vice-chairman, and Alexander Posey as secretary; the other officers may be found listed in Appendix C.[7] The remainder of this committee report consisted of six parts. The first part stated that a quorum should consist of a delegate, or delegates, from fourteen or more districts. Part two recommended the appointment of three committees: a committee on drafting the constitution, a committee on resolutions, and a committee on finance; the first and third of these committees were appointed. Part three recommended that all resolutions be submitted to the proper committees. Part four sug-

[3] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 22, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, cols. 1-2. Names of temporary officers are in *Appendix C.*

[6] *Ibid.*, col. 2. Names of this committee's members are in Appendix D; this committee is hereafter referred to as the Committee on Permanent Organization.

[7] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 22, 1905, p. 1, col. 3. William H. Murray has written that not Alexander Posey, but J. Hampton Tucker was the secretary. The author is in possession of a letter from Tucker, dated February 22, 1949, in which he states that he did not even attend the convention, and thus could not have been the secretary. Several writers have stated that, excepting Pleasant Porter, each of the principal chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, with William H. Murray representing the chief of the Chickasaw Nation, served as a vice-chairman of the convention. Newspaper reports of the convention fail to indicate this to have been the case. It is possible there was a silent understanding among all of the officers that those men would be considered as vice-chairmen to compensate for Chief William C. Rogers not being chosen as a delegate from any district in the Cherokee Nation, even though he had been a signer of the original Norman call.

gested that all speeches be limited to ten minutes, unless the speaker was granted permission from the convention. This fourth recommendation was not followed. The fifth recommendation was that the convention should convene at nine o'clock and at two o'clock each day. The last suggestion was that Cushing's Manual on Parliamentary Rules be used in the convention.[8]

After the above report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was adopted, Theodore Potts suggested that since there was no rule on voting that voting should be by districts. Charles H. Haskell then countered with a motion which carried; it was: if a vote was requested by ten delegates then there was to be a roll call of the districts, with each district being allowed seven votes; the seven votes could be cast as a unit or divided as the particular delegations chose.[9]

Later in the afternoon a committee was appointed to investigate the three delegates from the Atoka, or the twenty-third recording district, whom it was claimed were single staters. The three delegates were: William Bassett, D. N. Robb, and Paul B. Smith. The names of the committee appointed to investigate the three may be found in Appendix D. That night the committee asked for and received more time to investigate the delegates in question.[10]

During the night session, August 21, A. Grant Evans suggested that the chairman appoint a committee of one delegate from each district to work up sentiment for the ratification of the constitution to be written.[11] This committee for campaigning was later created, but with one delegate chosen by each delegation rather than by the chairman.

S. M. Rutherford read a letter that night which he had received from Silas Armstrong. The letter stated the Quapaw delegation was prevented from attending the convention due to swollen streams.[12]

When the convention convened at nine o'clock, Tuesday morning, August 22, the names of the members of the Committees on Constitution, on Campaign, and on Finance were announced.[13] The names of all the members of these committees may be found in Appendices E, F, and G respectively.

H. L. Muldrow, who was named as a member of the Finance Committee, wrote this writer:[14]

---

[8] *Ibid.*, cols. 3-4.
[9] *Ibid.*, col. 4.
[10] *Ibid.*, cols. 4 and 6.
[11] *Ibid.*, col. 5.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 23, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.
[14] H. L. Muldrow to Amos Maxwell, August 11, 1949.

I may have been a member of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention but even if so I was not active and Governor Murray was right in telling you that I did not attend the convention in Muskogee. If I was listed as a member of the Finance Committee, I was never advised of it and certainly did not serve. As a matter of fact, I was not in Muskogee while the Convention was in session.

There were probably a number of others named as members of committees who were not present, for on the first day it had been reported, as previously stated, there were only about sixty delegates in the convention, yet one hundred and two men had been appointed to these three committees of the three hundred and five delegates and alternates who had been elected. William H. Murray has stated: "I was the only one from the Chickasaw Nation that was at the convention from start to finish."[15] This statement of Murray's is certainly substantiated by an editorial from the *Muskogee Phoenix*:[16]

We sincerely trust Mr. Murr[a]y will succeed in getting someone here to assist him in representing the Chickasaw Nation. Not that he and the Pauls Valley delegation are not equal to the emergency, but it would be less embarassing on the roll call if districts 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 26 had some one to answer present.

Reford Bond, elected as a delegate from the ninteenth district, although a single stater, stated that he did not attend the convention because he was a young man with a heavy law practice to take care of.[17] Not being in sympathy with the announced aims of the convention, it was only natural for him to refuse to neglect his practice.

On Tuesday morning, August 22, Robert L. Owen moved that James A. Norman, author of the first call for the convention, be elected as an assistant secretary. In viewing Norman's past efforts for separate statehood, it was only fitting that he be given some position in the convention, and a logical place was a seat on the secretariate, for it was headed by Alexander Posey, an Indian newspaperman who had not been elected as a delegate. Owen's motion was approved by the convention.[18]

That morning the committee named to investigate the Atoka delegation reported they had nothing to investigate, for the three delegates in question had not been certified by Chief McCurtain. Robert L. Owen, possibly wishing to avoid any open fights in the convention, moved that they be seated as delegates-at-large. This set off a prolonged debate, and several members demanded a statement from Paul B. Smith, only one of the three present. Smith, it was reported, then made a "red hot speech in favor of separate statehood." Leo F. Bennett followed Smith with a motion to seat

[15] Interview with William H. Murray, August 9, 1949.

[16] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 23, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.

[17] Interview with Reford Bond, Member Oklahoma State Corporation Commission, August 15, 1949.

[18] *Muskogee Phoenix, loc. cit.*, p. , cols. 2-3.

the entire Atoka delegation, but Joseph M. LaHay opposed this and read the single statehood resolution adopted by that delegation on August 7. John R. Thomas, A. Grant Evans, and others then made speeches in favor of the Bennett motion, and it was carried with only William H. Murray dissenting.[19]

The *Phoenix,* while covering the convention with greater thoroughness than any other paper, could not escape the temptation to cast a few slurs and some compliments to individual members of the convention. Reporting on Robert L. Owen's reading of a memorial, it stated: "He did so, making a masterful address, from his viewpoint, the hour and a half which he consumed never occasioning the least impatience among the delegates."[20] The same type of reporting may be seen when it wrote that Solomon J. Homer, whom they stated was a full-blood Choctaw and Harvard graduate, made "One of the best addresses of the entire convention."[21]

That afternoon, Theodore Potts of the Wagoner district moved the adoption of an oath for all members of the convention. The oath he presented was: "I do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution and laws of the United States and will honestly and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter." James S. Davenport moved that the words, "and laws" be stricken from the oath. This caused quite a discussion among the members, but the oath was finally adopted as amended by Davenport.[22] This refusal of the delegates to include supporting the laws of the United States within their oath later caused some rather caustic editorials in the newspapers of the territory.

In the Tuesday afternoon session before any mention had been made on the floor of the convention for a recess, William H. Murray moved that the chairman appoint a committee of five to select prominent men to address the convention after the recess. This move came as a surprise to many of the convention delegates, but it was unanimously passed.[23] Later that afternoon Murray moved that the convention reassemble, after a recess, in South McAlester. Murray withdrew his motion when U. S. Russell, one of the delegates from South McAlester, cited the lack of hotel facilities in his city.[24] Just before five o'clock, Charles N. Haskell proposed that the convention adjourn for two weeks, leaving the Constitution Committee to draw up the constitution. The convention was then to convene

---

[19] *Ibid.,* cols. 1-2.
[20] *Ibid.,* col. 3 and p. 5, col. 1.
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 1, col. 3.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Muskogee Phoenix,* August 23, 1905, p. 1, col. 3. Names of the committee members may be found in *Appendix D.*
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 5, cols. 1-2. The paper did not state Murray's reasons for suggesting moving the convention to South McAlester.

to approve or disapprove the committee's work. At five o'clock, the convention adjourned for two weeks; it was due to reconvene at nine o'clock on September 6.[25]

That night the Constitution Committee held a meeting in the Commercial Club in Muskogee. In this organizational meeting W. W. Hastings of Tahlequah was elected chairman, John R. Thomas of Muskogee, vice-chairman, and Reverend A. Grant Evans, also of Muskogee, was chosen as secretary. P. A. Byers of Pryor Creek was later made assistant secretary. On the motion of Cheesie McIntosh the chair was authorized to appoint a committee of three to aid the chairman and vice-chairman in recommending the appointment of sub-committees. Those so named were Charles N. Haskell, Robert L. Owen, and David M. Hodge. Before the meeting adjourned, Owen spoke briefly on adopting an Indian name for the state, preferably Sequoyah.[26]

The other large committees, the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Campaign, met that night, but they adjourned shortly to await results from the Constitution Committee.[27] The following day the Finance Committee met again to receive a report from some of its members. This report recommended financing the campaign, election, and other expenses by the issuance of non-interest bearing bonds in denominations of $1 to $25 on the condition that the new state would assume the debt. Connell Rogers of Fort Gibson, a member of the committee appointed from the Constitution Committee to meet with the Finance Committee, was reported to have objected to this report in strong terms. He advocated instead voluntary subscriptions and then put $25 in cash "in the hands of the Chairman of the Finance Committee."[28]

In the meeting of the committee to draft the constitution which took place on Wednesday morning, August 23, Chairman Hastings made his appointments to the eleven subcommittees recommended. Pleasant Porter and Charles N. Haskell, chairman and vice-chairman of the constitutional convention, as well as committee chairman Hastings, were made ex-officio members of all the sub-committees. No one of the various sub-committees to draft portions of the constitution was more important than the other; they each had important duties, and they were staffed by highly capable men. The eleven sub-committees met daily and nightly from that morning until August 29; they worked hard and fast, meeting in various offices in Muskogee.[29] The short amount of time in which they

---

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 23, 1905, p. 1, col. 4.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1905, p. 7, col. 3.

[29] *Ibid.*, col. 4. Names of all members of the sub-committees and where they met may be found in *Appendix E.*

were able to prepare their reports is ample testimony to the fact that there could have been but few prolonged arguments within the sub-committees, most of whom were undoubtedly chairmaned by a fairly strong and highly intelligent individual.

Wednesday afternoon the Anti-Horse Thief Detective Association, holding a barbecue in Hyde Park in Muskogee, requested and received two speakers from the Constitutional Committee. The two who went out to speak were Robert L. Owen and Solomon J. Homer.[30]

After meeting but one day, the Sub-Committee on Suffrage, Election, and Preservation of Purity of Government, headed by Joseph M. LaHay, was reported to be consuming much time in listening to lady callers demanding women's suffrage. A newspaper report stated: "Joe says the chairman realized what he calls 'the eternal fitness of things' when he appointed him chairman of that particular committee."[31] Just what LaHay meant by "the eternal fitness of things" was left to be assumed by the readers.

On Tuesday, August 29, after a week of sub-committee meetings, the Constitution Committee met again and during the day and night sessions approved the reports of two of the sub-committees. These reports dealt with the preamble, the bill of rights, and the judiciary. Other partial reports were heard with no action being taken on them.[32]

The preamble approved contained the name of the proposed state as the State of Sequoyah. This naming the new state, Sequoyah, caused a "hot discussion." *Indianola* was suggested by Masterson Peyton, and *Tecumseh* by George W. Grayson, but Charles N. Haskell and others made speeches in favor of the reported name. It was finally adopted but without unanimous consent. The name, Sequoyah, according to the *Phoenix,* was first suggested in a poem by J. S. Holden, published sometime in 1898 in the *Fort Gibson Post.*[33]

In approving the bill of rights, there was reported debate on but three major items. The first item was over a recommendation that defendants in criminal cases be furnished an abstract of all the evidence to be brought against them. Judge John R. Thomas, A. S. McKennon, and Theodore Potts all objected to this provision, declaring it would be unsafe and cause endless delay. Robert L. Owen, S. M. Rutherford, and James S. Davenport defended the provision, but accepted an amendment by Cheesie McIntosh. The amendment

---

[30] *Ibid.*, col. 3.

[31] *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 25, 1905, p. 8, col. 3.

[32] *Ibid.*, August 30, 1905, p. 1, col. 5 and p. 8, cols. 3-4.

[33] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1905, p. 6, col. 4. The poem mentioned above may be seen in *Appendix J.*

was that defendants be provided with only an abstract of evidence submitted before the grand jury. There was discussion on whether a simple or two-thirds majority of jurors should be required for decisions in civil cases. W. W. Hastings urged final acceptance of the simple majority as used in the Cherokee courts; this was finally adopted. The third provision which aroused debate was a provision allowing any citizen to carry arms to defend his home or property. This was amended in order that one could carry arms for common defense, but it did not justify the carrying of concealed weapons.[34]

In a night session on Tuesday, August 29, the Sub-Committee on the Judiciary reported. This group recommended that five supreme court justices be provided for in the constitution, but after Cheesie McIntosh, S. M. Rutherford, Solomon J. Homer, William H. Murray, and Joseph M. LaHay had spoken it was agreed to reduce the number to three. Also adopted was a provision outlawing the acceptance of a railroad pass by any judge of the courts of the state.[35]

That day the Finance Committee had reported they had already received $1,200 in contributions to pay the expense of later printing the constitution, ballots, and other miscellaneous expenses. At this time it was seen necessary to appoint an auditing sub-committee to take care of the funds collected and disbursed.[36]

On Wednesday, August 30, the first really personal clashes of the convention occurred. These arguments were between Charles N. Haskell and S. M. Rutherford, and they were later continued after the convention had reassembled in September. In the morning session a heated argument took place over whether four Congressmen should be elected or one delegate. Haskell held the former should be done, while Rutherford the latter. It was at this time that Haskell stated there were four conditions under which Indian Territory legislation should be considered; these were: "statehood for Indian Territory; territorial form of government; go straight to the devil; or be joined with Oklahoma." He added: "These steps are arranged in order of my preference. We can gain nothing by asking for second choice when we are just as likely to get first choice."[37] The Haskell position was upheld by the committee. That afternoon Rutherford moved to have the report of the sub-

---

[34] *Ibid.*, August 30, 1905, p. 1, cols. 5-6.

[35] *Ibid.*, col. 3. Louis M. Hacker has stated: "Judges, juries, and state officials were recipients of the largess of the railroads: the pass was the least of the common evils indulged in." Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States Since* 1865, p. 264. It might also be noted that the Elkins Act of 1903 prohibited variation from published rates but not the granting of passes to public officials.

[36] *Ibid.*, col. 4. Names of the members of this sub-committee may be found in *Appendix G.*

[37] Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57 and *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 31, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

committee on county boundaries sent back to the committee. He wanted the state divided into thirty-three counties instead of the forty-eight as recommended. At this time Rutherford accused Haskell of supporting the forty-eight county plan for personal and financial reasons and not for the good of the future state. Joseph M. LaHay disagreed with Rutherford and Masterson Peyton took issue with LaHay, but the forty-eight county plan was finally adopted by the group.[38]

The report of the Sub-Committee on Militia and Minor Administrative Departments was adopted on Wednesday as were several partial reports. Before the committee adjourned, Theodore Potts was selected to draft a provision for the constitution regulating the issuance of charters to corporations by municipal governments.[39]

On Thursday, August 31, the reports of the Education, the Executive, and the Suffrage Sub-Committees were all accepted, each with some changes in its original form. On this day also a subcommittee was named to redraft and edit all of the reports then, or later, adopted by the full committee.[40]

On Friday, September 1, the remainder of the draft of the constitution was adopted. Among some of the provisions adopted were the following: naming the forty-eight counties and outlining their boundaries; setting up twenty-one senatorial districts, eight circuit court districts, and three supreme court districts; the naming of Fort Gibson as temporary capital of the state for six years; the adoption of a corporation commission modeled on the Virginia commission; and providing for a modified form of prohibition of intoxicants. That night the committee turned over to the editing subcommittee all of the material approved by the Constitution Committee. This was to be prepared for presentation to the constitutional convention the next week when it convened.[41]

The work of drawing up the map of forty-eight counties aroused considerable interest throughout the territory, probably more interest than any other part, or parts, of the convention proceedings. As William H. Murray has written:[42]

> It was the especial duty of C. N. Haskell and the writer [Murray] to draw the map of the Counties. I recall many amusing incidents of how we forced prominent lawyers to recognize our Convention, and to visit our Committee. We insisted upon their filing petitions in writing and signed by them. This was often effected by drawing tentative County lines through

---

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*, col. 2.

[40] *Ibid.*, September 1, 1905, p. 1, col. 5. The names of the members of this subcommittee may be found in *Appendix E.*

[41] *Ibid.*, September 2, 1905, p. 1, cols. 3, 4, and 6 and p. 4, cols. 3-4.

[42] William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (1931), 129.

the center of a town, then making changes when petitions were filed. As the map would appear in the Daily Press from day to day, more petitioners would come to Muskogee.

In another work, Murray has written that the sub-committee drew a county line through the town of Ardmore and then required a petition from the townspeople stating why it should be changed. The county line was changed to three miles south of Ardmore, but by doing this Murray and Haskell and other leaders of the convention were able to have the convention recognized and respected by its most hearty opponents.[43] In verification of Murray's statements on his part in the county boundary question, the *Muskogee Phoenix* published six different items on its editorial page in one issue referring to the county line situation. One such item read: "It now looks as if Mr. Murry [sic] of the Chickasaw Nation might have a strenuous time with some of his counties when the convention meets Tuesday."[44]

On Tuesday, September 5, the Constitution Committee met to receive the final edited draft of the constitution as prepared by the editing sub-committee. During that day several changes were made and some suggested changes were voted down. After a heated debate on women's suffrage, an amendment providing for it was rejected. A few of the boundaries of counties were changed including the boundary of the county in which Ardmore was located. A petition was presented by George W. Grayson of Eufaula asking that the capitol be located at that town instead of Fort Gibson. The petition from the citizens of Eufaula cited the fact that the town was only three miles from the exact center of the proposed state, and they agreed to furnish all of the buildings and land needed.[45]

On Tuesday, September 5, a proclamation drawn up by Chief Pleasant Porter, and signed by the other cooperating chiefs, was presented to the Constitution Committee. This proclamation was about four hundred words in length and was to be made a part of the campaign literature. It was an eloquent testimonial to the Indian's belief in Christianity and the just American government under which he lived. It ended: " . . . . our present governments shall not be annihilated but transformed into material for a nobly builded state. 'Thus shall we have life not death.' "[46] Along with this proclamation was printed in the *Phoenix* the next day an address by Reverend A. Grant Evans. The address was about twenty-five hundred words and covered one-half of the page. In general, it dealt with three questions: was separate statehood right; was it

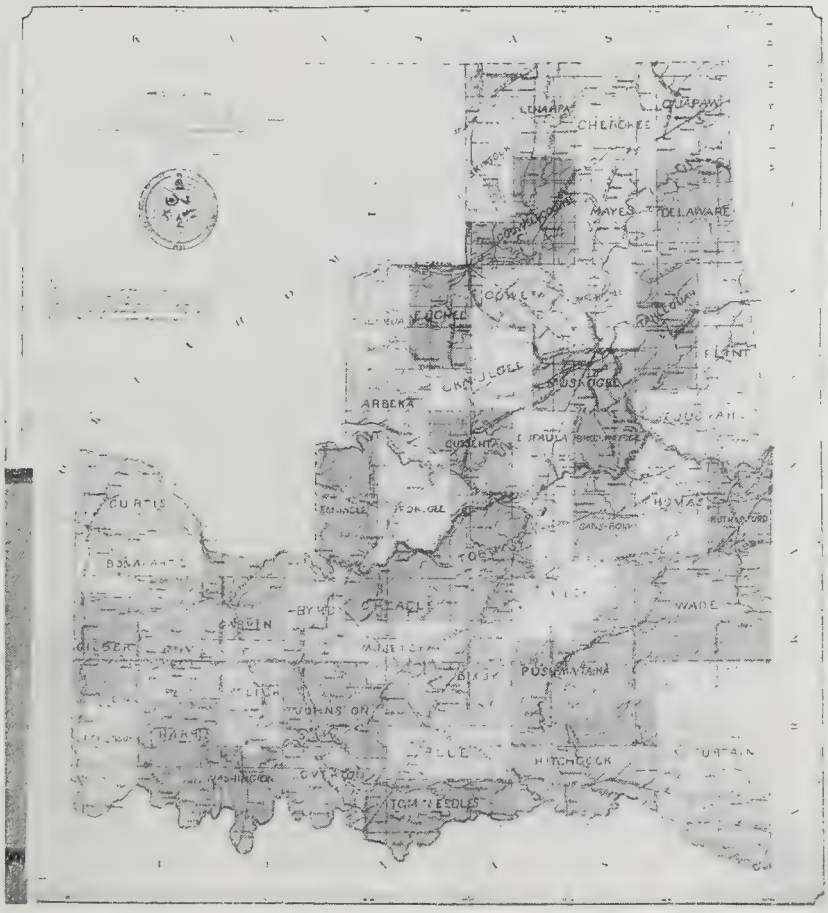
---

[43] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, I, 315-316.

[44] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 3, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.

[45] *Ibid.*, September 6, 1905, p. 1, cols. 3 and 4, and p. 2, cols. 1 and 2.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 2, cols. 1-2.



COUNTIES OF PROPOSED STATE OF SEQUOYAH

desirable; and was it practical? The answer of course was in the affirmative.[47]

General Pleasant Porter, chairman of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention, called the convention back to order at nine-twenty, Wednesday morning, September 6, in the Hinton Theatre. The stage had been decorated with ferns and flowers and with life-size portraits of prominent Indians. Above the speaker's rostrum was a huge picture of President Theodore Roosevelt, surrounded on either side by American flags. There was a drawing of the seal of the proposed State of Sequoyah; it was decorated with flowers and fern. As the convention opened, it was reported there were not over forty present, but this number increased later to "probably one hundred." There were a few delegates there who had not previously attended and were administered the oath; two of those were from the Chickasaw Nation. John R. Goat, a full blood Creek, asked to have the proceedings translated into the Creek language, and Chairman Porter translated his request and agreed to have a translator appointed.[48] Thus the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention was in full and open session for the second time in two weeks.

Almost as soon as the convention opened Wednesday morning, S. M. Rutherford attempted to bring up the county boundary issue. He was immediately declared out of order.[49] At this time W. W. Hastings, chairman of the Constitution Committee, presented the constitution to the convention and moved it be adopted. He made what was termed "a neat speech" on the labor of his committee.[50]

Following Hastings' motion for adoption of the constitution, Reverend Evans read the address of the Chiefs and the one he had written, both of which were published in the previous day's newspapers. Following Evans' reading of the addresses, the Financial Committee read its report. It was stated in the report that the total taxable wealth of Indian Territory was $418,000,000.00.[51]

Charles N. Haskell gained the floor after the reading of the financial report. He had a poem called "Wahoma", written by Mrs. M. Zoe Duckworth of Claremore, a daughter of John Bullette, a Delaware citizen and member of the convention representing district number four. After being asked to sing the poem, Haskell finally agreed to read it. The poem follows:[52]

Sweet the solemn intonation, sad the chimes so faint so low,
Marking the time for dying nations once supreme, now fading so.

---

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[48] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 7, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*, cols. 1-2.

Drop a tear from memories vessel, for the quaint old days of yore,
When our souls were held in common—child and nature's at nature's door.
Soon the lives of many nations, scions of a new world's throng—
Follows down as falls the mighty, hand of God direct, control the strong.
Faithful to the great white father, loyal child of council fire,
Sacred peace pipe, empty quiver, spirit one on high enquire—
Ere we reach the sunset station, Hearts pure son of love proclaim.
All glory to the dying nations to heaven and nature's own refrain.

The convention recessed until afternoon. All afternoon was spent reading the constitution.

In the evening session, Wednesday, September 6, three major events took place. First was the passage of Articles I and II, the bill of rights and the powers of government, respectively; second, "Wahoma" was sung by a Mr. Ware, accompanied by A. W. Roper; and third, the county boundary fight broke in full force on the floor of the convention. This injection of the county boundary issue came during a discussion on Article III on the legislature. S. M. Rutherford moved to reduce the counties to thirty. Haskell called Rutherford out of order because he was a member of the committee recommending the constitution. Chairman Porter ruled such to be the case. U. S. Russell of South McAlester then moved to send this provision back to the committee. Masterson Peyton seconded Russell's motion. Rutherford then got the floor and spoke on the need for economy, saying the taxable wealth of the new state would be only $100,000,000, not over $400,000,000 as reported that morning. Following him, W. W. Hastings and William H. Murray spoke in favor of having forty-eight counties. Walter F. Fears of Eufaula then spoke for recommitting the county map back to the committee. Joseph M. LaHay spoke briefly for the proposed map, and Russell again asked that it be recommitted to the committee. W. H. H. Keltner followed Russell with "a humorous speech which aroused much laughter." Haskell and Cheesie McIntosh then spoke in favor of the forty-eight county map, and Peyton again asked for the map to be sent back to the committee. During this debate it was reported that Rutherford and Haskell "indulged in a few spicy exchanges . . . ." Nothing definite was settled at the time, and the convention closed after Mr. Ware sang, "State of Sequoyah" improvised to the tune of "Dixie."[53]

Immediately after the invocation on Thursday morning, September 7, Charles N. Haskell and S. M. Rutherford offered their apologies to the convention for their action on the previous day and night. This "was accepted by a rising vote amid great applause."[54] Throughout the morning the only business transacted by the convention was the reading of, voting on, correcting, amending, and adopting of section after section of the constitution. Only

[53] *Ibid.*, cols. 2-3.
[54] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 8, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.

one incident in the entire morning marred the peaceful spirit of the occasion. This developed when it was proposed to change the name of a county from "Tume-chi-chee" to "McIntosh." When the motion was objected to, Cheesie McIntosh, who had made the proposal, withdrew it. A few minutes later McIntosh received the floor "and directed strong remarks at Chief Porter. General Porter replied and McIntosh then retracted his remarks."[55] There was no statement by the press as to whether the remarks addressed at Porter were on his ruling or some other matter. The remarks of each were probably in the Creek language.

Four Congressional nominees were selected by the convention to be approved or disapproved by the electorate at the election on ratifying the constitution, already set for Tuesday, November 7. The four were: John R. Thomas, Muskogee; C. L. Long, Wewoka; Joseph M. LaHay, Claremore; and D. C. McCurtain, South McAlester. The first two were Republicans and whites, while the latter two were Democrats and Indians.[56] All four men were unanimously approved. The first three thanked the convention for the honor bestowed upon them; D. C. McCurtain was absent from the session.[57]

Thursday afternoon, September 7, was devoted entirely to approving various articles of the constitution. During the session the final attempt to cut the number of counties from forty-eight to thirty occurred. During the course of the debate on Article XII on the boundaries and divisions of and within the proposed state, a motion was made by Walter F. Fears to send the article back to the committee and increase this particular sub-committee by the addition of one member from each recording district. Cheesie McIntosh then made a motion to table the Fears' motion and a vote was taken. By a vote of one hundred and forty-seven to six the Fears' motion was tabled, and the attempt to reduce the number of counties to thirty ended.[58] After this, a few county boundary changes were made before the supper recess.

The *Phoenix* reported: "The evening session [Thursday, September 7] opened with the opera house well filled all the boxes being occupied by ladies who have begun to take a great interest in the proceedings."[59] After an hour of reading and adopting various articles a "spirited debate" took place over the naming of the capital. W. W. Hastings, Cheesie McIntosh, A. S. McKennon, George W. Grayson, Walter F. Fears, William H. Murray, William P. Thompson, and others entered into the debate arguing for the selection of Fort Gibson, Eufaula, and South McAlester as the

---

[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Charles Evans and Clinton O. Bunn, *Oklahoma Civil Government*, p. 80.
[57] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 8, 1905, p. 1, col. 1 and p. 5, col. 3.
[58] *Ibid.*, cols. 3-4.
[59] *Ibid.*, col. 4.

capitol city. Fort Gibson was eventually decided upon by "a large majority."[60] Following this a resolution was introduced by Thomas H. Owen and approved by the convention appointing a committee of six to bear the constitution and the memorial to be prepared to Congress. The committee was composed of Charles N. Haskell, William H. Murray, and the four Congressmen.[61] They would leave for Washington after the November election on the constitution.

Cheesie McIntosh then introduced a resolution which was passed shortly before the convention closed that night. It is reproduced below:[62]

Whereas, Those who are actively working for the cause of single statehood entertain the idea that because the principal chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes are working assiduously to establish a separate state for Indian Territory, in so doing they are committing themselves to the cause of statehood of some kind and that Congress may construe their actions as warranting the bringing in of the Indian Territory with Oklahoma as a single state and that they would acquiesce in such action, therefore,

Be it Resolved, That the people of the Indian Territory are in good faith demanding separate statehood as a matter of right and not with a view of obstructing any kind of statehood if Congress should see fit to refuse this just demand and join the Indian Territory with Oklahoma and bring it into the Union as a single state with Oklahoma Territory it will do so without the consent of the Indians, as well as other inhabitants and over their most solemn protest.

This resolution was no doubt brought about to offset the influence of the editorials running in newspapers at that time predicting that the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention would further the interests not of separate statehood, but of single statehood. There was feeling also among some that the convention was being held only to prevent any kind of statehood and thus further the control of appointed Federal officials and their friends in the territory. This resolution was intended to put a quietus to such statements. That it did not will be seen in the following chapter.

Immediately prior to the closing of that night session, Thursday, September 7, a form of ballot was approved for the voting in November on the constitution.[63] This ballot is reproduced in Appendix I. It will be seen in examining the ballot that it was necessary to vote for ratification before being allowed to cast a vote for a county seat of the particular county in which the elector resided. Since the leaders of the convention realized it would be difficult to get out a vote among the single staters and among the Indians who wanted no change in their system of government, they were shrewd in injecting an issue calculated to draw a maximum number of voters to

---

[60] *Ibid;* and p. 5, col. 3.
[61] *Muskogee Phoenix,* September 8, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Muskogee Phoenix,* September 8, 1905, p. 5, col. 3.

the polls. A number of voters, not knowing whether Congress would approve of statehood for Indian Territory, would very likely want to vote on the county seat question to make certain their town would be chosen if Congress did create the state. This, the leaders knew, would bring out a larger vote, for they couldn't vote on the county seat question until they had voted for ratifying the constitution. As Haskell, a number of years later, stated: "I knew that if we got out a good vote we would have to put some element of personal interest in it, so we injected the county seat question."[64] After approval of the ballot, the convention closed until the following morning.

On the morning of the last day of the convention, Friday, September 8, an amendment to the constitution was passed which required any future railroad built within any county of the state, which passed within four miles of the county seat, to pass through that county seat unless obstructed by natural objects and provided that the county seat town granted a right of way and furnished grounds for the depot. The vote on this amendment was twenty to eighteen in its favor. During the debate on this provision, W. W. Hastings, Joseph M. LaHay, S. M. Rutherford, and William P. Thompson were opposed to it, while John R. Thomas, A. S. McKennon, and W. H. H. Keltner supported the measure.[65]

Following this debate A. Grant Evans introduced a resolution which was passed, appealing to Congress to purchase the Indian schools in Indian Territory for the use of the State of Sequoyah. This was asked due to the lack of public domain land for school use as in other states.[66]

Another amendment to the constitution was made that morning when it was voted to prohibit foreclosure of a homestead by mortgage. This provision stated that no homestead mortgage would be legal, except for the purchase of the homestead or for improvements thereon.[67]

Just before noon the convention adjourned, but preceding this, W. W. Hastings moved the adoption of the constitution as amended. This was done by a unanimous vote of all present, thirty-five members.[68] Afterwards, on the motion of S. M. Rutherford, a committee of twenty was appointed to accompany the committee of six to Washington. This committee was to lobby among the members of

---

[64] Paul Nesbitt, "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV (1936), 203.
[65] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 9, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.*, cols. 1-2.

Congress for the passage of an enabling act.[69] Finally the convention adjourned, but not until a resolution of thanks had been passed. This resolution thanked the people of Muskogee for their hospitality, Pleasant Porter for his impartiality as presiding officer, Charles N. Haskell and W. W. Hastings for their hard work, and A. Grant Evans and the other officers for their performance of duties. The convention also thanked the press of Muskogee, the railroads, and the Muskogee Commercial Club. With the reading of a poem by James A. Norman, the benediction by Reverend A. Grant Evans, and the singing of "God Be With You Till We Meet Again," the convention adjourned sine die.[70]

As the convention closed that day at high twelve, some of those few who were there until the end and probably many of those who had left on earlier trains remembered a few of the words of Pleasant Porter when he had said to them earlier in the convention:[71]

> From time immemorial the Indians as a heritage of the original inhabitants have been promised a state, an empire of their own. Driven west by successive invasions the Indians were forced to settle in this territory which is undoubtedly Indian country. They have taken on the dress, the customs, and the religion of the white man and they welcome him as a brother. The national government must grant us separate statehood or make a confession.

Just what the confession referred to was not elaborated on by Porter, but it most probably was understood by those who heard the speech to mean that if separate statehood was not granted, the Federal government would thus show that it had not meant to fulfill the treaties and agreements entered into with the Five Civilized Tribes during the previous seventy-five years, which had promised the Indians that no state would be created including their territory without their permission. This was a sobering thought for any man elated over the results of the convention to carry home with him. It was a thought which might inspire many of the non-Indian delegates to work even harder to get Congress to pass an enabling act for the proposed State of Sequoyah, thereby proving that the United States Government could keep its promises made to the Indians.

Ratification of the Sequoyah Constitution

On the day the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention adjourned, September 8, the Supreme Election Board, named in Article VI of the constitution, met and elected officers. The four members chose D. N. Robb as chairman; A. B. Cunningham, vice-chairman; and Carl Pursel, secretary. The other member was David M. Hodge. Hodge and Robb were Republicans, while the other two were Demo-

---

69 *Ibid.*, col. 2.
70 *Ibid.*
71 Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

crats.[72] During that meeting of the Supreme Election Board two rules were laid down for the conduct of the coming election. The first of these was that any recognized political party could nominate four candidates for Congress if that political party nominated them at a properly held convention. The second rule issued was that any town aspiring to be a county seat and have its name printed on the ballots must notify the Supreme Election Board by October 1.[73] From the time these rules were issued the campaign for ratification began in full swing.

During the campaign for ratification, just as during the convention, there was great newspaper opposition. While the convention had been in session almost every newspaper in the territory had opposed it; only a few had approved. But from the time the convention closed it was cause for notice when the campaign received any favorable publicity.

Highly played up in the newspapers was the rejection of a challenge to a debate on the Sequoyah statehood movement by H. G. Baker, chairman of the Sequoyah Campaign Committee, sent to the Single Statehood Executive Committee of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, holding a meeting in Tulsa on September 19. The challenge was rejected, they said, because it was sent on behalf of a constitutional convention which "was not representative and because of the unfair methods and the proposed way of holding election." The Single Statehood Executive Committee then proposed holding an election in Indian Territory on the issue of uniting with Oklahoma or having a separate state.[74] While no such election, as suggested by the single staters, was ever held, if it had been it most likely would have approved the separate state idea. Paul Nesbitt quotes Haskell as saying the Democrats of Indian Territory "accepted . . . . single statehood because they knew there was no possible chance of getting any other kind of enabling act."[75] William H. Murray has written concerning separate statehood:[76]

> "The movement was unpopular. . . . among all the newspapers, and professional men generally, but it was intensely popular with the Indians and farmers, most of whom belonged to the Farmers Union, to the astonishment of the element that otherwise would be called the 'Leaders of the people.' "

Dr. W. W. Groom, at present the secretary of the Scottish Rite Consistory in McAlester, told this writer that during that period when

---

[72] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 9, 1905, p. 1, col. 2.
[73] *Ibid.*, cols. 2-3.
[74] *Ibid.*, September 20, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.
[75] Paul Nesbitt, "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV (1936), 194-195.
[76] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, I, 317.

he had been a young medical doctor in Bristow he had favored separate statehood. Doctor Groom said he found most of the whites in Indian Territory favored it also, for most of them came from the South or from border states, and thus they had little or nothing in common with the "short grassers" of Oklahoma Territory, who came from Kansas or other Northern states.[77] Taking the statements of Haskell, Murray, and Groom as a base, one can assume that most people in Indian Territory did want separate statehood, but it might be charged that those opinions are biased since they come from men definitely favorable to separate statehood. To this charge the answer must be that they were reasonable, well-thought opinions, and each from a different facet of the question and from men well acquainted in the territory. They were not hasty, ill-considered statements made with the purpose of swaying either an audience or a reader to a cause, for each statement was made or written many years after separate statehood, as an issue, was dead, and as a possibility in the future was unthinkable.

On September 23 a convention was held in Checotah protesting against the Sequoyah movement. With about three hundred present a six-pointed resolution was approved which opposed the Sequoyah Constitution and pledged the group to single statehood.[78]

H. G. Baker, who had earlier challenged any member of the Single Statehood Executive Committee to a debate on the Sequoyah movement, replied September 24 to the challenge to hold an election just on single or separate statehood. In refusing the challenge he stated: " . . . . we assume, of course, that you do not expect us to accept the terms. . . . . " Baker then stated that a vote of "No" on the Sequoyah Constitution could be considered as meaning the people of Indian Territory favored single statehood.[79]

In mid-September the Independent Statehood Club of Bacone, formed of students from Indian University and Bacone College, challenged the students of the University of Oklahoma to a debate on the question: "Resolved, That Indian Territory should be admitted to the union as a state without the annexation of the Territory of Oklahoma." The Bacone club offered to support the affirmative side.[80] This challenge was refused.[81]

On Thursday, September 28, two conventions were held in Okmulgee, and each of them split over the statehood issue. In the first, the annual convention of the Indian Territory Suffrage League,

---

[77] Interview with W. W. Groom, August 9, 1949.
[78] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 24, 1905, p. 3, cols. 2-3.
[79] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 26, 1905, p. 3, cols. 3-4.
[80] *Ibid.*, September 27, 1905, p. 7, col. 4. The date this challenge was made was not shown in the paper.
[81] Roy Gittinger to Amos Maxwell, September 12, 1949.

which was attended by one hundred and nine persons, one hundred members declared in a resolution for Sequoyah. The other nine members bolted the convention and held a rump convention for single statehood.[82] The second convention was a meeting of about eighty Negroes. When the chairman of the group, W. A. Rentie, refused to entertain a motion to pass a resolution favoring single statehood, sixty-two of the group left and reorganized in order to be able to pass such a resolution.[83] The original purpose of the Negro convention was not stated in the newspaper article.

In an editorial on September 29, the *Muskogee Phoenix* predicted that within two weeks after Congress convened in December that the fight for separate statehood would be dropped. To substantiate their argument they quoted John R. Thomas, one of the Sequoyah Congressional nominees as saying: "What we want is statehood and if we can not get separate statehood then let us be joined to Oklahoma, only let there be no delay."[84] If the *Phoenix* did not distort the meaning in the Thomas quotation, then there would be little delay in that next session of Congress in granting single statehood, for separate statehood meant a long, hard, and continuous fight, for Thomas, it can be seen, was pledging himself not to statehood for the proposed State of Sequoyah, but just to statehood. This idea of statehood, single or double, had been the original aim of Charles N. Haskell when he called on Chief Pleasant Porter the preceding July after reading the Norman call; yet as seen on page 69 the Sequoyah Convention itself passed a resolution on September 7 stating exactly the opposite. The *Phoenix,* then, if they did not distort the Thomas statement, had been right all along in predicting that the Sequoyah Convention would aid single statehood, for here was one of the Sequoyah nominees urging statehood with Oklahoma, if necessary.

That same day, September 29, the Cherokee National Council passed Joint Resolution No. 11, which opposed union with Oklahoma and resolved that the Cherokee people favored separate statehood for the area of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Quapaw Reservation. The resolution also approved the Sequoyah Constitution.[85]

The *Phoenix* on Sunday, October 1, in an effort to increase the advertising of the paper, boost its circulation, or just simply in the interests of good journalism, published a souvenir edition of twenty-eight pages on the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention. Other than the news and features of the normal eight page paper, this edition contained biographies of nineteen leaders of the convention,

---

[82] *Muskogee Phoenix,* September 29, 1905, p. 1, cols. 5-6.
[83] *Ibid.,* cols. 1-2.
[84] *Ibid.,* p. 4, col. 1.
[85] Exhibit F to *Senate Docs.* No. 143, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4912, p. 46.

the constitution, lists of most of the committees, and pictures of many of the prominent members.[86] The publication of this edition did not indicate that the newspaper was changing its stand on the issue of statehood, for it did not lessen its editorial criticism and slanted stories on the campaign then in progress for ratification of the constitution.

The next day Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota, slated to be the chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee in the coming Fifty-ninth Congress, stopped over in Muskogee during his tour of Indian Territory. During an interview, Senator Clapp stated he had reached the conclusion that the people of Muskogee preferred separate statehood.[87] In view of the Senator being a member of the Republican Party this interview was widely quoted and often distorted later.

On October 7, Chairman Pleasant Porter called for all of the delegates to the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention to reconvene in South McAlester on Saturday, October 14, at ten o'clock.[88] This meeting was to be held in order that all of the delegates could sign the constitution.

On October 12 and 13, the *Phoenix* quoted President Roosevelt and Senator Beveridge, each of whom had given statements favoring single statehood. In an editorial the *Phoenix* on October 12 quoted the *Kansas City Star* of October 8, which had quoted the President as saying: "I want you to have statehood . . . . but not for Oklahoma alone. I am with you for joint statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and I would also like to see New Mexico and Arizona come in as one state."[89] The day after the *Phoenix* quoted the President, a letter was printed on the front page addressed to S. T. Bledsoe of Ardmore and signed by Senator Albert J. Beveridge; two excerpts from the letter follow:[90]

. . . . It is my emphatic opinion that the bill making Oklahoma and Indian Territory one state under the name of Oklahoma will pass both the House and the Senate, and become a law very early in the next session. Certainly no bill making Indian Territory a state has the slightest chance of passage.

Men in public life are not surprised at schemes such as you describe the separate statehood plan in Indian Territory to be. Answering your question as to what effect such manipulation will have on the next Congress: I answer that I think it will have no effect at all. Certainly it would not have the slightest effect on myself. . . . .

This letter by Beveridge was widely quoted throughout the Indian

---

[86] *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 1, 1905, pp. 9-28.
[87] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1905, p. 1, col. 5.
[88] *Ibid.*, October 10, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.
[89] *Ibid.*, October 10, 1905, p. 4, col. 1.
[90] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

Territory press in the remaining period before the vote on the Sequoyah Constitution.

In an editorial in the same issue that printed the Beveridge letter, the *Phoenix* appealed to the delegates of the Sequoyah convention, scheduled to meet in South McAlester on the next day, to withdraw their constitution and join the group urging single statehood.[91] This editorial was addressed to the separate state advocates in Indian Territory. In the edition of the following day, the *Phoenix* claimed the county seat elections were only being held to draw voters to the polls and that the election of November 7 was not an election on statehood at all. In six different editorial items, the *Phoenix* then urged the electorate to stay away from the polls.[92] Of course, the *Phoenix* was right in its statement that the county seat elections were being held only to draw voters, for had not Charles N. Haskell purposefully intended such to be the case?[93]

On Saturday, October 14, at ten-thirty, the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention reconvened in the Opera House in South McAlester. One hundred and forty-three delegates were there from twenty-five of the twenty-six recording districts. At this meeting in South McAlester, three major events took place: first, an anti-labor provision in the constitution was stricken; second, the time for towns being allowed to file for county seat was extended from October 1 to October 17; and third, the delegates authorized Chairman Pleasant Porter and Secretary Alexander Posey to sign the constitution for them.[94] This latter was done to avoid the expense of engrossing the entire document of approximately 35,000 words on parchment until they were certain that Congress would pass an enabling act.

On Tuesday morning, October 17, it was reported that E. A. DeMeules, the treasurer of the Finance Committee of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention, resigned his post.[95] There was no statement as to why he resigned. The *Phoenix,* which had reported the DeMeules resignation also had a column on the requirement of the Supreme Election Board making it mandatory for each town wishing to be listed on the ballot as a candidate for county seat to pay $100.00 to the Board. This requirement, not previously mentioned in the press, was to aid in the payment of the expenses of the convention and the printing of the ballots. The paper stating its opinion in the news item: "The surprising thing is that there are not 480 counties on that map and that efforts were not made to get

---

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 4, col. 2.
[92] *Ibid.*, October 14, 1905, p. 4, cols. 1-2.
[93] See page 313, this publication.
[94] *Muskogee Phoenix,* October 15, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-3.
[95] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

from three to a dozen applications for county seat privileges from each.''[96] This statement, coupled with the DeMeules' resignation under the same heading, left the impression that the leaders of the Sequoyah Convention were only making an effort to swindle the various towns out of their money and that E. A. DeMeules could stand it no longer. This would tend to show the healthy respect held for the chances of the constitution being ratified in the coming election and efforts to swing all possible voters against it.

Two days later the *Phoenix* reported in a very biased article of the disbandment of the Separate State Club of Coweta and its reorganization into a single state club. According to the paper it occurred on the night of October 17.[97]

On October 21, the *Phoenix* published the statehood views of one hundred and five of the newspapers in Indian Territory. Of those, they listed seventy-eight as against separate statehood, sixteen for it, and only eleven as neutral. Of all the newspapers listed, there was only one listed as neutral from the Chickasaw Nation, and none as for it from that nation. The one neutral paper in the Chickasaw Nation was the *Wynnewood New Era*.[98]

A letter from Speaker Joseph Cannon to Delegate Bird S. McGuire was published under a Pawnee, Oklahoma Territory, dateline of October 24. In part the letter from Cannon read: ''I would consider the very best way to defeat statehood entirely, would be to advocate separate statehood.''[99] This letter was widely quoted throughout the territory with one aim in mind—that of counteracting the influence of the Sequoyah speakers and the Choctaw and Chickasaw National Councils passing resolutions favoring separate statehood. These two bodies had each passed resolutions opposing union with Oklahoma Territory and commending the Sequoyah Constitution to their constituents.[100]

While the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw National Councils had in September and October passed resolutions favoring the Sequoyah movement, the Creek National Council passed, by a vote of forty-six to twenty-six, a lengthy resolution against it. This resolution stated that the Government of the United States had bound itself in ''treaty'' with the Creek Nation never to form a state or territory from the land they occupied without their consent.[101] Thus Pleasant Porter, who had been instructed by the twenty-three

---

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 19, 1905, p. 1, col. 4.

[98] *Ibid.*, October 21, 1905, p. 4, cols. 3-5.

[99] *Ibid.*, October 25, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[100] Exhibits D and E to *Senate Docs.* No. 143, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4912, pp. 44-46.

[101] *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 28, 1905, p. 1, cols. 3-4. The treaty referred to is no doubt the Creek and Seminole Treaty of August 4, 1856.

tribal leaders on July 14 to oppose any kind of statehood with Oklahoma Territory, yet had signed an agreement with Charles N. Haskell and other Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes on July 18 to approve such a union on the failure of Congress to agree to Indian Territory statehood, met with strong opposition in his own legislature. The resolution, which this opposition group passed, also stated that the Creek Nation was against the Sequoyah movement for if Congress did not approve it then the leaders were to work for passage of a single statehood bill. This move of the Creek legislature late in October no doubt hurt the campaign but to what extent it is difficult to determine.

On Sunday, October 29, Reverend E. M. Sweet, secretary of the Indian Territory Church Federation For Prohibition Statehood, had a full page article published in the *Muskogee Phoenix* on the prohibition article in the Sequoyah Constitution. He urged all to vote on the constitution and for those who did not vote on it to write Senator Albert J. Beveridge and Congressman Edward L. Hamilton urging prohibition. The article ended: " . . . . The enemy will endeavor to make it appear that all who do not vote for the constitution are against prohibition."[102] It can be seen by this that the members of the Constitution Committee had chosen wisely when it was decided to include a modified form of prohibition among the many parts of the lengthy document, for by doing so they were to garner a great number of the "dry state" votes.

As the campaign for ratification drew to a close a number of newspapers throughout the Territory fought the election bitterly. On Saturday, November 4, the *Phoenix* reprinted fourteen editorials from different newspapers which were hostile either to separate statehood or the election being held. On the morning of the election this paper climaxed its fight against separate statehood by having four different editorial items urging the people to refrain from going to the polls to vote.[103] These appeals to the citizenry to ignore the election were an attempt to offset speeches made throughout Indian Territory urging everyone to vote, whether they voted for ratification or not, but at least to exercise the freedom of the ballot.

The leaders of the convention did not wait for the Campaign Committee to do all the work in the campaign for ratification. In 1911, almost six years after the campaign, Charles N. Haskell wrote that he remembered speaking at some fifty-two different meetings. He also stated that doubtless other speakers, such as John R. Thomas, W. W. Hastings, William H. Murray, D. C.

---

[102] *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 29, 1905, p. 9.

[103] *Ibid.*, November 4, 1905, p. 4, col. 2 and November 7, 1905, p. 4, col. 1. (See *Appendix I* for form of ballot.)

McCurtain, and Joseph M. LaHay, did as much or more than he.[104] In the Chickasaw Nation, William H. Murray took charge of the campaign. It was in that region that the opposition was the strongest, and Murray reports there was "rough stuff" of all kinds except the throwing of eggs. Several times in the Chickasaw Nation the speakers found courtrooms and even streets closed to them.[105]

The election day, November 7, was a clear day, which aided in bringing out the vote everywhere except in the Chickasaw Nation. There the poll books and ballots were often acquired by the opposition and in some cases burned and otherwise destroyed. This was supposed to have occurred at Lindsay, and Murray, on finding out who did it, said to him: "Now you put it into your head that Lindsay will never be a county seat. I will be in whatever convention may be called to frame a constitution, if this fall down."[106] It is noteworthy that Lindsay was never made a county seat in Oklahoma.

The following day, the *Phoenix,* which at that time seldom ever used headlines on its front page, reported the election as "A WATERLOO!" This was in inch type. The entire front page of the newspaper was devoted to returns on the election on ratifying the Sequoyah Constitution. The vote given at the time the paper went to press was 16,189 in favor of ratification, to 3,175 opposed.[107] A number of towns were listed as having no votes cast either for or against the constitution. On succeeding days, the *Phoenix* reported changes in the vote, and by November 14 they reported a total of 20,117 votes had been cast.[108] This report showed the vote by individual towns, but did not list any of the rural precincts. Two days later the *South McAlester Capital* reported by noon that day that the total vote had reached over 49,000 with over three hundred precincts yet to report.[109] On November 18, the Supreme Election Board issued a statement certifying the final tabulation of the election as 65,352 votes cast. Of this number 56,279 were for ratification and 9,073 were against it. The *Phoenix,* in publishing this statement, pointed out that no official tabulation of the election returns had been given out by the Supreme Election Board. The paper closed the article as follows: "In the meantime the only tabulated list of votes yet given to the public was that published in

---

104 Charles N. Haskell to Clinton M. Allen. —Clinton M. Allen, *The Sequoyah Movement,* Appendix F (Oklahoma City, 1925).

105 William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention", *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* IX (1931), 131-132.

106 William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma,* I, 317.

107 *Muskogee Phoenix,* November 8, 1905, p. 1.

108 *Ibid.,* November 14, 1905, p. 3, col. 1.

109 *South McAlester Capital,* November 16, 1905, p. 2, col. 1.

the *Phoenix,* which will hold good until substituted by the 'official' list of places and votes.''[110]

The Finance Committee issued its final report on November 13, showing that less than $9,900 had been spent.[111] Haskell, writing of the expense of the election has stated:[112]

> The expense of the campaign, printing, tickets, etc., amounted to some six thousand dollars. About eighteen hundred dollars of this amount was contributed by various towns that were candidates for county seat in the various counties and by numerous contributions over the state about twenty-three hundred and fifty dollars was sent into the committee, and I, myself, contributed a total of eighteen hundred and fifty dollars during the course of the campaign . . . .

The difference between the Committee's figures and Haskell's estimate was probably due to the lapse of some six years between the two reports.

Although a greater vote had been cast than was expected by either backers or opponents of the proposed State of Sequoyah, there was little to encourage any hopes for such a state, for on November 16, President Roosevelt was again quoted as favoring single statehood for the two territories.[113]

On the first day of the Fifty-ninth Congress, four statehood bills affecting Oklahoma and Indian Territory were introduced into the House of Representatives. Only the one introduced by Congressman Arthur P. Murphy of Missouri provided for statehood for Sequoyah.[114]

The next day was received the President's fifth annual message. Pertaining to statehood for the four remaining territories, he said:[115]

> I recommend that Indian Territory and Oklahoma be admitted as one State and that New Mexico and Arizona be admitted as one State. There is no obligation upon us to treat territorial subdivisions, which are matters of convenience only, as binding us on the question of admission to Statehood. Nothing has taken up more time in the Congress during the past four years than the question as to the Statehood to be granted to the four Territories above mentioned, and after careful consideration of all that has been developed in the discussions of the question, I recommend that they be immediately admitted as two States.

This recommendation of single statehood for the territories was in line with the President's earlier commitments and the policy of

---

110 *Muskogee Phoenix,* November 19, 1905, p. 1, col. 6.

111 *South McAlester Capital,* November 16, 1905, p. 6, col. 4.

112 Haskell to Allen, referred to in footnote 104.

113 *Muskogee Phoenix,* November 16, 1905, p. 1, col. 1.

114 *Congressional Record,* 59 Cong., 1 sess., XL, 45, 47, 49, and 54. The bills introduced were H. R. 1 by Delegate Bird S. McGuire of Oklahoma Territory, H. R. 79 by Congressman Murphy, H. R. 183 by Congressman Frank Clark of Florida, and H. R. 441 by Congressman John H. Stephens of Texas.

115 Richardson, *op. cit.,* X, 7400.

his party. It was no doubt a blow to Sequoyah adherents, for it not only ignored the expressed wishes of most of the people in Indian Territory but recommended violation of the Atoka Agreement, which had been enacted into law in 1898, and the earlier treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes.

During the next few days several events took place in Washington which attracted a good deal of attention in Indian Territory. Congressman Hamilton introduced three omnibus bills for single statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory and for Arizona and New Mexico. One of these bills was later amended and passed as an enabling act for Oklahoma and Indian Territory to form a state. Senator Beveridge also introduced an omnibus bill to grant statehood to two states formed from the four territories.[116] But attracting far more attention than the introduction of bills was the special train carrying at least two hundred single staters from Oklahoma City and one razor-back hog that was picked up along the way to create publicity. The hog, placarded "STATEHOOD,"[117] was photographed widely in Washington, and probably didn't hurt the cause of single statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory; because many groups had gone to Washington for one thing or another, but never one with a hog for publicity; attention was thus focused on this group and its desires.

On December 23, Pleasant Porter returned from Washington to Muskogee and made the statement that a single statehood bill would pass during that session of Congress after a hard fight.[118] A few days later Congressman Murphy of Missouri was visiting his wife's parents in Muskogee and complained because there were no advocates of Sequoyah in Washington to aid him in gaining support in the two houses of Congress for such a state.[119] The newspaper, in commenting on Murphy's statement, asked what had become of the committee of twenty appointed to lobby in Congress for the proposed state, the four Congressmen elected, and the others who were working for such a bill.

Just exactly what did happen to these committees is shrouded in mystery. It is known that on the last day of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention two committees were appointed to go to Washington; this is recorded in the report of the day's session in the *Muskogee Phoenix* of September 9, 1905. One of those committees as stated was composed of the four Congressional nominees and Charles N. Haskell and William H. Murray. David M. Hodge,

---

116 *Congressional Record*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., XL, 116, 222, 778, and 1407. The bills introduced by Hamilton were H. R. 3186, 10719, and 12707; the bill by Beveridge was S. 1158.

117 *South McAlester Capital*, December 14, 1905, p. 4, col. 6, and p. 6, cols. 5-6.

118 *Muskogee Phoenix*, December 24, 1905, p. 4, col. 4.

119 *Ibid.*, December 31, 1905, p. 4, col. 2.

who was not a member of either committee, left his home in Broken Arrow on December 3 to join a group in Muskogee, leaving for Washington to lobby for the proposed state.[120] It is probable that Hodge represented the Supreme Election Board and went along to certify the election figures. The writer has not been able to determine who was among the group that went or when they left Muskogee and when they returned. Oscar Presley Fowler has written of the meeting of the group with President Roosevelt in the White House, and Roosevelt's telling the group that it was against party policy to form separate states from Oklahoma and Indian Territory. Fowler then relates the shock felt by Hodge upon hearing the President tell them it was not expedient to form the State of Sequoyah, and then that Hodge was so disgusted that he walked out of the White House with Roosevelt calling for him to come back and talk things over. It is said he caught the next train west for Indian Territory and changed that day from a life-long Republican to an active Democrat.[121] William H. Murray has written that C. L. Long, one of the Republican Congressmen elected in the Sequoyah election, was the only one who stayed in Washington and actively lobbied for passage of a Sequoyah enabling act.[122] Murray also stated that he and Haskell had been appointed on the committee of six with the four Congressmen because it was intended that the first legislature of the proposed State would elect them as U. S. Senators, but that neither he nor Haskell went with the group to Washington to aid in urging passage of an enabling act. Why neither he nor Haskell went, he did not relate.

On January 8, 1906, the first Jackson Day dinner of the Democratic Party of Oklahoma and Indian Territory was held in Oklahoma City. S. M. Rutherford served as toastmaster, and Haskell, who was one of the principal speakers, called for unity in the party organization for the two territories. The fact that these two men had been two of the hardest workers in the Sequoyah Convention, and Haskell had even been vice-chairman, was pointed out in an editorial in the *Muskogee Phoenix* two days later.[123] It could hardly be forgotten by the paper's readers that only nine days before, Congressman Murphy was complaining because of lack of support of Sequoyah lobbyists. Although it is difficult to set the date for the change from a live to a dead political issue, it is no doubt true that

---

120 *Tulsa Democrat*, December 8, 1905, p. 1, col. 6.

121 Oscar Presley Fowler, *The Haskell Regime, The Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell*, pp. 58-59.

122 William H. Murray to this writer, September 4, 1949.

123 *Muskogee Phoenix*, January 10, 1906, p. 4, col. 2. It should be remembered that Haskell had been chosen as an alternate to the Oklahoma City Single Statehood Convention on July 12, 1905, and was reported to have agreed to pay certain expenses of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention if the Indian chiefs would agree to single statehood if Congress rejected separate statehood.

on the night Haskell called for a unified Democratic Party in Oklahoma and Indian Territories, the Sequoyah issue was dead.

Eight days after the Jackson Day dinner referred to above, Senator Joseph B. Foraker, a Republican from Ohio, presented to the Senate the memorial and constitution prepared by the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention. It was referred to the Committee on Printing, and when printed, the memorial was twenty-seven pages long, its six exhibits twenty pages long, and the constitution was forty pages long; a colored county map of the proposed state was attached.[124] The memorial lists eight major reasons why Sequoyah should be admitted as a state; they are as follows: first, this reason was broken down into eleven different items such as area, population, etc.; second, under the laws and treaties of the United States; third, under precedents used in interpreting the constitution; fourth, in the consideration of the welfare and "true interests" of the country; fifth, political party pledges; sixth, the welfare of the Mississippi valley; the seventh and eighth reasons are quoted in full:[125]

Seventh: (a) Joint statehood with Oklahoma would violate the treaties of the United States and its contracts as to statehood and as to prohibition.
(b) Would do violence to the wishes of the people of Sequoyah.
(c) Would be contrary to the wishes of the people of Oklahoma.
(d) Would be against the interests, sentiments, and ideas of both communities.
(e) Would violate every precedent in the admission of States, as Congress never in the history of the country have compelled the merger of two States or of two Territories.

Eighth: The Constitution herewith submitted represents the will of the people of the State of Sequoyah; the wishes of a people who have been grossly misrepresented by a propaganda advocating a union with Oklahoma, in the promotion of selfish interest, on behalf of the railroads, the liquor traffic, ambitious town promoters, and professional politicians.

This introduction of the memorial with these eight reasons covered but two pages; they were elaborated upon in the twenty-five pages of the memorial which followed. The memorial was signed by Pleasant Porter and Alexander Posey.[126]

The six exhibits were lettered from A to F. Exhibit A was a protest from the Creek National Council to Congress against single statehood, dated December 15, 1903. Exhibit B contained the resolutions of the Eufaula Convention of May 21, 1903; a memorial from the Cherokee Nation against single statehood, dated November 14, 1901; a letter to Congressman Edward L. Hamilton from Principal Chief Green McCurtain, a memorial to Congress from the Choctaw Nation against single statehood, both of the latter without

---

[124] *Senate Docs.* No. 143, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4912.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-26.

a date but from the context it may be assumed they were written in October of 1903; and a letter to the Republican members of Congress from the Republican Territorial Committee of Oklahoma Territory against single statehood, dated July 8, 1903. Exhibit C was a report of the Creek conference of July 14, 1905, held in Muskogee and authorizing Pleasant Porter to work for separate statehood and expressly opposing "any scheme of alliance with the present citizens and Territory of Oklahoma. . . . ." Exhibit D was a resolution by the Choctaw National Council approving the Sequoyah Constitution. Exhibit E was a resolution by the Chickasaw National Council approving the Sequoyah Constitution. Exhibit F was a resolution by the Cherokee National Council approving the Sequoyah Constitution.[127]

The Sequoyah Constitution is a very lengthy document, approximately thirty-five thousand words and second only in size to the constitution adopted by Oklahoma in 1907. It is made up of eighteen articles and two hundred and seventy sections. William H. Murray has written that soon after he moved to Indian Territory he decided that the Populist theories were largely correct.[128] Others of the committee that wrote the constitution no doubt were influenced just as strongly by Populism, for their work is largely Populist doctrine. The entire Sequoyah Constitution shows a lack of faith in the legislative branch of the state its writers were attempting to form. W. Brooke Graves has written that the decline in prestige of legislatures "has been due largely to the failure of the legislatures to respond to the trust imposed in them. . . . ."[129] Nowhere is this distrust exhibited more clearly than in Articles III and XII, containing descriptions of the legislative branch and all of the divisions and boundaries of the state respectively. Much that was included in Article III could have been left for enactment as statutes or as rules by the legislature. Article XII, which contained almost six thousand words, described the boundaries of every county, senatorial, and circuit court district of the state besides a number of other provisions; only a very minor amount of what was written in this article needed to have been included within the constitution. The county boundaries were without doubt included with the thought in mind of bringing out the vote by having a fight over the county seat in each locality. In general the Sequoyah Constitution followed the trend of that decade: it was long, detailed, harnessed and double-checked the legislature, and embodied much Populist doctrine.

Among the many similarities between the Sequoyah Constitution and the Oklahoma Constitution adopted in 1907, none stand

---

[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-46.

[128] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, p. 308.

[129] W. Brooke Graves, *American State Government*, p. 57.

State Seal adopted by the
Sequoyah Convention

out more clearly than the sections describing the official seal and the county boundaries. Although Oklahoma was the forty-sixth state admitted to the Union, its constitution varied little from other state constitutions, except for the description of county boundaries.[130] The resemblance of the official seals described in the two constitutions is so close that it clearly shows the same person designed them. Reverend A. Grant Evans, in designing the Great Seal of the State of Sequoyah placed a five pointed star in the center with one point at the bottom; each of the five points contained the symbol from the seal of one of the Five Civilized Tribes. The upper left hand point contained the symbol from the Cherokee seal; the upper right hand point contained the symbol from the Creek seal; the lower left hand point the symbol from the Choctaw seal; the lower right hand point the symbol from the Seminole seal; and the lowest point contained the symbol from the seal of the Chickasaw Nation. Between the two upper points was the figure of Sequoyah containing a tablet with the letters "A J J Q C", meaning "We are Brethren." Between the points of the star were forty-five other stars representing the other forty-five states of the Union.[131] The seal itself was designed by Evans and drawn by C. H. Sawyer. Of its presentation it was said: "The original drawing when submitted to the committee was greeted with great enthusiasm and both Mr. Evans and Mr. Sawyer here highly complimented on their work."[132]

---

[130] Frederick W. Blachly and Miriam E. Oatman, *Government of Oklahoma*, p. 19.

[131] *Senate Docs.* No. 143, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4912, p. 82, Sequoyah Constitution, Art. XVI, Sec. 1.

[132] *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 6, 1905, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

In but one major policy did the Sequoyah Constitution differ from the Oklahoma Constitution; this was on the prohibition issue. Prohibition was to be the state law, but it was a modified form of prohibition. It provided for the operation of a whiskey dispensary in each county of the state to dispense liquor for medicinal purposes only. It was also provided that the possession of a federal liquor dealer's permit should be prima facie evidence of intention to violate the regulation.[133] Although violation of this article was to be punishable by a fine of from $50 to $1,000 and by imprisonment of from sixty days to one year and one day, such violation was not to be considered under any condition a felony nor could such a violation ever prohibit one from holding an office of trust in the state.[134] Such a prohibition article is hardly worthy of commendation, for it merely invited violation.

In a thorough study of the constitution which Senator Foraker presented to the Senate on January 16, 1906, one finds four major views expressed. The four are: first, the agency theory, or, that the government of the state is merely the agent for a sovereign people; second, the doctrine of separation of powers; third, the doctrine of checks and balances; and fourth, the doctrine of natural rights. The first and fourth of these doctrines are reiterated throughout the entire constitution.

Seven days after Foraker's presentation of the Sequoyah memorial and constitution the majority and minority reports on H. R. 12707 were issued. This bill was an omnibus bill providing for statehood for two states composed of Oklahoma and Indian Territories and Arizona and New Mexico Territories. The portion of the minority report dealing with the first two territories stated in part:[135]

> Oklahoma and Indian Territory are entitled to separate statehood, and we prefer that each should be admitted as a State, but being convinced that the people of the Indian Territory prefer one State with Oklahoma, rather than no State, the minority reluctantly consent to vote for the measure . . . . .

The following day the *Muskogee Phoenix* quoted an editorial from the Saint *Louis Republic*; part of it read as follows:[136]

> It has long been apparent that this Republican Congress will give no heed to the promises of separate statehood by which the Indians of the Five Tribes were induced to surrender their tribal governments. But the Indians are powerless to enforce the bargains which Congress made with them, and organized government is absolutely necessary to the whites who have gone, and are still fast going into the Territory.

---

[133] *Senate Docs.* No. 143, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4912, pp. 81-82, Sequoyah Constitution, Art. XV, Sec. 2.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 49, Art. III, Sec. 9.

[135] *House Report* No. 496, 59 Cong., 1 sess., ss. 4906, p. 17.

[136] *Muskogee Phoenix*, January 24, 1906, p. 4, col. 2.

On January 25, Senator Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota, introduced a bill providing for the admission of the State of Sequoyah.[137] His bill had come too late though, for it was already recognized by the minority report of the House of Representatives on H. R. 12707 that such a bill had no chance of passage.

Within less than five months, on June 16, 1906, President Roosevelt signed the amended H. R. 12707 making Oklahoma and Indian Territories a single state.[138] Beveridge's biographer, in writing of the signing of the enabling act, has quoted the *Indianapolis Star* of June 17, 1906:[139]

> "When Roosevelt signed the statehood bill, he reached across the table to grasp Beveridge's hand and say: 'Senator Beveridge, the congratulations are due you, and now with all my heart I congratulate you upon the great work finished and a great battle splendidly fought.' "

The fight referred to was not over Oklahoma and Indian Territories, but over Beveridge's attempt to also form a state from Arizona and New Mexico. The latter provision had been deleted from the bill before its passage. Thus ended all hope for a separate state for Indian Territory.

Conclusion

With the signing by President Roosevelt of the Enabling Act on June 16, 1906, all opposition to a union of the two territories was effectively silenced. Since almost every writer on this phase of Oklahoma's history has credited the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention with aiding the passage of that single statehood act, it is well that one should determine how far this is true, and if so, why. In concluding this study, it should be shown why a separate statehood bill failed of passage by Congress, and also other results of the Convention.

The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention did show to Congress that the Indians of Indian Territory were capable of organizing a state government; at least it showed they could write a charter for such a government. While most of the constitution was not written by full-bloods, much of it was written by men of Indian blood. Members of Congress could have recognized this ability of the Indians prior to this time, if they had chosen, but since they did not, the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention dramatized this native Indian trait. This one convention proved to those Congressmen who had doubted this Indian ability that their doubts were unfounded.

---

137 *Congressional Record*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., XL, 1527.
138 *Ibid.*, 8743.
139 Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era*, pp. 234-235.

In another and even more important way did the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention aid in bringing single statehood. A number of the leaders of the convention had agreed that if Congress would not grant statehood to Sequoyah then they would agree to union with Oklahoma Territory. Three of the principal Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes had signed such an agreement with Charles N. Haskell in Muskogee on July 18, 1905. To most Indians, and more especially to such a tower of strength as Chief Pleasant Porter, such an agreement could not honorably be broken. Thus when Porter saw the hopelessness of such a state as promised by Congress being formed, he acquiesced in silence. Haskell and William H. Murray had no doubt seen the same future for the proposed state even earlier than Chief Porter, for they did not even bother to go to Washington to help lobby for the object of their labors of several months.

Regardless of all the promises Congress might make, either in treaty form or as statutes, Congress itself is the final judge as to whether it shall keep those promises. If the promise made is with an equal power, it more than likely will keep it, but if the promise is made with a weak and helpless people, the chances are that it will be kept only if it is politically expedient. In the case of promises made to the Five Civilized Tribes in both treaty and statute form relating to their right to forming a state, they were not kept because it was not expedient to do so. Angelo C. Scott has stated the issue very concisely when he wrote that the Republicans, " . . . . felt that a state created out of Indian Territory would always be Democratic and that Oklahoma would be at best doubtful, and didn't want always two and generally four Democratic United States senators from this section of the country."[140]

The Democratic senators could have filibustered the question and prevented Indian Territory from being joined with Oklahoma Territory, but they would not have been able to bring a bill for Sequoyah out of the committee headed by Senator Albert J. Beveridge, for had not Senator Beveridge written, "Certainly no bill making Indian Territory a state has the slightest chance of passage."[141] Such a bill would have had to wait several years, but the conditions in Indian Territory demanded immediate action. Thus all chance for a separate statehood bill failed because the Republicans feared it would mean four Democratic senators and because the Democrats realized that the chaotic conditions in Indian Territory demanded a state government, even if it was in union with Oklahoma Territory.

---

[140] Angelo C. Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, p. 126.

[141] Albert J. Beveridge to S. T. Bledsoe, *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 13, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

What were the other results of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention, both direct and indirect. There were three main results of that convention which have not been related here. They were: first, it formed the nucleus of a group that remained strong in Oklahoma politics for over thirty years after the convention adjourned; second, it prepared a model constitution for use by the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention held in Guthrie; the third, it succeeded, through the refusal of Congress to grant statehood to Sequoyah, in breaking down the strong vocal opposition of the Indians to union with Oklahoma Territory. Each of these will be discussed separately.

The leaders of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention controlled to a great extent the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention held soon after the passage of the enabling act. As for the State's first elected officials, it is common knowledge that Charles N. Haskell, Robert L. Owen, and William H. Murray received three of the four highest political positions in the new state. W. W. Hastings was later elected as Congressman from the Second Congressional District and served in that capacity for a number of years. William H. Murray later served as a Congressman and from 1931 to 1935 as Governor of Oklahoma. Even at the present time he is a force to deal with in the political campaigns of this state. Numerous other leaders in the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention held minor offices in the state.

The constitution written in Muskogee between August 21 and September 8, 1905, was no doubt of great aid to the framers of the Oklahoma Constitution. The similarities between the two documents are numerous. The Great Seal and the description of the counties are almost identical in form. Other similarities which may be found by comparing the two constitutions are: many of the county names in eastern Oklahoma are as shown in the Sequoyah Constitution; the bill of rights in the two closely resemble each other; the requirement of teaching agriculture and domestic science in the public schools may be found in each; the article forming the Corporation Commission is quite similar in the two constitutions; and finally, and most important of all, is the Populist spirit of distrusting the elected officials which is embodied in both the Sequoyah and Oklahoma Constitutions.

Effective Indian opposition to union with Oklahoma Territory died out after Congress refused to grant the admission of Sequoyah. More than one writer has heralded this as a feat of which to boast, but it was in reality anything but that. Excepting the highly intelligent, vocal, and politically ambitious Indian of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Indian became apathetic over his condition. Added evidence was given the Indian to confirm his opinion that the white man would not keep his word even when written in laws and treaties. While it is true that some of the Indians became very active participants in the new state government, it

may also be true that more of them would have taken a greater part in a government formed exclusively over Indian Territory. There is reason to believe that an Indian state might have protected the Indians to a greater degree from the land sharks who preyed upon them during the first years of the State of Oklahoma's existence.

Thus the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention, as a chapter in the history of Oklahoma, was an important event. It marked the final culmination, in a spectacular form, of a tableau of broken treaties with a weak minority group in this country by the United States Government. There is a physical law that when a vessel is too small to contain the water within it, that the water will overflow and seek its own level; likewise, there is a natural law among men and nations that when one nation or people is stronger than its neighbor the stronger will overwhelm the weaker. This natural law which ignores all treaties was exemplified by Congress when it rejected the bid for statehood for the proposed State of Sequoyah.

APPENDIX C

Officers of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention*

Temporary Officers

Chairman	D. C. McCurtain
Secretary	Alexander Posey
Reporter	J. G. Bennett
Stenographer	D. J. Dickey

Permanent Officers

Chairman	General Pleasant Porter
Vice-Chairman	Charles N. Haskell
Secretary	Alexander Posey
Assistant Secretaries	William H. Paul
	James Culberson
	A. B. Cunningham
	James A. Norman
Sergeant at Arms	Robert Nichols
Assistant Sergeant at Arms	Fred Wiswell
Official Reporter	E. H. Doyle
Official Stenographer	D. J. Dickey

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 22, 1905, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

APPENDIX D

Committees Appointed, Other Than Constitution, Campaign, and Finance Committees*

Committee on Credentials	General Pleasant Porter, Chief of the Creek Nation Green McCurtain, Chief of the Choctaw Nation John F. Brown, Chief of the Seminole Nation William C. Rogers, Chief of the Cherokee Nation
Committee on Permanent Organization, Rules, and Order of Business	Charles Baggs, Chickasaw Nation U. S. Russell, Choctaw Nation Alexander Richmond, Seminole Nation S. M. Rutherford, Creek Nation J. C. Bushyhead, Cherokee Nation Joe M. LaHay, Quapaw Reservation
Committee on Investigation of Atoka Delegation	G. A. Melton Joe M. LaHay Charles LaFlore
Committee to Select Speakers to Address the Convention	Charles N. Haskell, Chairman Joe M. LaHay William H. Murray U. S. Russell W. W. Hastings
Committee to Work for Passage of Enabling Act	D. M. Hailey George W. Benge W. W. Hastings William P. Thompson S. H. Mayes W. A. Welch Cheesie McIntosh Solomon J. Homer D. M. Faulkner J. G. McCombs H. C. Nash J. Henry Shepherd F. R. Brennan Leo F. Bennett Rev. A. Grant Evans Charles Baggs G. D. Sleeper Silas Armstrong Theodore Potts George W. Scott

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 22, 1905, p. 1, cols. 2, 4-6; August 23, 1905, p. 1, col. 3; August 24, p. 7, col. 4; September 8, 1905, p. 1, col. 1; September 9, 1905, p. 1, col. 2; and October 1, 1905, p. 25, col. 1.

Committee to Bear the Memorial and Constitution to Congress	Charles N. Haskell William H. Murray John R. Thomas D. C. McCurtain Joe M. LaHay C. L. Long
Committee to Nominate the Four Congressmen	John Bullette, Chairman Members were not listed.

APPENDIX E

Committee on Constitution, Its Officers, and Its Subcommittees*

Chairman.....W. W. Hastings
Vice-Chairman.....John R. Thomas
Secretary.....A. Grant Evans
Assistant Secretary.....P. A. Byers

MEMBERS

Appointed by District Delegations	Appointed by Chairman Porter
1. No delegation	Cheesie McIntosh
2. James S. Davenport	David M. Hodge
3. Robert L. Owen	Joe M. LaHay
4. John Bullette	William P. Thompson
5. W. T. Tilly	L. B. Bell
6. W. W. Hastings	George W. Benge
7. Theodore Potts	Thomas J. Carlyle
8. F. R. Brennan	George W. Scott
9. George Harveson	J. M. Webb
10. John R. Thomas	Charles Baggs
11. J. G. McCombs	J. Hamp Willis
12. George W. Grayson	J. Henry Shepherd
13. John F. Brown	Masterson Peyton
14. W. A. Welch	Leo F. Bennett
15. R. B. Coleman	Connell Rogers
16. T. C. Walker	Thomas H. Owen
17. E. M. Moore	S. M. Rutherford
18. Joe Colbert	A. S. McKennon
19. Benjamin J. Vaughan	D. C. McCurtain
20. Frank O. Smith	D. M. Hailey
21. Andy Hutchings	William A. Sapulpa
22. William H. Murray	B. H. Whittaker
23. D. N. Robb	Richard Hill
24. P. J. Hudson	Guy Bowman
25. Solomon J. Homer	R. W. Harrison
26. W. H. H. Keltner	P. A. Byers

P. A. Byers was appointed to fill vacancy created by illness of J. Hamp Willis.

---

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 23, 1905, p. 1, col. 4; p. 5, cols. 1-2; August 24, 1905, p. 7, cols. 3-4; and September 1, 1905, p. 1, col. 5.

APPENDIX E

Subcommittee to Recommend Appointment of Subcommittees
Charles N. Haskell
Robert L. Owen
David M. Hodge

Subcommittee to meet with the Finance Committee
Cheesie McIntosh
Connell Rogers
William H. Murray

SUBCOMMITTEES FOR DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION AND THEIR MEETING PLACES IN MUSKOGEE

Subcommittee	Chairman	Members	Meeting Place
Preamble, Declaration of Rights and Powers of Government	Robert L. Owen	George W. Grayson Solomon J. Homer E. M. Moore Guy Bowman	2d Room of Commercial Club
County Boundaries, County Seats, and Enumeration of Population	Leo F. Bennett	D. C. McCurtain George W. Benge William H. Murray Joe M. LaHay	3d Room of Commercial Club
Legislative and Executive Department	Thomas H. Owen	Theodore Potts George W. Scott Joe Colbert John R. Thomas	Office of Bailey & Owen, English Block
Judicial Department	John R. Thomas	William P. Thompson Charles Baggs Masterson Peyton S. M. Rutherford	Office of Thomas & Foreman, Turner Hardware Building
Education	J. Henry Shepherd	Cheesie McIntosh Benjamin J. Vaughan R. B. Coleman J. M. Webb	Prohibition Statehood Office, Iowa Building

APPENDIX E (Continued)

Subcommittee	Chairman	Members	Meeting Place
Militia and Minor Administrative Departments	D. M. Hailey	Connell Rogers John Bullette F. R. Brennan Frank O. Smith	Office of Peyton, Harrison, & Blair, Masonic Building
Corporations	James S. Davenport	Thomas H. Owen J. G. McCombs Andy Hutchings Richard Hill	Office of Bailey & Owen, English Block
Suffrage, Election and Preservation of Purity of Government	Joe M. LaHay	David M. Hodge W. A. Welch B. H. Whittaker P. J. Hudson	Office of Hutchings & Murphy, Indianola Building
Rights and Exemptions of Property	John F. Brown	S. M. Rutherford L. B. Bell W. T. Tilly T. C. Walker	Office of Cravens, Rutherford & Cravens, English Block
Finance and Revenue	David M. Hodge	John F. Brown Thomas J. Carlyle W. H. H. Keltner R. W. Harrison	Rock Island Trust Office, Iowa Building
Miscellaneous Provisions Including Constitutional Amendments and Prohibition	A. S. McKennon	D. N. Robb George Harveson P. A. Byers W. A. Sapulpa	Thomas Sanson's Office, Masonic Building

Subcommittee on Redrafting and Editing Constitution After Subcommittee Reports Were Made

Charles N. Haskell
John R. Thomas
William H. Murray
Rev. A. Grant Evans
Solomon J. Homer

Five members served on two subcommittees; they were: John F. Brown, David M. Hodge, Joe M. LaHay, Thomas H. Owen, and John R. Thomas.

APPENDIX F

Committee on Campaign*

Chairman.....H. G. Baker
Vice-Chairman.....John R. Thomas
Secretary.....James G. Bennett

One member was chosen by each recording district delegation:

District	Member
1	No delegation
2	William P. Thompson
3	J. A. Tilotson
4	J. C. Bushyhead
5	S. H. Mayes
6	A. S. Wyly
7	Guy Bowman
8	W. W. Holder
9	J. A. Roper
10	Rev. A. Grant Evans
11	J. F. Shackleford
12	J. B. Couch
13	G. A. Alexander
14	John W. Frederick
15	D. C. McCurtain
16	W. H. Campbell
17	Milas Lasater
18	Ben Lillard
19	H. B. Johnson
20	William Gilbert
21	William Warren
22	T. K. Whitthorn
23	Paul B. Smith
24	Lem W. Oaks
25	Sam W. Maytubbee
26	T. D. Talliferro

Advisory Board

U. S. Russell	William H. Murray
George W. Scott	J. B. Couch
J. F. Shackleford	Benjamin F. Marshall

Chairman Baker and Secretary Bennett were not members of the convention.

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 23, 1905, p. 5, cols. 2-3; and October 1, 1905, p. 25, col. 6.

APPENDIX G

Committee on Finance*

Chairman.....S. K. Cordon
Secretary.....C. E. Myers
Treasurer.....E. A. DeMeules

One member was chosen by each recording district delegation:

District	Member
1	No delegation
2	Sam F. Parks
3	J. H. Bartles
4	W. E. Sanders
5	J. C. Hogan
6	E. W. Buffington
7	G. D. Sleeper
8	Joseph Bruner
9	Charles E. Myers
10	E. A. DeMeules
11	S. K. Cordon
12	J. Burdet
13	Johnson Tiger
14	J. E. Reynolds
15	Henry P. Ward
16	R. H. Vaughter
17	J. D. Murray
18	E. Burfield
19	R. M. Johnson
20	George Trent
21	G. W. Young
22	H. L. Muldrow
23	Charles LaFlore
24	W. W. Wilson
25	J. M. Webb
26	J. T. Case

Auditing Subcommittee

J. Burdet
E. W. Buffington
G. D. Sleeper

APPENDIX H

Supreme Election Board*

Chairman.....D. N. Robb
Vice-Chairman.....A. B. Cunningham
Secretary.....Carl Pursel
Member.....David M. Hodge

D. N. Robb and David M. Hodge were Republicans, while A. B. Cunningham and Carl Pursel were Democrats.

---

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 23, 1905, p. 5, col. 2; August 24, p. 7, col. 3; and August 30, p. 8, col. 4.

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 9, 1905, p. 1, col. 2.

APPENDIX I

Form of Ballot*

Indian Territory, Proposed State of Sequoyah

For Ratification of Constitution

Yes
No

For County Seat of.....County

.....
.....
.....

For Congressman at Large to represent the State of Sequoyah in the 59th Congress of the United States, from the date of admission of this State:

....
....

(Note—The voter, on the ratification or rejection of the Constitution, will vote either "yes" or "no", distinctly erasing the other. If, the voter votes "no", that is, for the rejection of the whole Constitution, he will ignore the remainder of the ticket. If the elector votes "yes" on the ratification of the Constitution, he may vote for the town of his choice for county seat of the county designated, and for four representatives of his choice for Congressmen, in all cases erasing all words and names for which he does not desire to vote.)

APPENDIX J

Sequoyah*

By J. S. Holden

The Cadmus of his race—
A man without a peer;
He stood alone—his genius shone
Throughout the Hemisphere.
Untutored, yet so great;
Grand and alone his fame—
Yes, grand and great—the future state
Should bear Sequoyah's name.
In ages yet to come,
When his Nation has a place,
His name shall live in history's page,
The grandest of his race.

* *Muskogee Phoenix*, September 8, 1905, p. 5, col. 3. This form of the ballot used is an exact reproduction as to form and spelling.
* *Muskogee Phoenix*, August 31, 1905, p. 6, col. 4.

SARAH BEATTY WILSON OF LUKFAHTA 1835

By Muriel H. Wright

Another among the rare descriptions of life on the frontier of the Indian Territory more than one hundred years ago has come to light in a recently discovered letter[1] written in 1835, by Sarah Beatty Wilson. She is unknown in the history of Oklahoma yet here was one who gave devotedly in the few months of her life in the Indian Territory, —one who held her new home and the people she found there in deep affection.

After her marriage in Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1834, Sarah Beatty Wilson set out with her husband, the Reverend Henry R. Wilson, on their wedding journey to the West by stagecoach, steamboat and horseback, arriving in December, at Lukfahta,[2] about twelve miles west of Eagletown, Choctaw Nation.[3] Mr. Wilson's direct charge was Bok Tuklo Mission which he had established earlier in year, several miles southwest of Lukfahta.[4] Since the opening of a new mission station always required several months of strenuous labor before proper housing and living conditions were ready for those in charge, the young couple made their home at Lukfahta.

An old history of the American Board Missions[5] states briefly that Mrs. Wilson (Sarah Beatty), born in Newton, Pennsylvania,

---

[1] The original of this letter is in the Oklahoma Collection belonging to George H. Shirk, of Oklahoma City.

[2] The site of old Lukfahta (variously spelled Lukfata or Lukfoata) is about two and one-half miles west of the City of Broken Bow, in McCurtain County. This was a Choctaw settlement begun during the removal of the Choctaws to this country (1832-34), the name "Lukfata" having been that of an ancient tribal village in what is now Kemper County, Mississippi, located on the upper waters of the creek now called Sucarnoochee. Lukfata (or Lukfahta) means "White Clay." The name of the settlement (in present McCurtain County, Oklahoma) was changed to Greenfield in 1836. A mission school under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions was opened at Lukfata in 1835, Miss Eunice Clough, of New Hampshire, teacher (See reference, Ethel McMillan, "Women Teachers in Oklahoma, 1820-1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 Spring, 1949, p. 19).

[3] Eagle Town post office was established July 1, 1834, with the Reverend Loring S. Williams as Postmaster (See reference George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948, p. 213). The Eagle Town post office was located on the west side of the Mountain Fork River in the vicinity of present Eagletown on the east side of the river, in McCurtain County.—Personal information from the late Peter J. Hudson and other early citizens in this vicinity to M.H.W.

[4] Bok Tuklo Mission was located on a double pronged creek, tributary to Little River. The site was approximately in Sec. 2, T. 7 S., R. 23 E., and about nine miles on an airline southwest of present Broken Bow, in McCurtain County. The name *Bok Tuklo* is from the Choctaw words meaning "two creeks."

[5] Joseph Tracy, "A History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester: Published by

came to Bok Tuklo in December, 1834. Other mention of her is in a volume entitled *Life Memoranda,* in the American Board papers preserved in the Library at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.[6] In this volume instead of the usual form filled out by candidates for missionary work, there is a letter written by Henry R. Wilson, the father-in-law of Mrs. Wilson, dated Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, August 28, 1839, which states in part:

"Immediately after recd. yours of the 13th I wrote to a ministerial brother, and near relative of my late beloved daughter requesting the information you need. The aged Mother, Mrs. Beatty, was absent with the sister with whom she, that is Mrs. Wilson, had been most intimate for many years before her death. Dr. Beatty, the brother, was also absent. The wife of the Rev. Mr. Stub, who is a sister, was the only person to whom my friend could apply. Her information is not as minute as I could have wished as it does not contain the day of the month. It is in these words—'Mrs. Sarah B. Wilson was born in March 1802 near Newtown Bucks County Penna.' It will answer your purpose."

Only the pages of her last letter preserved through 115 yours reveal the grace and the warm personality of a great soul. This letter to her sister, Mrs. Robert Stub in her old home state, is written from the heart of one deeply interested in the people and the country about her near Eagle Town on the Mountain Fork River:

"Luk-fah-ta May 3rd 1834,"[7]

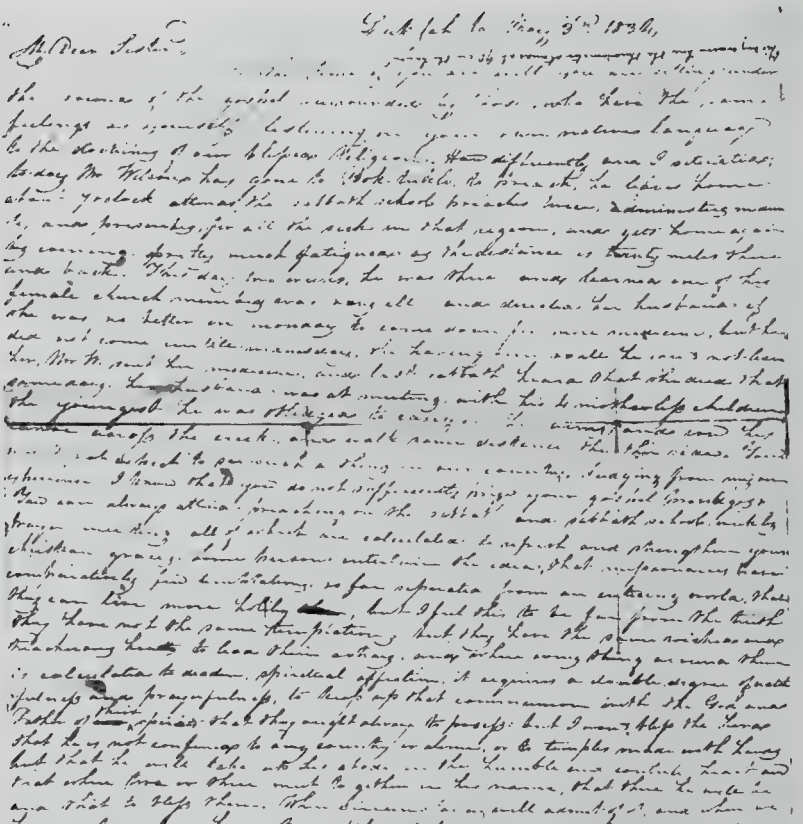
"My Dear Sister,

"At this time if you are well, you are sitting under the sound of the gospel surrounded by those who have the same feelings as yourself, listening in your own native language to the doctrines of our blessed Religion. How differently am I situated; to-day Mr. Wilson has gone to Bok-tuklo, to preach, he leaves home about 7 oclock, attends the sabbath school, preaches twice, administers medicine to, and prescribes, for all the sick in that region, and gets home again by evening, pretty much fatigued, as the distance is twenty miles there and back. This day two weeks, he was there, and learned one of his female church members was very ill, and directed her husband if she was no better on Monday to come down for more medicine, but he did not come until Wednesday, she having been so ill he could not leave her. Mr. W. sent her medicine, and last sabbath heard that she died that same day. her husband was at meeting with his 4

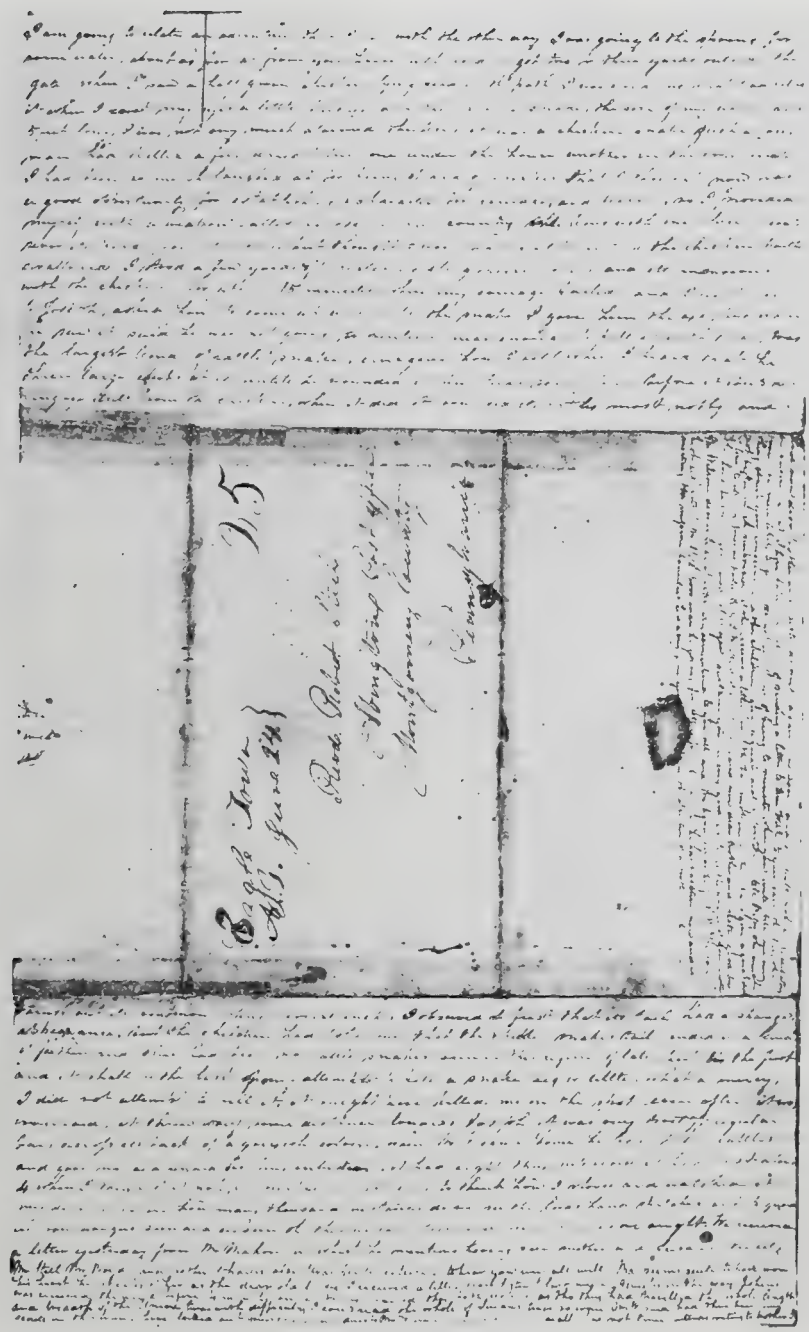
Spooner & Howland, 1840), p. 338. The record given there for Sarah Beatty Wilson is in error on the date of her birth ("1822" given for 1802); also, typographical error for the date of her death ("1235" for 1835).

[6] Letter signed by Carolyn E. Jakeman, dated May 18, 1950, Library of Harvard University, Cambridge Massachusetts, The Houghton Library. Grateful acknowledgment is due Carolyn E. Jakeman for her kindness in forwarding notes taken from the original papers of the American Board, used in the compilation of this story on Sarah Beatty Wilson.

[7] Evidently through a slip of memory in dating her letter, Mrs. Wilson wrote the year "1834" instead of 1835.



Letter written by Sarah Beatty Wilson at Lukfahta to her sister (date "1834" in heading error for 1835). Cover of the letter postmarked Eagle Town postoffice.



(Original in George H. Shirk Collection)

Cover of letter postmarked Eagle Town, 1835, written by Sarah Beatty Wilson.

motherless children. The youngest he was obliged to carry in his arms, and row his canoe across the creek, and walk some distance the other side. You would not expect to see such a thing in our country. Judging from my own experience, I know that you do not sufficiently prize your gospel privileges. You can always attend preaching on the sabbath, and sabbath school, weekly prayer meeting, all of which are calculated to refresh and strengthen your christian graces. Some persons entertain the idea that missionaries have comparatively few temptations, so far separated from an enticing world, that they can live more holily; but I feel this to be far from the truth. They have not the same temptations, but they have the same wicked and treacherous hearts to lead them astray, and where everything around them is calculated to deaden spiritual affection, it requires a double degree of watchfulness and prayerfulness, to keep up that communion with God and Father of their spirits that they ought always to possess; but I would bless the Lord that he is not confined to any country or clime, or to temples made with hands but that he will take up his abode in the humble and contrite heart, and that where two or three meet together in his name, that there he will be and that to bless them. When circumstances will admit of it, and when we have no preaching here, Nancy (the interpreter's wife) and I meet and preach and sing to-gether on the sabbath. This I feel to be very pleasant, and I trust the time is not very distant, when our number will be increased by sincere and humble seekers after the bread and water of eternal life. I have been reading the Memories of American Missionaries, and was much struck with the truth of this remark, 'When the pious Missionary arrives in a pagan land, and sees the people wholly given to idolatry, his spirit is stirred within him; and, like Paul, he endeavors to bring them to a knowledge of the truth. But this zeal which is excited by the first sight of idolatrous worship does not long continue. He soon becomes familiar with the heathen temples, heathen priests, heathen abominations. There is no house of God to which he can repair and hear a good sermon for christians. There is no prayer or conference meeting near enough for him to attend, where he might have his soul refreshed'. These remarks were contained in a letter from a missionary in India. There I suppose they would be more applicable than here, but I do not wish my dear sister to think that I am growing weary of this country and this people, no, never once, have I regretted leaving all my dear friends (dearer now than ever) and coming to this dark benighted land. I already feel a love for these poor people which I never expected to feel, and as long as I continue to possess my present health and strength, I hope I shall feel a greater zeal for the conversion of these poor people around me.

"To-day I have had a visit from a poor indian, named George. he wanted to see the doctor, when told he was not at home, he said he only came to get a pen to write a letter, I made him a pen which

he stuck in his belt, as he would a knife. Then he said he wanted to read the testament in the doctor's house, as it was Sunday. I gladly gave him a testament, and I find he reads very well both English and Choctaw, having been at school at Mayhew 3 years.[8] he wants very much to go to school again, but says he has no one to send him, he says too he would like to be a christian, but thinks he could not live as christians ought to live. I fear he is something of a Pharisee. he says he works all day til noon when he comes in from his field, reads one whole chapter in the testament, sings, and then walks out in the woods, by which means he prays to his Heavenly Father. I have some hopes of George, he has promised me to come to meeting next sabbath, and that he will come to sabbath school too when it is established. he acknowledges that he had a wicked heart. when people spoke mad to him he spoke mad to them, and then he spoiled his heart himself. some of them express themselves so curiously sometimes you cant tell what they mean.

"As I believe you read my letters, you recollect my writing about our nearest neighbors, that paid no regard to the sabbath or any thing that was good. The week before last we heard they were to have a gathering there on the coming sabbath, to make a field. Their friends were to meet, clear the ground and fence in a corn field. so on Saturday Mr. Wilson took his interpreter and went over, and told them how sinful it was, how much he had been annoyed by their working on that holy day, and now that he came as a friend to tell them how much sin they were committing in thus breaking the sabbath. when they said they did not know that it was the sabbath until one of the children told them, and then it was too late to alter the arrangements as they had invited their friends and made provision for them. Mr. W. told them 'twas time enough then to alter their plans, but they persevered, and about 30 met there. today Nancy (who is the woman's niece) tells me her aunt had just been over to see her, and told her they were all keeping the sabbath at home, but that the day was so long to her she did not know what to do with herself, so Nancy read something suitable for the day to her, but they have all come to the conclusion that it is not good to work on the sabbath. Oh! that this might be the beginning of days to them, as we have been preaching here in the school house next sabbath. I hope they will be induced to go, and may the Lord bless the preaching of his word to their souls.

"June 16th. I commenced writing to my dear sister more than a month since the busy sabbath before I was taken sick. Mr. W. I believe gave sister Susan an account of my sickness, which you have no doubt seen, I now feel as well and strong as ever. Mrs. Hotchkiss

[8] This has reference to old Mayhew Mission in Mississippi, established by the American Board in 1820, and closed in 1833.—Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[Hotchkin][9] was here when I was sick, and when she left me, Mr. W. promised her that as soon as I was well enough to ride that far, he would take me over and leave me there, to live upon strawberries till I regained my strength. early on Monday morning some three or four weeks since, we left home. Mr. W. procured a horse for me from one of the neighbors, but perhaps you did not know that Charlie my pleasant little hackney was dead. yes poor fellow he died as he was bringing Mrs. Wright[10] home from L[ittle] Rock. 'tis needless to say that I grieved for him, but 'twas all right, perhaps I thought too much of him. he was so gentle and had the easiest gait of any horse I ever rode I had got accustomed to him and he to me. take him altogether I never expect to look upon his like again. we have been trying ever since to get one and have at length succeeded, we are to have one this week, from Col. Vose who has just brought his family on from L Rock. 'tis difficult to get a horse just to suit you in this country. Mr. W. has a pretty little indian pony I mounted him one day, but could not manage him at all he is too wild for me. but when Mr. W. is on him is as gentle as a lamb, generally. excuse this digression. as I was saying we started very early, there had been a shower the evening before, and the whole atmosphere was perfumed with wild roses and grape blossams, in this country in riding you have but the single path through the woods, without you go on a more public road, this day we came single file. we were speaking of some of our friends, how much they would enjoy the ride. we stopped once gathered some strawberries. Tho they were not very abundant here, we rode 21 miles crossed three streams.[11] got to Mr. Wrights for dinner.[12] I felt pretty tired but a nap refreshed me, and to-wards evening we rode on to Mr. Hotchkins 12 miles further.[13] I went to bed as soon as I got there, got a little

---

[9] Philena (Thacker) Hotchkin, of Hereford, Pennsylvania, teacher in the Choctaw mission schools in Mississippi, was the wife of the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin, missionary at Goshen Mission, in Mississippi (closed 1833).

[10] Harriet (Bunce) Wright, noted teacher and principal of Wheelock Seminary for girls, and the wife of the Reverend Alfred Wright (See reference McMillan, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

[11] The distances given by Mrs. Wilson were along the winding roads or trails of early days.

[12] This was Wheelock Mission established by the Reverend Alfred Wright in 1832, the location of the noted Wheelock Seminary for Choctaw girls (established by the Choctaw Council in 1842), and that of present Wheelock Academy, the oldest school now in operation in Oklahoma, about two miles northeast of Millerton, in McCurtain County. The Reverend Alfred Wright (missionary, physician, educator, translator and writer), a native of Columbia, Connecticut, entered the Choctaw mission work at old Mayhew, in Mississippi, in 1821. He came west in 1832, and continued as one of the great personalities in the mission service to the time of his death at Wheelock in 1853.

[13] This was Clear Creek Mission station opened in 1833, under auspices of the American Board, by Ebenezer Hotchkin. This location was in the vicinity of the present Clear Creek community about two and a half miles southwest of Valliant, in McCurtain County. The Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin, a native of Richmond, Massachusetts, first entered the missionary service among the Choctaws in Mississippi, in

rested, rose took some tea and strawberries, and "felt quite fresh for the evening'. here we feasted upon strawberries morning noon and night. we staid there until the next afternoon. They insisted upon my staying. Mr. H. said he would come home with me the latter part of the week, but I felt so much better, and so strong, and fearing their might come rain and raise the streams, and I felt that I had rather be at home, and then it wont be so lonesome for husband to ride by himself. all things considered, I concluded to come home. so we came to Mr. Moultons[14] took our tea, and rode on to Mr. Wrights spent the night, and left there early the next morning. We heard that little river was fordable at the nearest crossing place to us, so concluded to come that way. but we had not proceeded more than 4 or 5 miles before there came up a tremendous thunder storm. The lightening was very sharp in the dark forest. but I prepared for the worst, turned my riding skirt over my head to protect my green bonnet, and put on my cloak. presently the rain poured down in torrents, which soon penetrated all our wrappings. we rode about half an hour, through as hard rain as I ever saw, when we reached an indian hut, or rather shed, where we stopped. here in this miserable place were living a man his wife and 7 children, as soon as the indian saw me running up from the barn, he spread a skin down on a rude seat by a blazing fire for me to sit on, and was very kind. Mr. W. took off our saddles brought them in. the man was sick and several of the children, but they made us welcome, to the best they had, and that was seats by a fire. we stayed until the rain was over. Mr. W. administered medicine, and something to satisfy nature's wants, for they had neither corn nor meat, nothing to eat or drink, but a little milk, and yet appeared as happy as princes. The woman was delighted with a large neadle that I gave her, and the children with some pins. Mr. W. comes in and says put up your writing and come take a ride to the pine hills and get some dew berries, about 2 miles off. I am always ready for a ride. but here is a patient, which will detain us for some time, a woman with a poor sick child. Well, we went, but were a day after the fair, the dew berries were all iksho,[15] as the indians say. well we had our share, while they lasted. the children brought them here every day, and always wanted pins for them. I stewed some down in molasses and they are very nice, richer than blackberries. I had been accustomed to doing

---

1828. He continued in the Choctaw mission field in the Indian Territory to the time of his death in 1867.

[14] This was old Bethel mission station on the dividing ridge between the waters of Little River and Red River, about two and a half miles southeast of Valliant, in McCurtain County. Bethel Mission was opened January 1, 1834, by the Reverend Samuel Moulton. He was a native of Bolton, Connecticut, who had served at Goshen Mission among the Choctaws in Mississippi, from 1827 until he came west in 1832.

[15] The word *iksho* is Choctaw for "not any," "none," or "no." Mrs. Wilson was much interested in learning the Choctaw language, and "made considerable proficiency in acquiring" it.—Rev. Alfred Wright in a tribute to Sarah Beatty Wilson in *The Missionary Herald,* Vol. XXXI, No. 10 (October, 1835), p. 390.

blackberries in that way, so got my dew berries too sweet. when the blackberries are ripe I will get some of them, and stew them and put them all together.

"Well as I was saying we got to the river, it looked very formidable to me, but we went in and got safely over. 'twas only up to our saddle skirts. Mr. W. says 'twas quite low, in crossing these streams, I just follow after husband, and look up at the tops of the trees to keep my head from swimming. but the banks on these streams are so very steep and the mud sometimes up to the horses knees, and on each side sometimes for a mile you have low swampy ground. what they call the bottom, on Little River, it is covered with cane, just as thick as it can stand, and just one narrow path, and every few yards you are obliged to push them out of your way before you can pass. The cattle get on them, and bend them down to get the leaves from the top. about noon we reached our own little quiet habitation, and rejoiced we were to see it I do assure you. we found everything in order. The house swept clean, the chairs in their places, and everything right. our man is very trustworthy, we always feel safe in leaving home. he is going on to his friends in the fall. His mother lives at Mrs. Arnot's in Phila.

"Wed. 17th. By going out yesterday afternoon I did not get my letter finished so it will be detained a week longer. I am sorry for this but there is no help for it. I was interrupted just now with a noise out at the door, went to see, and there is a poor Choctaw man stretched his full length upon the piazza, very sick. is going to wait untill alikchi (doctor) comes home. every day brings so many sick and distressed creatures here, all manner and kind of diseases they are subject to.[16] one woman came the other day with a very sore arm. it had been in that condition for some months. part of the bone had come out. Mr. W. gave her directions what to do to cleanse it, telling her to come again in a few days, so she came yesterday, and Mr. W. got everything prepared for putting a seton[17] in the lower part of her arm, when she objected to it strongly. would not have it done at all. Well he left her, and went to bleed a man. I went to her, and asked her when she gave me to understand, that she wished it done very much, but not when so many were standing around to see. There were about a dozen, however the most of them soon cleared out. Then she wanted me to speak to the doctor, and

[16] The prevalence of epidemics of influenza, measles, cholera and other diseases among the Choctaws after their removal to this country (1831-34) was tragic. Whole communities were wiped out by death, both adults and children prey to disease in their weakened physical condition from the lack of proper food and from the hardships suffered during the journey west and after their arrival in the new country.

[17] A seton was resorted to in medical practice, through the introduction of threads, horsehairs or strip of linen beneath the skin by the use of a knife, to form an issue or an outlet for the discharge of blood.

he put it in. I was quite pleased for it is very seldom they show any such feeling.

"I am going to relate an adventure that I met with the other day. I was going to the spring for some water, about as far as from your house to the road. I got two or three yards outside the gate, when I saw a half grown chicken lying dead in the path. I was wondering what had killed it, when I cast my eyes a little further, and there was a snake, the size of my arm, and about 5 feet long. I was not very much alarmed thinking it was a chicken snake such as our man had killed a few days before, one under the house another in the corn crib. I had been so much laughed at for being afraid of snakes, that I thought, now was a good opportunity for establishing a character for courage and bravery. so I provided myself with a weapon called an axe in our country, thinking with one blow I could sever its head from its body. but I thought I would wait untill he had the chicken partly swallowed. I stood a few yards off, watching its graceful coils, and its manouvers [*sic*] with the chicken, for about 15 minutes, when my courage failed, and I went down to Joseph, asked him to come up and kill the snake. I gave him the axe, but when he saw it, said he was not going to venture near enough to kill it with that. 'twas the largest kind of rattle snake, imagine how I felt when I heard that. he threw large clubs at it, untill he wounded it, but 'twas some time before it could disengage itself from the chicken. when it did it sounded its rattles most nobly, and thrust out its venomous sting several inches. I observed at first that its tail had a strange appearance, but the children had told me, that the chicken snake's tail ended in a kind of feather, and there had been no rattle snakes seen in this region of late, but 'tis the first, and it shall be the last of my attempts to kill a snake, big or little. what a mercy, I did not attempt to kill it, it might have killed me on the spot, even after it was wounded, it threw itself some distance towards Joseph. it was very pretty, regular bars across its back, of a greyish colour. When Mr. W. came home he took off the rattles and gave me, as a reward for my intentions. it had eight, they supposed it had lost about 4. when I think of it now, it makes me shudder to think how I stood and watched it. my dear sister, in how many thousand instances do we see the Lord's hand stretched out to guard us from dangers seen and unseen. oh! that we cant love him and serve him as we ought.

"We received a letter yesterday from Mr. Mahon, in which he mentions having seen mother and Susan in the city. Mr. Steel Mr. Boyd and brother Charles also, 'twas quite refreshing to hear you were all well. Ma seems quite to have won his heart. he speaks of her as the *dear* old lady. I received a letter from Sister S. last week, 9 weeks on the way. John's was received the week before 4 months since it was mailed. They both looked as though they had traveled

the whole length and breath of the Union. 'twas with difficulty I could read the whole of Susan's 'twas so worn. Mr. W. said had there been any secrets in, they would have leaked out. Yours came very direct. Mr. W. would have written but really has not time, intends writing to brother H, and now dear brother and sister do write again very soon, and we will not be so dilatory in answering it. I have taken the liberty of sending a letter to Ann Wirth to your care, thinking she would be more likely to get it. do not be afraid of being too minute when you write tell me everything about your concerns, and the children. give a great deal of love to them. tell Bessy she must not be too much surprised if she receives a letter from the "far west" one of these days. give a great deal of love to all of my friends, particularly I. Beatty if still with you. and now dear brother and sister good-bye. The Lord be with you, and bless you, sustain you in every good work is the prayer of your sister, Mr. Wilson desires to be affectionately remembered to you all, and Mr. Agnew sends his best respects to Mr. Steel poor man he gets but few letters from his friends, he has vacation now and is visiting his mission families. he is a very fine young man and I feel the affection of a brother for him.

"S. B. Wilson

"Tis very warm here the thermometer stands at 90 in the house."

This letter is postmarked from Eagle town, Arkansas Territory,[18] June 24th. Within less than a month, Mrs. Wilson was taken ill with "remittant fever" and died on July 18, 1835. Mr. Wilson[19] who had attended her during her illness, without any assistance, "having to act as physician, cook, and nurse," wrote to friends in the East: "The Lord dealt very tenderly with her during her sickness, permitting her to rest her soul with unshaken confidence on Christ, and not suffering a single cloud to obstruct her view of Him, until the hour of her release." Near her last hour

---

[18] The records and listings in the U. S. Post Office Department did not keep pace with changes in boundary lines in the history of the western frontier, for long after establishment of the western boundary of Arkansas Territory, as it approximately is today, letters from post offices in the Indian Territory were post marked "A.T." or "Arkansas Territory."

[19] Henry R. Wilson was born at Bellefont, Pennsylvania, June 10, 1808. He graduated from Jefferson College (Washington, Pa.) in 1828. When he received an appointment by the American Board to the Indian Mission field, he was living at Shippensburg. He departed from New York City on November 1 and arrived at Dwight Mission in the Cherokee Nation on December 22, 1832. About a year later, he was transferred to the Choctaw mission field where he established Bok Tuklo Mission in the spring of 1834. The Mission Board in Boston granted him a leave-of-absence at his request, and he visited the United States from June to November, 1834, during which time he was married to Miss Sarah Beatty in Pennsylvania. Some months after her death, he asked the American Mission Board for a transfer to the missions either in India or Africa. He was released from the Choctaw mission field on May 1, 1836.—Letter from Carolyn E. Jakeman, *op. cit.*, and Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

when asked if she regretted coming'' among a people who knew not the Lord,'' she replied, ''No, never—never—never.''[20]

Another[21] in a tribute wrote that few had entered the Indian missions'' possessing in a higher degree more qualities of heart which inspire confidence and love in their fellow-laborers, and which fit for usefulness, than Mrs. Wilson did. Although she had been a member of the mission but a few months, she was greatly beloved.''

[20] Excerpts from a letter to the American Board, written by Mr. Wilson telling of his wife's illness and death.—*The Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXXI, No. 10 (October, 1835), p. 390.

[21] Letter written by the Reverend Alfred Wright.—*Ibid.*

Memorial Scroll

Indian Home Guard

1862-1865

First, Second and Third Regiments

To the Patriotic Officers and Privates from the Indian Territory who remained Loyal to the Union and served in the United States Army during the Civil War.

Officers

Robert W. Furnas
Stephen H. Wattles
George Vole
William A. Phillips
A. C. Ellithorpe
James A. Phillips
J. Howard Gilpatrick
John Bliss
Salmon S. Bonty
Marquis D. Salisbury
Evan Jones
Legus C. Perryman
A. F. Bicking
Pa hose mah lah
Ah ho la tus ta nuk ke
Auk kee fra ke
E. M. Wright
Ferd R. Jacobs
Yus to nak ke chee
Thompson Overton
Tuc a bach a ha jo
Ya hol la dy
Edwin C. Manning
Robert J. Thompson
Ya ho lo chee
William Roberts
Ta ma tus ta nuk ka
Konos sot teh
Caswell B. Watts
Charles N. Rix
Tats ca ha jo
Carts che her mic co
No pi ye marlar
Francis J. Fox
Willis Ya Hol loh
So nuk mik ko
Pas co wa
Yo lo hup ha jo
Solomon C. Hall
Albert Flanders
No co so lo chee
Tus Ti nuk ki
George W. Vobler
Benjamin F. Hysek
Coto si ko keh
Ah ti ya gi ya hol la
Oche ye ho la
Alfred Saxey
M. J. Burlingame
Hotal ke ah
Tul si fic si co
Absolem Konel
Fred Crafts
Atam meh
Jon neh
Tat ne sha
Eli C. Lowe
Kaf fessah
John V. Young
John Ritchie
David B. Corwin
Fred W. Schaurte
Moses B. C. Wright
George Vole
E. W. Robinson
George W. Huston
Andrew J. Ritchie
M. A. Campdoras
V. V. Hitchcock
John B. Jones
Lewis Bowers
Samuel E. Hovey
James McDaniel
John F. Cox
Theophilus McClain
Wat Stop
McCoy
John Cochram
Moses Price
Charles Lenhart
John M. Hunter
Wheeler Tiger
Alick Hawk
Eli Tadpole
James H. Bruce
Timothy S. O'Conner
Eli Spears
Arch Scraper
J. C. Palmer
Joseph Chu wee
William H. Kendall
Ahleecher
John Moffit
Andrew Rabbit
Budd Gritts
E. P. Gilpatrick
Samuel H. Downing
George Scraper
Stand Whirlwind
Joel Moody
Andrew J. Waterhouse
Luther Rice
Dirtthrower Tiger
Silas Hunter
Jesse Henry
Spring Frog
D. A. Painter
Charles Wickliff
William A. Phillips
Lewis Downing
John A. Foreman
William Gallaher
Alfred Sangalere
George Wolgamott
Charles Kinney
Jesse Bushyhead
Addison Baker
John Shannon
Daniel L. Chandler
Smith Christy
Maxwell Phillips
Samuel Houston Benge
Spencer S. Stephens
Feeling
Alexander C. Spillman
Isaac Tyner
William Sunday
Nathaniel Fish
Luke F. Parsons
Flute Foxskin
Talalah
John F. Blunt
Jack Downing
William Webber
Thomas Pegg
John S. Hanway
Bear Brown
Huckleberry Downing
Andrew W. Robb
Jumper Duck
Eli Smith
Henry S. Anderson
Eugene H. Ely
Carselawi Proctor
Simon Snell
Harmon Scott
Josh Tanner
Basil G. McCrea
White Catcher
Charles A. Howard
Charles Brown
James Simpson
James Vann
Benjamin W. Whitham
Tenni Walkingstick
William McCullough
Solomon Kaufman
Red Bird Sixkiller
Jules C. Cayot
Daniel Grasshopper
William G. Crafts
John Butler

This list was compiled through the courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C., from the "Muster-Out" rolls of the First, Second and Third Regiments of the Indian Home Guards

Opothleyohola, gallant elderly leader of the Loyal Creeks, died in 1862 shortly after the First Indian Home Guard was organized from his f[illegible]rs.

OFFICERS IN INDIAN HOME GUARD REGIMENTS, UNITED STATES ARMY

Memorial Scroll
Indian Home Guard

This list was compiled through the courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C., from the "Muster-Out" rolls of the First, Second and Third Regiments of the Indian Home Guards

Opothleyohola, gallant elderly leader of the Loyal Creeks, died in 1862 shortly after the First Indian Home Guard was organized from his f[illegible]rs.

OFFICERS IN INDIAN HOME GUARD REGIMENTS, UNITED STATES ARMY

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Union Army

Memorial Scroll to the Officers in the Indian Home Guard Regiments, 1862-1865

An outstanding project for the Union Memorial Hall, sponsored by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has been completed and is now on exhibit to commemorate the service of the Indian Home Guard Regiments of the Union Army, 1862 to 1865, in the Indian Territory. A Memorial Scroll compiled by Mrs. Grace War, Custodian of the Union Army Hall, gives the names of staff and line officers of the Indian Home Guard Regiments, nearly all of whom as well as the enlisted men were of Indian descent from the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole nations. The Scroll beautifully executed in pen text is a contribution to the history of the State, listing together for the first time the names of Indian leaders who remained loyal to the Union in the Civil War in the United States of America.

Note on Spring Frog (Too-an-tuh), the Cherokee

The following account of Spring Frog was given at the Elise Chapin Wildlife Sanctuary near Chattanooga, Tennessee on May 28, 1950, when McKinley Ross, vice-chief of the Cherokees of North Carolina, unveiled a painting of Too-an-tuh and Walter C. Johnson gave the sketch. The painting was made by Charles Bird King for the War Department and is included in the McKenney and Hall collection which also contains a delightful account of this early day Cherokee naturalist of Oklahoma. This sketch of Spring Frog appears in *Flower and Feather,* Vol. VI, No. 3 (July, 1950), pp. 52-3 (Chattanooga, Tennessee):

Spring Frog: "Born in 1754, this is the old home of Spring Frog, known as Too-an-tuh. He was a man of most amiable disposition and was greatly beloved by the whites as well as the Indians. He was recognized as the leading naturalist and sportsman among the Cherokees and devoted much of his time interesting the members of his tribe in the study and appreciation of nature and wholesome sports, particularly the Ball Play, and other games. He joined Andrew Jackson's forces and served in the United States Army in the war with the Creeks in 1813-14. He received signal honors for his coolness and bravery displayed in the battles of Horseshoe Bend and Eufaula. He settled down as a farmer at Briartown, Indian Territory."

Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Additional Data on Lewis Frances Hadley

Carolyn Thomas Foreman's article on "Lewis Francis Hadley: 'The Long-Haired Sign Talker,'" in *The Chronicles,* Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 41-55, has received high praise from W. Carlton Jones, 14 Berkshire St., Swampscott, Massachusetts. In a letter addressed to Mrs. Foreman, dated August 7, 1950, Mr. Jones sent more data with reference to the life of Lewis Francis Hadley, discovered by Miss Osborne of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, as recorded in "Danvers Vital Records": Francis Lewis Hadley was born on July 6, 1829, the son of Lewis and Julia (Foster) Hadley. The father, Lewis Hadley, was born in Dumbarton, New Hampshire, on October 29, 1806; the mother, Julia (Foster) Hadley was born in Gilamton, New Hampshire. They were married on September 13, 1827.

Portrait of Dr. Charles Evans Presented to the Ardmore Public Library

The following news items appeared in *The Daily Ardmoreite,* Tuesday, July 4, 1950, p. 2, c. 3:

"Dr. Charles Evans' portrait, painted by Artist Edward Valentine, has been framed and is now hanging in the Carnegie city library—a gift from friends and admirers of the former superintendent of the Ardmore public schools.

"As superintendent of schools here Dr. Evans greatly assisted Mrs. Myrtle Jones and the local committee in opening the library back in 1906.

"This fine painting of Dr. Evans hangs on the east wall of the library where all who enter can see it. The handsome gold leaf frame was selected by a committee named by the Arno Art club and consisting of Mrs. Howe D. McCollom and Mrs. Arthur C. Hall. It greatly enhances the beauty of the picture, done almost entirely in deep blues and purple.

"Funds for the purchase of the frame were taken out of the library equipment fund but the Arno Art club and interested friends did make possible the purchase of the portrait, said by all who have seen it to be an extraordinary likeness of the pioneer educator."

Recent Accessions to the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The following list of books (500 volumes) was accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1949 to July 1, 1950, and compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger:

Abstracts of Dissertations. 1945-1947. Charlotteville, Va.: University Press. Pp. 227.

Adams, James T., Editor. *Album of American History Index.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1949. Pp. 222.

Albrecht-Carrié, René. *Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. 314.

Alva and Woods County Historical Album. Alva, Okla.: The Alva Pioneer, 1893-1903. unp.

American Anthropological Association. *The Anthropologist.* 1949. Menasha, Wis. Vol. 51. Pp. 704.

The American Archivist. Menasha, Wis.: Society of American Archivists, 1945. Vol. 8. Pp. 311.

American Clan Gregor Society. *Proceedings and Year Book.* 1948. Richmond, Va. Vol. 33. Pp. 79.

American Clan Gregor Society. *Year Book.* 1945, 1947. Richmond, Va. 2 Vols.

American Friends Service Commission. *The United States and the Soviet Union.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. 39.

American Genealogical Index. Fremont Rider, Editor. Middleton, Conn., 1949-1950. Vols. 32-37. 6 Vols.

American-German Review. 1943-1948. Philadelphia, Pa.: Carl Schurz Memorial Fund. Vols. 10-14. 5 Vols.

American Historical Association. *Annual Report and Proceedings.* Washington, D. C., 1945, 1948. 2 Vols.

American Historical Review. 1948-'49. New York: American Historical Association. Vol. 54. Pp. 1020.

American Jewish Historical Society Publication. 1948-'49. New York, N. Y. Vol. 38. Pp. 363.

American Library Association Bulletin. Chicago, Ill., 1949. Vol. 43. Pp. 396.

American Museum of Natural History. *Anthropological Papers.* 1941-1944. New York City. Vol. 38. Pp. 537.

Anthrological Records. 1938-'40, 1948. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. Vols. 2, 10.

Arkansas Historical Quarterly. 1948. Fayetteville: Arkansas Historical Association. Vol. 7. Pp. 348.

Arkansas Gazette—State Centennial Edition. 1819-1919. Little Rock, Ark.: Gazette Pub. Co., 1919.

Arthur, Timothy Shay and Carpenter, William Henry. *The History of Georgia from its earliest settlement . . .* Phil., Pa.: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852. Pp. 331.

Baldwin, Elmer. *History of LaSalle County, Illinois.* Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1877. Pp. 552.

Bald, Frederick Clever. *Detroit's First American Decade,* 1796-1805. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948. Pp. 276.

Baldwin, Joseph Glover. *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.* San Francisco, Calif.: Sumner Whitney Co., 1876. Pp. 330.

Bandelier, Adolph F. A. *Travel Letters* 1880-1—*A Scientist on the Trail.* Berkeley, Calif.: The Quivira Society, 1949. Pp. 142.

The Baptist Messenger. 1949. Shawnee, Okla.: Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, by the OBU Press. Vol. 38

Beebe, Lucius Morris. *United States West—The Saga of Wells-Fargo.* New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949. Pp. 320.

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *John Quincy Adams and the Foundation of American Foreign Policy.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. 588.

Billington, Ray Allen. *Westward Expansion, a History of the American Frontier.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 873.

Birth, Marriage, and Death Register, Church Records and Epitaphs of Lancaster, Mass., 1643-1850. Edited by Henry S. Nourse, 1890. Pp. 508.

Blake, Forrester. *Riding the Mustang Trail.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1935. Pp. 253.

Boatright, Mody Coggin. *Folk Laughter on the American Frontier.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 182.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Coronado, Knight of Pueblo and Plains.* New York: Whittlesey House, 1949. Pp. 491.

Botkin, Benjamin Albert. *A Treasury of Southern Folklore.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1949. Pp. 776.

Boughton, Willis Arnold. *Bouton, Boughton and Farnam Families.* Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., 1949. Pp. 214.

Bowen, Richard LeBaron. *Index to Records of Town of Providence.* Providence, R. I.: Providence Historical Society, 1949. Pp. 97.

Bridenbaugh, Carl. *The Colonial Craftsman.* New York: University Press, 1950. Pp. 214.

Brininstool, Earl Alonzo. *Crazy Horse, the Invincible Ogalalla Sioux Chief; the "Inside Stories" . . .* Los Angeles: Wetzel Pub. Co., 1949. Pp. 87.

Brooks, Charles. *History of the Town of Medford.* Boston: James M. Usher, 1855. Pp. 576.

Busby, Allie B. *Two Summers among the Musquakies. . .* Vinton, Iowa: Herald Book & Job Rooms, 1886. Pp. 238.

California Historical Records Survey. *Guide to Church Vital Statistics Records.* San Francisco, Calif., 1942. Pp. 63.

California University Publications in History. 1949. Berkeley and Los Angeles. Vol. 37. Pp. 157.

Cappon, Lester Jesse. *Bibliography of Virginia History since* 1865 . . . University, Va.: The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1930. Pp. 900.

Carpenter, Paul S. *Music, an Art and a Business.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Pp. 245.

Casey, Albert Eugene. *Amite County, Miss.* 1699-1865. Birmingham, Ala.: Amite County Historical Fund, 1948. Pp. 655.

Casey, Robert Joseph. *The Texas Border and Some Borderliners.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1950. Pp. 440.

Catholic Historical Review. 1948-'49. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America. Vol. 34. Pp. 512.

Charleston County South Carolina Index to Wills, 1671-1868. Charleston Free Library, 1950. Pp. 324.

Churchward, Colonel James. *The Sacred Symbols of Mu.* New York: I. Washburn, 1939. Pp. 296.

City of Columbus and Franklin County, Ohio . . . History of. Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co., 1901. Pp. 1012.

Clark, Walter. *The Papers of . . .* 1857-1901. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. 607.

Clark, William Bell. *Captain Dauntless, the Story of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy.* Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana Univ. Press, 1949. Pp. 317.

Cleaves, Freeman. *Rock of Chickamaugua.* Norman: University of Okla. Press, 1948. Pp. 328.

Cleland, Robert Glass. *This Reckless Breed of Men . . .* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. 361.

Coin Collector's Hand-Book. Boston: Numismatic Bank, 1891. Pp. 190.

Collier, John. *Patterns and Ceremonials of Indians of the Southwest.* New York: Dutton, 1949. Pp. 192.

Colton, Harold Sellers. *Hopi Kachina Dolls.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1949. Pp. 144.

Commager, Henry Steele. *The American Mind—An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the* 1880's. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. 476.

Cornell University Library. *Islandica, an Annual relating to Iceland. . .* Ithaca, N. Y., 1940-'45, 1948. 2 Vols.

Corwin, Edward Samuel. *The President, Office and Powers,* 1789-1948. New York: University Press, 1948. Pp. 552.

Coulter, Ellis Merton. *The Confederate States of America* 1861-1865. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. Pp. 644.

Cross, Arthur Lyon. *History of England and Greater Britain.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 1165.

Cross, John Newton and Cole, Mary Cross. *William Cross of Botetourt County, Virginia and his Descendants,* 1733-1932. Columbia, Mo.: E. W. Stephens Pub. Co., 1932. Pp. 258.

Croy, Homer. *Jesse James Was My Neighbor.* New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1949. Pp. 313.

Cuthbert, Norma Barrett, Ed. *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot,* 1861. From Pinkerton records and related papers. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1949. Pp. 161.

Dale, Edward Everett. *The Indians of the Southwest.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 283.

Dale, Edward Everett. *Oklahoma, the Story of a State.* Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1949. Pp. 448. 2 c.

Darnell, Ermina Jett. *Forks of Elkhorn*

Church. Louisville, Ky.: Standard Printing Co., 1946. Pp. 322.

De Armond, Anna Janney. *Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist.* Newark, Del., 1949. Pp. 272.

Debo, Angie. *Oklahoma Footloose and Fancy Free.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 258.

Delaware Notes. Newark, Del.: Delaware University, 1948. Ser. 21. Pp. 101.

Deubler, Mellie Hazen. *Pioneer Life in Oklahoma.* Vici, Okla.: The Beacon Press, 1949. Pp. 105.

Dixon, H. Pearl. *Sixty Years among the Indians . . .* [no imp.] 1921. Pp. 87.

Dobie, James Frank. *The Ben Lilly Legend.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950. Pp. 237.

Don Coronado through Kansas 1541—A Story of the Kansas, Osage, and Pawnee Indians. [au. anon.] Seneca, Kan.: The Don Coronado Co., 1908. Pp. 384.

Dorsey, George Amos. *The Mythology of the Wichita.* Wash., D. C., 1904. Pp. 351.

Eagleton, Clyde, Ed. *Annual Review of the United Nations Affairs.* New York: University Press, 1949. Pp. 322.

Eaton, Clemont. *A History of the Old South.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 636.

Eavenson, Howard Nicholas. *Map Maker and Indian Traders.* Pittsburgh: University Press, 1949. Pp. 275.

Emery, Edwin. *History of American Newspaper Publishers.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950. Pp. 263.

Essex Institute Historical Collections. Salem, Mass. Vol. 85. Pp. 416.

Filson Club History Quarterly 1948, 1949. Louisville, Ky. Vols. 22, 23.

Fisher, Hugh Dunn. *The Gun and the Gospel.* Chicago: The Kenwood Press, 1896. Pp. 317.

Florida Historical Records Survey. *Church Archives—St. Augustine Parish,* 1792-1799. Tallahasse, Fla., 1941. Pp. 166.

Florida Historical Records Survey. *Ordinances of City of St. Augustine.* Jacksonville, Fla., 1941.

Florida Historical Records Survey. *Inventory of Church Archives—Baptist Bodies.* Jacksonville, Fla., 1940.

Florida Historical Society Quarterly. 1947-8. St. Augustine, Fla. Vol. 26. Pp. 369.

Fox, Frank Bird. *Two Huguenot Families: De Blois-Lucas.* Cambridge, Mass., 1949. Pp. 120.

Frederick, J. V. *Ben Holladay, the Stagecoach King.* Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Co., 1940. Pp. 334.

Frontier Times 1948-'49. J. Marvin Hunter, Ed. Bandera, Texas. Vol. 26. Pp. 328.

Freemasons. Grand Lodge of Oklahoma. *Proceedings . . .* 1949. Pp. 346.

Gallaher, Harry, Ed. *History of Chiropractic . . .* Guthrie, Okla.: Welch & Pattie, 1930. Pp. 176.

Galland, Isaac. *Galland's Iowa Emigrant.* Chillicothe, Ohio: W. C. Jones, 1840. Pp. 32.

Gantenbein, James W. *Documentary Background of World War II* 1931-1941. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 1122.

Gard, Wayne. *Frontier Justice.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 324.

Gardner, Raymond Hatfield. *The Old Wild West.* San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Co., 1944. Pp. 315.

Garnsey, Morris E. *America's New Frontier, the Mountain West.* New York: A. A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. 314.

Genealogical Research Magazine 1940-1949. Detroit, Mich.: Detroit Society 9 Vols.

Genealogical Research Society Magazine. *Index to Volumes I-X.* Detroit, Mich., n.d. Pp. 584.

Georgia—A List of the Early Settlers. Edited by Coulter and Saye. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1949. Pp. 103.

Georgia Historical Society Quarterly. 1948, 1949. Athens, Ga. Vols. 32, 33.

Gilmore, Melvin R. *Prairie Smoke.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Pp. 208.

Gilpin, Laura. *The Rio Grande, River of Destiny.* New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1949. Pp. 243.

Gluckman, Arcadi. *U. S. Martial Pistols and Revolvers.* Buffalo, N. Y.: Otto Ulbrich Co., 1944. Pp. 249.

Gluckman, Arcadi. *U. S. Muskets, Rifles, and Carbines.* Buffalo, N. Y.: Otto Ulbrich Co., 1948. Pp. 447.

Gosnell, Harpur Allen. *Guns on the Western Waters, the Story of River Gunboats in the Civil War.* Baton Rouge, La.: State Univ. Press, 1949. Pp. 273.

Graham, Robert B. C. *The Horses of the Conquest.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 145.

Graves, William W. *The First Protestant Osage Missions,* 1820-1837. Oswego, Kan.: Carpenter Press, 1949. Pp. 272.

Green, Edwin Luther. *The Indians of South Carolina.* Columbia, S. C.: University Press, 1920. Pp. 81.

Gregor, Elmer Russell. *Three Sioux Scouts.* New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1922. Pp. 252.

Halifax County, N. C. Abstracts of Wills 1760-1880. Compiled by Susie B. Anderson. Halifax, N. C., 1947.

Halifax County, N. C. Marriages. Compiled by Susie B. Anderson. Halifax, N. C., 1948.

Hampton Institute — Twenty-two Years Work . . . Hampton, Va.: Normal School Press, 1893. Pp. 520.

Handlin, Oscar. *This was America . . .* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. 602.

Haring, Douglas Gilbert. *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu,* a collection of readings. Syracuse, N. Y., 1949. Pp. 670.

Harwell, Richard Barksdale. *Confederate Music.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. 184.

Hinsdale, Mary L., Editor. *Garfield-Hinsdale Letters.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949. Pp. 556.

Hollon, Eugene. *The Lost Pathfinder, Zebulon M. Pike.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 240.

Holmes, John Beck. *Historical Sketches of Missions of the United Brethren . . .* Dublin: Printed by R. Napper, 1818. Pp. 472.

Horan, James David. *Desperate Men— Revelations from the sealed Pinkerton files.* New York: Putnam's Sons, 1949. Pp. 296.

Horn, Stanley Fitzgerald. *The Robert E. Lee Reader.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1949. Pp. 542.

Humanistic Studies. Lawrence, Kan.: Kansas University, 1949. Pp. 149.

Hunt, George T. *The Wars of the Iroquois*—A study in intertribal trade relations. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. Pp. 209.

Hunter, Louis C. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers. . .* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. 684.

Illinois Encyclopedia and History of Winnebago County. Chicago: Munsell Pub. Co., 1916. 2 Vols.

Illinois Historical Records Survey. *Inventory of State Archives—State Council of Defense,* 1917-'19. Chicago, 1942. Pp. 53.

Illinois State Historical Society. *Index to the Journal, Vols.* 1-25. Springfield, Ill., 1908-1933. Pp. 714.

Illinois State Historical Society. *The Journal* 1948. Springfield, Ill. Vol. 41. Pp. 514.

In-Go-Nom-Pa-Shi. *Indian Sign Talk.* Chicago, Ill., 1893. Pp. 205.

Indian Treaties Printed by B. Franklin, 1736-1762. Philadelphia, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Society, 1938. Pp. 340.

Indian Territory MW Grand Lodge. *Proceedings 1st to 7th,* 1874-1881. Caddo, Choctaw Nation (in 1 Vol.)

Indiana History Bulletin 1944, 1948. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. Vols. 21, 25.

Indiana Magazine of History 1949. Bloomington, Ind.: University Department of History. Vol. 45. Pp. 456.

Institute of Latin-American Studies. *Latin-American Studies.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1949. No. 7. Pp. 336.

Institute of Social Anthropology. *Publications.* Washington, D. C., 1949. No. 9. Pp. 72.

Instituto Indigenista Inter-Americano . . . *Boletin . . .* Mexico, 1944, 1948. Vols. 4, 8.

Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia. *Cuarta Asamblea General. . .* Mexico, 1946. No. 87. Pp. 320.

Inter-American Indian Institute. *Boletin Indigenista.* Mexico, 1947. Vol. 7. Pp. 403.

Iowa Journal of History 1949. Iowa City: Iowa State Historical Society. Vol. 47. Pp. 418.

Iowa State Dep't. of History and Archaeology. *Annals of Iowa.* 1947-'49. Des Moines, Ia. 3d Ser., Vol. 29. Pp. 568.

Iowa State Historical Society. *The Palimpsest* 1949. Iowa City, Ia. Vol. 30. Pp. 417.

Jackman, William James. *History of the American Nation.* Chicago: Western Press Association, 1915-1920. 9 Vols.

James Sprunt Studies in History 1949. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. Vols. 30, 31.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Papers of . . .* 1760-1776. Princeton, N. J.: University Press, 1950. Pp. 679.

Jensen, Merrill. *The Articles of Confederation.* Madison, Wis.: University Press, 1948. Pp. 284.

Johannsen, Albert. *The House of Beadle and Adams.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 2 Vols.

Josephus, Flavius. *The Works of . . .* Chicago and Philadelphia: Monarch Book Co., n.d. Pp. 1055.

Kansas Historical Quarterly. Topeka, Kan.: Kansas State Historical Society, 1949. Vol. 17. Pp. 425.

Kentucky Historical Society. *The Register* 1948. Frankfort, Ky. Vol. 46. Pp. 689.

Labaree, Leonard Woods. *Conservatism in Early American History.* New York: University Press, 1948. Pp. 182.

La Follette, Robert Marion. *The Making of America.* Chicago: De Bower, Chapline & Co., 1907. 10 Vols.

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. *Index to Will Books,* 1729-1850 . . . Lancaster, Pa., 1936. Pp. 136.

Leisy, Ernest Erwin. *The American Historical Novel.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Pp. 280.

Le Page du Pratz. *The History of Louisiana . . .* Tr. from the French. London: T. Becket, 1774. Pp. 376.

Lewis, John Llewellyn. *Testimony . . . on Miner's Welfare . . . Centralia Mine Explosion . . .* Washington, D. C., 1947. Pp. 128.

Lewis, Lloyd and Pargellis, Stanley. *Granger Country.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1949. unp.

Library Journal. 1949. New York: R. R. Bowker Co. Vol. 74. Pp. 1940.

Louisiana Historical Quarterly. 1948. New Orleans, La. Vol. 31. Pp. 1123.

McGloin, John Bernard. *Eloquent Indian, James Bouchard.* Stanford, Calif.: A. H. Clark Co., 1949. Pp. 380.

McNickle, D'Arcy. *They Came Here First . . .* Phil. and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1949. Pp. 325.

Maryland Historical Society. *Archives of Maryland,* 1636-1777. Baltimore, Md. 23 Vols.

Mason, Bernard Sterling. *Dances and Stories of the American Indian.* New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1944. Pp. 269.

Mason, Gregory. *Columbus Came Late.* New York and London: Century Co., 1931. Pp. 341.

Massachusetts General Court. *Manual* 1949-'50. Boston, Mass. Pp. 747.

Michigan History 1948. Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Historical Commission. Vol. 32. Pp. 461.

Military Affairs Journal 1948. Washington, D. C.: American Military Institute. Vol. 12. Pp. 256.

Mississippi Historical Society Journal 1946, 1947. Vols. 8. 9.

Mississippi Historical Society. *Journal of Mississippi History* 1948. Jackson, Miss. Vol. 10. Pp. 366.

Missouri Historical Society Bulletin 1944-1949. St. Louis, Mo. (in 3 Vols.)

Missouri Historical Review 1948-9. Columbia, Mo.: Missouri Historical Society. Vol. 43. Pp. 422.

Mississippi Valley Historical Review 1948-9. Cedar Rapids, Ia. Vol. 35. Pp. 754.

Morse, Abner. *A Genealogical Register . . . Brigham Family.* Boston: H. W. Dutton & Son, 1859. Vol. 2. Pp. 96.

Murray, William Henry. *The Negro's Place in call of Race.* Tishomingo, Okla., 1948. Pp. 104.

Murray, William Henry. *Palestine.* Tishomingo, Okla., 1947. Pp. 47.

Myers, John Myers. *The Last Chance—Tombstone's Early Years.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.. 1950. Pp. 260.

National Genealogical Society. *Abstracts of Wills—Chatham Co., Ga.* Washington, D. C., 1936. Pp. 251.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly 1912-1948. Washington, D. C. 36 Vols. (Bound in 14 Vols.)

National Lutheran Council. *By Their Side, a Memorial—War Service . . .* 1940-1948. [n.p., 1949]

Nebraska History 1949. Lincoln, Neb.: State History Society. Vol. 30. Pp. 339.

New Age Magazine (*Freemasonry*) 1948. Washington, D. C. Vol. 56. Pp. 768.

New Jersey Historical Society. *Calendar of New Jersey Wills . . .* 1810-1813. Vol. 12. Pp. 560.

New Mexico Historical Review. Santa Fe, N. M.. 1949. Vol. 24. Pp. 346.

New Testament . . . 1611 version . . . revised 1881 . . . Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1881. Pp. 690.

New Testament in Indian (*Chippewa*) *Language.* Albany: Packard & Van Benthuysen, 1833. Pp. 484.

New York History 1949. Cooperstown, N. Y.: New York State Historical Association. Vol. 30. Pp. 504.

New York Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation. *Index to Indian Notes Vols.* 1-7. New York, 1949. Pp. 156.

North Carolina Historical Records Survey. *Inventory of State Archives.* Raleigh, N. C., 1939-1942. 5 Vols.

North Carolina Historical Review 1949. Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. Vol. 26. Pp. 524.

North Carolina Memorial Commission. *The Three Presidents North Carolina gave the Nation.* Raleigh, N. C., 1949. Pp. 61.

North Carolina Wills and Inventories . . . Raleigh, N. C.: Secretary of State, 1912. Pp. 587.

North Dakota History 1949. Bismarck: State History Society. Vol. 16. Pp. 268.

Northwest Ohio Quarterly 1948. Toledo: Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio. Vol. 20. Pp. 212.

Ohio, Northeastern, Biographical History —Ashtabula, Trumbull and Mahoning Counties. Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co., 1893. Pp. 735.

O'Kane. Walter Collins. *Sun in the Sky.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Pp. 261.

Oklahoma Banker 1949. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Bankers Association. Vol. 7.

Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals. *Reports March* 1947—*May* 1948. Guthrie, Okla.: Co-Op. Pub. Co. Vols. 84, 85, 86.

Oklahoma Geological Survey. *Circular No.* 26. Norman, Okla., 1949. Pp. 104.

Oklahoma Geological Survey. *Resources of Haskell County.* Norman, Okla., 1948. Bul. No. 67. Pp. 134.

Oklahoma Geological Survey. *Resources of North LeFlore County.* Norman, Okla., 1949. Bul. No. 68. Pp. 76.

Oklahoma Historical Society. *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 1948. Oklahoma City. Vol. 26. Pp. 498. 2 c.

Oklahoma Historical Society. *Reports of the Secretary to the Board of Directors* 1944-1949. 2 Vols.

Oklahoma Livestock Growers' Association. *The Ranchman* 1941-1948. Tulsa, Okla. 7 Vols.

Oklahoma Mineral Industries Conference. *The Hopper* 1949. Norman, Okla. Vol. 9. Pp. 120.

Oklahoma Official Session Laws 1949. Guthrie, Okla.: Co-Op. Pub. Co. Pp. 830.

Oklahoma O. E. S. Grand Chapter. *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Session.* Guthrie, Okla., 1948. Pp. 319.

Oklahoma State Dental Society. *Bulletin* 1937-1949. 5 Vols.

Oklahoma Statutes—Cumulative Supplement 1949. Pp. 1243.

Oklahoma State Medical Association Journal 1949. Oklahoma City. Vol. 42. Pp. 560.

Oklahoma Supreme Court Reports March to Nov., 1948. Guthrie, Okla.: Co-Op. Pub. Co. Pp. 723.

Oklahoma Teacher 1948-'49. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Educational Association. Vol. 30.

Oregon Historical Society Quarterly 1947. Portland, Ore. Vol. 48. Pp. 383.

Osterweis, Rollin Gustav. *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. 275.

Owsley, Frank Lawrence. *Plain Folk of the Old South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. 235.

Pacific Northwest Quarterly 1949. Seattle, Wash.: Washington University. Vol.. 40. Pp. 374.

Pan. American Institute of Geology and History. *Revision of History of America.* Mexico, 1948. Nos. 25, 26.

Panhandle-Plains Historical Society Review 1941, 1948. Canyon City, Texas. Vols. 14, 21.

Pemberton, Robert L. *A History of Pleasants County, West Virginia.* St. Mary's, W. Va.: The Oracle Press, 1929. Pp. 272.

Pennsylvania Historical Society. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* Philadelphia, Pa.. 1949. Vol. 73. Pp. 555.

Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission. *Guide to Public Archives of Pennsylvania.* Harrisburg, Pa., 1949. Pp. 101.

Perrin, William Henry. *History of Stark County, Ohio.* Chicago: Baskin & Battey, 1881. Pp. 1012.

Peterson. Clarence Stewart. *Swift County's First Pioneers . . .* 1849-1949. Baltimore, Md., 1949. Pp. 73.

Pickens, Anna Gwin. *The Murray Colonies of Bolivia.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948. Pp. 215.

Poland, Germany and European Peace. London: Polish Embassy, 1944-1948. Pp. 116.

Popol Vuh, The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiché Maya. English version by Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley. . . Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Pp. 267.

Powell, John Harvey. *Bring Out Your Dead—Yellow Fever Plague in Philadelphia in* 1793. Phil.: University of Penn. Press, 1949. Pp. 304.

Presbyterian Historical Society Journal 1948. Phil., Pa. Vol. 26. Pp. 258.

Providence City Council. *The Early Records of the Town of Providence.* Providence, R. I.: Snow & Farnham, 1915. Pp. 127.

Rand, McNally & Co. *Cosmopolitan World Atlas.* Chicago, Ill., 1949. Pp. 335.

Rider, Fremont, Editor. *The American Genealogical Index.* Middleton, Conn., 1949. Vol. 34. unp.

Riegel, Robert Edgar. *Young America* 1830-1840. Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1949. Pp. 435.

Rogers, Cornwell Burnham. *The Spirit of the Revolution.* 1789. Princeton, N. J.: University Press, 1949. Pp. 363.

Rogers, Will. *The Autobiography of Will Rogers.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1949. Pp. 410.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. *Public Paper and Addresses* 1937-1945. New York: Macmillan Co. and Harper & Bros. 8 Vols.

Sandburg, Carl. *Lincoln Collector, the Story of Oliver R. Barrett's great private collection.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949. Pp. 344.

Sanders, Daniel Clarke. *A History of the Indian Wars . . .* Rochester, N. Y., 1828. Pp. 196.

Sandoz, Mari. *Crazy Horse.* New York: A. A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. 428.

Schlegel, Marvin Wilson. *Virginia on Guard . . .* Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1949. Pp. 286.

Schultz, Harold S. *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina,* 1852-'60. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1950. Pp. 259.

Shoemaker, Floyd Calvin. *The State Historical Society of Missouri,* 1898-1948. Columbia, Mo., 1948. Pp. 193.

Smith, William, Editor. *A Dictionary of the Bible . . .* Cincinnati, Ohio: National Pub. Co., 1870. Pp. 1017.

Smithsonian Institution. *Handbook of South American Indians.* Washington, D. C., 1949. Bul. No. 143. Pp. 818.

South Carolinians in the Revolution. Ed. by Sara S. Ervin. Ypsilanti. Mich., 1949. Pp. 186.

South Dakota State Historical Society. *Historical Collections and Report.* Pierre, S. D., 1949. Vol. 24. Pp. 595.

Southampton County, Virginia Marriage Bonds 1750-1800. Richmond, Va., 1948. Pp. 100.

Southern Historical Association. *Journal of Southern History* 1948. Baton Rouge, La. Vol. 14. Pp. 607.

Spier, Leslie. *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest.* Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Pub. Co., 1935. Pp. 74.

Stilgebouer, Forster G. *Nebraska Pioneers . . .* 1875-1940. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1944. Pp. 414.

Strong, Nathaniel T. *. . . Case of the Seneca Indians in New York . . .* Philadelphia: Merrihew & Thompson, 1841. Pp. 84.

Studies in Social Psychology in World War II . . . Social Science Research Council. Princeton University Press, 1949—Vols. 1, 2.

Sykes, John. *Local Records, or, Historical Register of Remarkable Events . . .* New Castle, Eng.: T. Fordyce, 1866-1876. 4 Vols.

Talbot, Phillips, Editor. *South Asia in the World Today.* Chicago: University Press, 1950. Pp. 253.

Talbot, Theodore. *Journals of . . .* 1843 *and* 1849-1852. Edited by Charles H. Carey. Portland, Ore.: Metropolitan Press, 1931. Pp. 141.

Tennessee Historical Quarterly. Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1948. Vol. 7. Pp. 390.

Terral, Rufus. *The Missouri Valley.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Pp. 274.

Territorial Papers of the U. S.—Louisiana-Missouri 1806-1814. Washington, D. C.: Supt. of Docs., 1949. Vol. 14. Pp. 915.

Texas State Historical Association. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 1948-9. Austin, Tex. Vol. 52. Pp. 512.

Thompson, Faith. *Magna Carta,* its role in the making of the English Constitution, 1300-1629. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948. Pp. 410.

Thorbecke, Ellen. *Promised Land . . . Palestine. . .* New York: Harper & Bros., 1947. Pp. 171.

Townsend, George Alfred. *Rustics in Rebellion. . .* 1861-65. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. 292.

Turnbull, A. D. and Lord, C. L. *History of U. S. Naval Aviation.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. 345.

Tyler, Alice Felt. *Freedom's Ferment . . . to* 1860. Minneapolis: University of Minn. Press, 1944. Pp. 608.

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine. 1924-26, 1932-36, 1948-49. Richmond, Va.: Richmond Press, inc. 7 Vols.

Una Jornada de Realizaciones. Mérida, Yucatan, Mexico, 1937. Pp. 192.

United Nations ESCO, Editor. *Human Rights, Comments and Interpretations.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 287.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Knox County, Tenn.* 1850 *Census.* Knoxville, Tenn., 1949. Pp. 201.

U. S. 80th Cong., 2d Sess. *Congressional Record* 1948. Washington, D. C. 14 Vols.

United Nations. Dept. of Public Information. *Handbook* 1949. Printed in U. S. A. Pp. 222.

U. S. Librarian of Congress. *Annual Report* 1948, 1949. Washington, D. C. 2 Vols.

U. S. Library of Congress. *Monthly Check List of State Publications.* Washington, D. C., 1949. Vol. 40. Pp. 300.

U. S. National Archives. *Calendar of Negro-Related Documents.* Washington, D. C., 1949. Pp. 100.

U. S. Navy Dept. *Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies.* Washington, D. C. 5 Vols.

U. S. Secretary of the Interior. *Annual Report* 1947-48. Washington, D. C. Pp. 427.

U. S. Selective Service System. *Backgrounds of Selective Service.* Washington, D. C., 1945-47. 19 Vols.

U. S. Selective Service System. *4th Report of the Director.* Washington, D. C., 1948. Pp. 709.

U. S. State Department. *U. S. Relations with China.* Washington, D. C., 1949. Pp. 1054.

Utah Historical Quarterly 1946-1949. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society. Vols. 14-17. (in 3 Vols.)

Vail, Robert W. G. *The Voice of the Old Frontier.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Pp. 492.

Vermont Historical Records Survey. *Final Report and Inventory.* Rutland, Vt., 1942. Pp. 73.

Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 1895-1917, 1921, 1922, 1924-1927, 1948. Richmond, Va.: State Historical Society. 29 Vols.

Virginia State Library. *Preliminary Checklist for Petersburg,* 1786-1876. Richmond, Va., 1949. Pp. 358.

Virginia University. *Inauguration of President Colgate W. Darden, Jr.* Charlottesville, Va., 1947. Pp. 53.

Virginia University. Institute for Research in Social Sciences. *Monograph No.* 6. University, Va., 1929. Pp. 133.

Virginia University. *The Jefferson Papers.* Charlottesville, Va., 1950. Pp. 343.

Virginia University. *Labor in the Industrial South.* University, Va.: Institute for Research, 1930. Pp. 176.

Virginia University. *Problems in County Government.* University, Va.: Institute for Research, 1930. Pp. 666.

Virginia State Library. *Virginia's State Government during 2d World War.* Richmond, Va., 1949. Pp. 203.

Virkus, Frederick A. *Handbook of American Genealogy.* Chicago, Ill.: Institute of American Geneaology, 1943. Vol. 4. Pp. 392.

Von Bergen, William. *The Rare Coins of America.* 6th ed. Boston: Numismatic Bank, 1889. Pp. 190.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *King of the Delawares, Teedyuscung . . .* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Pp. 305.

Washington County, Oklahoma. *World War II Service Men and Women.* Compiled by James D. Talbott. Bartlesville, Okla. n.d. Pp. 280.

Washington County, Tennessee Marriage Records. Compiled by Norma R. Grammer and Marion D. Mullins. 1787-1840. [no. imp.]

Watson, Winslow C. *Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley.* Albany, N. Y.: A. Munsell, 1863. Pp. 231.

Webster's Geographical Dictionary. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1949. Pp. 1293.

Wentworth, Edward N. *America's Sheep Trails.* Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1948. Pp. 667.

West Tennessee Historical Society Papers 1947-1949. Memphis, Tenn. 3 Vols.

West Virginia Blue Book 1949. Charleston, W. Va. Pp. 904.

West Virginia History 1948-9. Charleston, W. Va.: State Dept. of Archives and History. Vol. 10. Pp. 454.

West Virginia History 1945-6. Charleston, W. Va.: State Dept. of Archives and History. Vol. 7. Pp. 363.

Wheare, Kenneth Clinton. *Abraham Lincoln and the United States.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 286.

Wheeler, Edmund. *History of New Port, New Hampshire,* 1766-1878, with a Genealogical Register. Concord, N. H., 1879. Pp. 600.

The White House Gallery—The Presidents. Comp. by George R. Devitt. New York and Washington: Gravure Co. of America, 1907. Pp. 31.

Who Knows and What, among authorities, experts, and the specially informed. Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1949. Pp. 796.

Who's Who in America. Chicago, Ill.: A. N. Marquis Co., 1950. Vol. 26. Pp. 3347.

William and Mary Quarterly 1949. Williamsburg, Va. Vol. 6. Pp. 746.

Williams, Kenneth P. *Lincoln finds a General.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. 2 Vols.

Williams, Thomas H. *Lincoln and the Radicals.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1941. Pp. 413.

Wilson, Benjamin. *The Emphatic Diaglott—Bible. N. T. Greek.* 1865. New York: Fowler & Wells Co., 1890. unp.

Wingfield, Marshall, Comp. *An Old Virginia Court . . . Franklin County.* Memphis, Tenn.: West Tenn. Historical Society, 1948. Pp. 258.

Wisconsin Magazine of History 1947-8. Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society. Vol. 31. Pp. 543.

World Peace Foundation. *Documents on American Foreign Relations.* Boston, Mass.: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. 705.

Wright, Muriel Hazel. *Our Oklahoma.* Guthrie, Okla.: Co-Op. Pub. Co., 1949. Pp. 463.

Wright, Muriel Hazel. *The Story of Oklahoma.* Guthrie, Okla.: Co-Op. Pub. Co., 1949. Pp. 463.

Young, Pauline. *A Brief History of Old Little River Church.* Abbeville, S. C., 1941. Pp. 23.

BOOK REVIEW

Giant in Gray: A Biography of Wade Hampton of South Carolina. By Manly Wade Wellman. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Charles Scribner's Son, Ltd. London, 1949. Pp. xi, 387, including index. Illustrations and appendix.)

It might be asked why a book review? The definition of review might assist in answering that question. "Review" could not mean anything but "to see again", "another look." So it would follow that a book review would be another reading and analysis of some book.

Book reviews are oral or written. Sometimes you see a whole string of written reviews in magazines or professional journals and they are so empty and dry, we wonder what was the purpose.

The book itself must be its own excuse for a review of it. The subject, the content, the purpose, and the pleasure and profit found in its reading should move the reader to lift it high with pen or voice and say, "Stop, look, listen while I tell you book lovers of something fine, something stimulating and refreshing; here is something not only worth reading but worth buying and placing in your library or better still introduce it to a lover of books."

So, when I looked into the covers of a volume put forth by Charles Scribner's Sons, entitled *Giant in Gray: A Biography of Wade Hampton of South Carolina,* I found the story racy without being light, factual without being musty, moving and inspiring without being strained or strident. "Surely," I said, "Here is a book I want all my friends of taste and refinement to read, so why not tell them briefly about it?"

Here the writer likes to linger upon the best definition of history he has met: "There is no history, it is all biography." Manly Wade Wellman knew this when he wrote this story of Wade Hampton, the third Wade Hampton, born to the purple of Southern tradition, heir and master of five hundred thousand acres and five thousand slaves, a Colonel of volunteer infantry, a Brigadier General of cavalry under Jackson, the successor to General J. E. B. Stuart as Commander of all Southern Cavalry, ending his war service as one of only two lieutenant generals of the Southern Confederacy; a chivalrous figure riding forth as leader of his hosts and striking death and terror with his gleaming sabre; defender of his people in the reconstruction days; protector of the lost and deluded southern negro; Governor and United States Senator of South Carolina; all these and more are presented in this volume with ease, rightful color and authenticity.

Perhaps the preceding sentence in the last paragraph is too long. But book reviews must be brief to fit a space. So, upon pointing to the pinnacles of character and power Wade Hampton reached and assuring you that Wellman treats all of these with closest care but with a pleasing and meticulous pen, this review could well reach its end: namely, make a reader reach for the volume, *Giant in Gray.*

The author divides his book into six parts: (1) The Grandee; (2) Gentleman At Arms; (3) The Stricken Field; (4) There Was No Peace; (5) Freedom Hard Won; (6) The Rise and The Fall.

Instead of making analysis of the contents of this volume, I shall present some lights and shades by offering a few quotations from the six divisions:

DIVISION 1.

"On March 28, 1818, there was born in Charleston, South Carolina, a boy, blue eyed, big, and healthy. He was christened Wade Hampton."

DIVISION 2.

"The fighting raged [Battle of Bull Run] into the afternoon. J. E. B. Stuart led a charge of Virginia Cavalry; Hampton joined in the charge; someone fired at him and he fell, almost under the muzzle of the cannon; the bullet gash on Hampton's head was slight; he bandaged it and resumed the command of his Legion." . . . . "More modest than J. E. B. Stuart in manner and dress, Hampton, no doubt, was undeniably a fiercer personal fighter; with the doubtful exception of Bedford Forrest, he was probably the most frequent and successful hand-to-hand combatant among all the general officers in American history."

DIVISION 3.

"Heth's Division advanced across Hatcher's Run [Grant's Battles around Richmond October 1864] to counter attack with Hampton. Hampton rode almost to the front of the charge. With him was young Wade, his son (the 4th Wade Hampton). Among the young officers riding by was one waving his hat; it was Preston Hampton, Wade's brother. The next instant, a bullet struck him in the groin and he fell from his saddle. Young Wade spurred ahead and dismounted by his brother's side. Even as he bent over Preston, his brother, he was struck in the back and fell beside him. General Hampton seeing this, swung out of his saddle. A wintry rain was falling, bullets whistling; he knelt and caught Preston in his arms, 'My son, my son,' he muttered brokenly. He kissed his boy tenderly and bent to whisper in his ear. The boy could not move. 'Too late, doctor,' General Hampton called to Dr. Taylor who sat holding Preston's sagging head upon his shoulder. Then suddenly turning his horse he joined some artillery to direct their fire into the thickest of the enemy. The victorious Southerners held the hard-won field in the chill, pelting rain. Hampton prepared the report of his victory. Gravely he mentioned the casualties; 'In this charge while leading the men and cheering them by his words and example, Lieutenant William Preston Hampton, Aid-de-camp, fell mortally wounded and Lieutenant Wade Hampton who was acting on my staff, received a severe wound.' "

DIVISION 4.

"Hampton who had marched to the war as the richest gentleman of the South, came back as one of the poorest." . . . . "Others of the South had kindly feeling but at this time, nobody seems to have gone so far as Hampton in advocating a clearcut recognition of Negro citizenship rights." [1869]

DIVISION 5.

"Night fell (November 7, 1876) and newspapers and bulletin boards throughout South Carolina posted the returns as they came in [Gubernatorial election]. By morning of November 8, Hampton was declared the winner [Governorship] by a majority of approximately one thousand. . . . . On March 23, 1877, President R. B. Hayes wrote cordially to Hampton, asking him to visit Washington and discuss South Carolina's knotty problems. On his departure, Hampton speaking to a crowd gathered around him at the depot said, 'I go there to assure him that we are not fighting for party, but we are fighting for the good of the whole country. I am going there to demand our rights—nothing more—and, so help me God, nothing less.' "

DIVISION 6.

"In June [1877] he [Hampton] went to Auburn, New York, to speak before a large crowd. He concluded by calling attention to the presence of another guest of honor at the meeting: 'I come to do honor to my distinguished friend, General Shields. He wore the blue and I wore the gray, but we can let the curtain drop over those years, and go back to the time when that flag borne by him waved alike over the men of the South, and the men of the North, and we can look beyond the future, when through all time that flag shall float over a free and prosperous and reunited country.' . . . . On February 24, 1879, Hampton resigned as Governor to accept the election to the United States Senate. On April 16 he appeared in the Senate chamber at Washington, where Butler (senior senator from S. C.) proudly presented him for his oath of office. . . . .

"Benjamin Ryan Tillman was born in 1847 in Edgefield County, S. C. In 1880 he campaigned busily, organizing what he called the Farmers' Movement. On March 27, 1890, his supporters met and named a full slate, headed by Tillman as the Farmers' Movement candidate for Governor. They also announced a policy of overthrowing the 'aristocrats'. Tillman [during a point in the campaign] whirled around on the platform and glared full into Hampton's face. 'The grand mogul here, who ruled supremely and grandly, cannot terrify me!' he snarled at the top of his voice. . . . . 'When any man comes here and talks about my record I simply spew him out at the mouth,' he yelled. 'The Democratic party is full of leprosy . . . . . 'Blot out Wade Hampton from the history of the state for the past thirty years and you blot out South Carolina', said an editorial in the *Charleston News and Courier.* Irby was chosen to succeed him in the Senate, as of March, 1891."

* * * * * * * *

"Weaker he grew, and weaker. . . . . 'All is black', he muttered weakly. 'My children are on the field—heroes forever—forever'—he aroused himself briefly 'God bless all my people, black and white'. He died at 8:30 a.m. on April 12, 1902."

The nature of this volume is reflected in the inserted sentences better than if a ream of paper should have been used in mere comment and analysis. This sort of book belongs with such volumes as Lincoln Steffens' *Lincoln,* Southall Freeman's *Lee and His Generals,* Dwight Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe,* and Winston Churchill's *The Finest Hour* for collateral reading in all high school and collegiate forces in American history. This story of Wade Hampton is not a sectional book, but one belonging to all America, for it tells when American manhood was in flower. It throws new and vivid light on one of the greatest epochs in American history.

—Charles Evans.

Oklahoma Historical Society.

FREDERICK SIMPICH

NECROLOGIES

FREDERICK SIMPICH

1878—1950

Many readers of *The Chronicles* who are also readers of the *National Geographic Magazine*, will have heard with deepest regret of the death of Mr. Frederick Simpich, an assistant editor of the *Geographic*.

Mr. Simpich was not only a warm personal friend of the writer of this sketch, but he had a peculiar hold on the affections of Oklahomans because of the sympathetic and absorbing article which he wrote about Oklahoma and which was published in the *National Geographic Magazine* for March, 1941. Mr. Simpich came to Muskogee and labored diligently to secure the most interesting material that went into his article which he entitled "So Oklahoma Grew Up." and which covered forty-four pages of that excellent magazine.

The editor of the *Geographic* wrote to the undersigned that Mr. Simpich's death "was a great shock to all of us who worked with him here and his passing leaves an irreplacable gap in the Society's staff." He died January 25, 1950, at Garfield Hospital in Washington. He was seventy-one years old. "World traveler, writer and former diplomat, Simpich was taken ill at Washington National Air Port shortly before he was to board a plane for Texas to start work on an article for the Magazine."

He had been apparently in good health. Colleagues who talked to him only the day before said he was in excellent spirits and looking forward to his Texas trip with enthusiasm.

"First as a young newspaper reporter, then in the U. S. Foreign Service, and for the past 22 years as a roving correspondent and editor for the *National Geographic Magazine*, Simpich traveled by almost every means of transportation and to almost every major city and country in the world.

"He liked to recall that his travels started at the age of 16 when he left his home, then in Missouri, and embarked on a trip around the world.

"His complete itinerary would read like a somewhat abbreviated index to the world atlas, including such romantic and intriguing places as Shanghai, Baghdad, the Nile Valley, the Bahamas, Afghanistan, the Philippines, the Argentine pampas, Manchuria, Sonora, Mexico, and the mystic Arabian city of Nedjef—not to mention the length and breadth of the United States.

"Born in Urbana, Illinois, on November 21, 1878, the son of Charles Frederick and Sarah Elizabeth Simpich, young Simpich spent his early career as a newspaper man in Shanghai, Manila, San Francisco and other cities, traveling much and frequently contributing feature material and articles to such magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Nation's Business*, and *Argosy*.

"In 1909 he temporarily forsook journalism to take a post with the United States Foreign Service. Literary work, however, continued his principal avocation, and his first article, a piece of the Garden of Eden written from Baghdad, to appear in the *National Geographic Magazine* was contributed in 1914.

"Simpich's diplomatic assignments took him to Germany, Turkey, and Mexico. During the Carranza revolution, at which time he was U. S. consul-general in Nogales, Mexico, he performed services for the British, German, and Chinese nationalists living in the ravaged areas so satisfactorily that he received the official thanks of the three governments.

"His years in the Foreign Service, from 1909 to 1923, were interrupted temporarily in 1918, when he served with the U. S. Army Intelligence.

"Simpich rose rapidly in the ranks of the diplomats, becoming consul-general at Guatamala in 1920; later in the same year, an assistant foreign trade adviser in the Department of State; and finally, until his retirement from foreign service, a member of the State Department's Division of Western European Affairs.

"His return to literary work, in April, 1923, immediately plunged him into a heavy program of travel and writing. His first journey took him to Puerto Rico, Panama, and Mexico, where he made a study of economic and trade conditions and contributed articles to various American magazines.

"Then, in 1927, at the invitation of Dr. Gilbert Grosvenor, he joined the *National Geographic Magazine* staff. Since then, he has participated in several National Geographic Society expeditions, and roamed the Pacific, South America, the United States, Europe, and the Middle East, gathering material for his articles. He was made an assistant editor of the publication in 1931.

"In all, he contributed more than 80 articles to the *National Geographic Magazine*, with the subject matter ranging from the Ozarks and the Orient to chemistry and the industry of the Ruhr.

"For recreation, Simpich collected wood carvings—a hobby he pursued for 30 years—and play the guitar."

"His clubs included the National Press Club, the Cosmos, the Overseas Writers, and Chevy Chase.

"Mr. Simpich is survived by his widow, Mrs. Margaret Elliot Edwards Simpich, and three sons—Frederick Edwards of Honolulu, and George Cary and William Norris, both of New York."

Funeral services were held Saturday, January 28th, at St. Alban's Episcopal Church, and interment followed in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C.

—GRANT FOREMAN

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

MERRITT JULIUS GLASS

1879—1949

Among the many pioneers of ambitious and vigorous character in an undeveloped land, Merritt Julius Glass, better known as "M. J." or Merritt, to his intimates, helped to make the Indian Territory and the new State of Oklahoma, a more thriving and progressive place in which to live.

Merritt Julius Glass was born August 17, 1879, at Cherokee, Colbert County, Alabama. He died at his home in Tulsa on August 9, 1949, and was laid away in the family mausoleum, Oaklawn Cemetery. His father was George Hezekiah Glass and his mother, Charlotte Linton Glass. In 1882 they, with their two children, Margaret Rebecca and Merritt Julius, moved

MERRITT JULIUS GLASS

to Colorado City, Texas, and later to Coleman County, Texas. After the death of the father in 1892, Charlotte Linton Glass, with her children, moved to Duncan, Indian Territory.

Merritt Julius Glass attended North Texas Normal School, Denton, Texas, where he studied two years, after which he entered Peabody College at Nashville, Tennessee. Two years later he studied at Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Illinois, and at the University of Chicago.

While he was attending school in Nashville, his mother remarried and moved to a large ranch of government leased (Indian reservation) land, with post office at Hope in the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory. Here, for a number of years, Mr. Glass led the life of a frontier herdsman, on an eighteen thousand acre ranch. While engaged in this activity, he studied law, working late into the night and arising at four o'clock in the morning to apply himself to his studies. He finished this course and was admitted to the Bar, in the western district of Oklahoma, before he reached the age of twenty-one.

While residing at Hope, Mr. Glass was appointed postmaster there. He combined this responsibility with managing a store of general merchandise and overseeing the ranch where he formerly punched cattle. This ranch included farm lands and had twenty-one tenant houses on the premises. When the Kiowa-Comanche territory was opened for settlement in 1901, Mr. Glass engaged in the practice of law with his half brother, James H. Wolverton and a friend, at Lawton.

In 1905 he entered law practice as a member of the firm, Hussey and Glass. It was at this time that he met his future wife, Florence Elizabeth Shaw, in the social circles of the First Christian Church in Lawton. Miss Shaw was the daughter of Walter Clark Shaw (a builder and contractor) and Movernon Delsie Shaw. In October of 1907 Merritt Julius Glass and Florence Elizabeth Shaw were united in marriage, in the parsonage of Reverend Curtis, pastor of the First Christian Church of Lawton, Oklahoma. Florence E. Glass, a woman of rare capabilities, proved to be a very helpful life partner.

Mr. and Mrs. Glass had four children, two daughters and two sons: Melba Glass Davis, deceased, and Wilson Vernon Glass, who was associated with his father in business and continues as a member of the firm, M. J. Glass Company.

In 1909 Mr. Glass, with his wife and mother, moved from Lawton to Tulsa, Oklahoma, where he opened real estate office. He kept a large office force and much business went through his hands. Besides helping numerous others to buy and sell, he and his mother, made investments of their own. They believed in the value of corners, and were once owners of sites now occupied by some of Tulsa's largest buildings. They platted and sold several additions to the City of Tulsa, two on the north side and one on the west. Mr. Glass finally built a permanent home for his family on the corner of Oklahoma and North Denver Avenue, on property which he had developed and brought into the City, as the Hobbs Addition.

Mr. Glass helped organize the Tulsa Real Estate Board and became its second president. He was a charter member of the Oklahoma Association of Real Estate Boards, served as its president and supported Oklahoma's first Real Estate License Law, which was similar to the one passed by the legislature in 1949. For a number of years he was a member of the State Excise and Equalization Board and was looked upon as the most reasonable, reliable and exact appraiser of real estate in the country. He assisted in naming many of Tulsa's streets and was instrumental in the development

of several highways leading out of the City. During World War I, Miller and Glass had the largest ground-floor real estate office in Tulsa.

Mr. Glass was a consistent booster of his own home town. The following is an excerpt from *The Tulsa Daily World*:

"Mr. Glass is remembered as an after-dinner speaker at many conventions and public gatherings. For years he was chosen by the Real Estate Board to represent it at Town Cup Contest, featured at the annual convention of the National Associations of Real Estate Boards.

"Many old-timers will remember his famous speech on 'Tulsa, The Oil Capitol of the World', climaxed by the assertion that, 'without Tulsa oil, the world would squeak on its axis and civilization would rust in idleness.'"

Mr. Glass was a member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, which was a thriving organization while Oklahoma was still a young State. He served as president of that organization and also as president of the Trans-Mississippi Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. In 1918 Tate Brady and Mr. Glass were the men most responsible for bringing the National Confederate Reunion to Tulsa. Later through their efforts, Tulsa sent a special train to Washington, D. C. to the National Reunion there.

During early statehood the Democratic party formed an organization known as the "Cotton Sox Club." The members were not confined to Oklahoma but included several surrounding states. The first Governor of Oklahoma, C. N. Haskell, was a member of this organization. Mr. Glass also served as president of both the Cox-Roosevelt and the Roosevelt-Garner Clubs. He was an active member of the Tulsa Pioneer Association and also of the old-time Cherokee Strip Cow Puncher's Association.

Although Mr. Glass did not practice law after he moved to Tulsa, he retained his membership in the Oklahoma Bar Association through the years. He was a Mason, member of Tulsa Lodge No. 71 A. F. & A. M., and was a member (32nd degree) of the Scottish Rite, Indian Consistory No. 2, at McAlester, Oklahoma. Both Mr. and Mrs. Glass were Christian Scientist, having joined the First Church of Christ, Scientist, soon after their arrival in Tulsa and remaining active in this church organization from that time.

Genealogists of Europe and America claim great antiquity for the Glass family and through history trace them to the days of Robert Bruce in Scotland. Samuel Glass and his wife, Mary Gambol, were the first of the Glass family to come from the old country to America, arriving in 1735. They were Scot-Irish Presbyterians and descendants of the Covenanters. On his paternal grandmother's side, his ancestral chart dates back to David Street, who was a member of Captain Terrill's Company, 5th Virginia Regiment, during the Revolutionary War. This Company was also known as Captain William Fowler's Company.

His father, George Hezekiah Glass, was born in Alabama and served in the Confederate States Army in the Civil War. Mr. Glass was a second cousin of Hugo Black, who has served on the United States Supreme Court Bench since 1937.

Merritt Julius Glass was a man who always maintained a kindly attitude toward those in distress and though never thought of as a philanthropist, spent many hours in his office with no thought of remuneration helping some friend or stranger to work out a business problem, or to find his way out of financial stress. His normal relationship with his fellowmen patterned the neighborliness of the old west.

—Thelma Brookes

Tulsa, Oklahoma

AD INTERIM REPORT

September 5, 1950

The Board of Directors in its meeting January 27, 1950 decided to pass by the regular quarterly meeting on the last Thursday in April and convene at the Annual meeting, or Founders Day, May 26, 1950. Due to months of July and August bringing severely hot weather and many of the Board being away on vacation, it was decided that the Board meeting would be held October 26, 1950. This makes a long period without an official report of the Secretary and while the *Oklahoma Historical Society News Letter* went out to the Directors and members in every month containing business and news items, still this brief report touching high points of the work of the Society will be placed on record at this time.

The summer months for the Society are planning months. On July 7, 1950, the Executive Committee met and made out a report for the Secretary to offer the Office of the Budget some time in September. The Legislature meets the first Tuesday after the first Monday in January 1951 and appropriations must be made then for the next biennium. Last year the office of the Budget paid high tribute to the Society for getting its financial report in before any other department. It seems as though this may be true for this year too. The Board of Affairs, through Mr. L. W. Nickols, Superintending the work, has about finished the $5,000 job of steel flooring being placed now in the Newspaper Room. It is a good piece of work and will extend the space and increase the efficiency of this department in the largest degree. The $5,000 appropriated by the Legislature for the steel flooring in this room did not meet the requirements by many square feet. Gen. W. S. Key and the Secretary appeared before the Board of Public Affairs on Tuesday, August 29th and petitioned for sufficient money to finish the room with flooring now. The Board of Affairs together with C. M. Smith, Supervisor of buildings and grounds, have given assurance that every thing possible will be done to finish this job at the present time.

The founders of this Society believed that its chief function was setting up and developing some system whereby it could reach out to any and all points in Oklahoma where valuable books, papers, documents and letters of all kinds could be secured and placed in the Archives of the Society. Such men as Dr. Grant Foreman, Judge R. L. Williams, Dr. E. E. Dale, H. L. Muldrow assisted by others have been constantly on the alert through several decades that this work may be carried forward. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and Gen. W. S. Key, succeeding presidents to Judge Williams, have left nothing undone in building up and strengthening our already rich and far reaching Archives. In June Mrs. Franics R. Stoddard and her son, Dudley W. Stoddard, of New York City, gave the celebrated Whipple Papers. (See list attached to this report, and "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple," in this issue.)

On or about August 1st, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and Mrs. C. E. Cook, after a year in making proper contacts with the Van Bibber heirs in the vicinity of Edmond, brought one of the most valuable collections of letters, papers and documents into the Archives the Society has received in many years.

Through the visitations of Miss Muriel H. Wright, a splendid collection of original historical records of the Sacred Heart Mission was brought in by Mrs. Rella Looney and Mrs. C. E. Cook from St. Gregory's Catholic University at Shawnee. Also through Miss Wright's interest and work, other valuable additions were made to the Society's collections, including the original Chickasaw court Record Book of old Pontotoc County, Chickasaw

Nation (1887-1903), and the old Pontotoc County Seal presented by Gordon M. Harrel and Renfro Herndon of the Pontotoc County Historical Society; one of the first printings of the *New York Herald* (1865) announcing President Lincoln's assasination and original commission of Lt. Col. Richard L. Peyton of the 47th Reg., Kentucky Militia, signed by Gov. Thomas L. Bramlett of Kentucky (1863), presented for the Union Memorial Hall by Miss Lena E. Peyton and Mrs. Grace P. Knowles of Shawnee; gold medal awarded Miss Carlotta Archer as the best pianist under 21 "Among the Girls of the Five Nations" (1884), a pupil of Mrs. Narcissa Owen of the Cherokee Nation, presented by Miss Archer's niece, Vera Jones Chauncey (Mrs. M. R.) of Stillwater; enlarged copies of original photographs of Col. Sampson Folsom, Rev. Allen Wright (Choctaws), and Elias C. Boudinot (Cherokee) from the Wright Oklahoma Collection for the Confederate Memorial Hall.

Through contacts made by Mrs. Helen M. Gorman, Confederate Memorial Hall, this collection of Confederate Memorabilia was given by Mrs. Vinnie Ream Lewis of Denver, Colorado: A photograph of the letter from his Excellency, President Jefferson Davis to the six Confederated Indian Nations dated, February 22, 1864, White House of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia; an original photograph of Brig. Gen. Stand Watie with signature; a letter written by Geo. L. Washington Qm. Dept. Indian Confederate Brigade written at Skullyville, I. T., April 11, 1863, to his friend Captain I. A. Clarke, North Choctaw Nation. This valuable collection of historical papers was also secured for the Confederate Memorial Hall through the efforts of Mrs. Helen M. Gorman from Judge and Mrs. E. E. Cochran, Idabel, Oklahoma; a gift of three newspapers: *Washington Globe* of November 14, 1837; *North Alabamian* April 11, 1862; *The Richmond Times* June 11, 1866.

On August 22nd, Mr. Gene Aldrich of Moore, a graduate student of the University of Oklahoma, delivered to the Oklahoma Historical Society and to the Archivist, Mrs. Looney, a very valuable collection of papers of the late Peter Hanraty, member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and the first Mine Inspector of Oklahoma. This fine collection is the gift of Mr. Hanraty's daughters; Miss Margaret Hanraty, Mrs. Mary Talbot, Mrs. Nell Barclay and Mrs. Louise Matchett. Included in this gift was the pen which Mr. Hanraty used in signing the Constitution of Oklahoma. To widen and enforce this work of the Society the Secretary issued a letter to all the Staff Members:

"This Society has no money to secure historical collections and under present by-laws, we are not permitted to keep any collector in the field.

"It has occurred to me that the only way to meet this condition and to bring to the Society historical documents, which in truth should come here and no where else, is to ask that each one of you become an alert agent on the outlook for valuable history in such forms as books, papers, letters, scrap-books, newspapers, articles, relics, pictures etc."

Expenses will be paid on all trips for this purpose. Written reports must be made in detail.

Since this letter was written Mrs. C. E. Cook made a tour through eastern Oklahoma, consulting with Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Oklahoma and on to see after a fine collection of papers in McIntosh county and then into the Canadian vicinity to make contact with prominent families in that region and working a few days in and around McAlester; she brought in some excellent historical material and has set up connections that will be sure to secure fine contributions to our Archives in the future. The Secretary is planning to visit in September and early October the Indian Agencies in Concho, Anadarko, Miami, Pawnee and Shawnee. Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, has just informed me that Mrs. Ethel McCullah

of Oklahoma City has presented to the Society the "Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes" and "A Muskogee or Creek First Reader," by W. S. Robertson and David Winslett. So anyone can see with half-an-eye that this has been a very rich season for the addition of valuable historical material to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It is also very pleasing to report that Mr. E. H. Kelly, Chief Bank Examiner of the state of Oklahoma, has brought into the Archives Department this week much valuable historical material relating to the origin, development and present history of banking and banks in the state. He promises to continue this good work.

As you recall the Oklahoma Historical Marker Project was begun in the spring of 1949 by the Society securing $5,000 for 1949-1950 and $5,000 for the years 1950-1951 for the erection of markers over the state. Fifty of these markers were purchased through the State Highway Commission, and placed in historic spots throughout the state in the fall of 1949 and spring of 1950 under our auspices. At the beginning of the fiscal year, (July 1) 1950-1951, work was begun immediately to place the other fifty markers and on the date of this report, inscriptions have been written, the points over the state where these shall be erected have been agreed upon and the markers are being turned out by the Sewah Studios' factory in Marietta, Ohio and will be shipped into the state very soon. By January 1, 1951, the job will be completely done and over Oklahoma will be 100 testimonials in beautiful and durable tablets in aluminum, steel and concrete, telling citizens and travelers along our highways that Oklahoma has a history second to no state in the Union.

Under the "Every Member get a Member Campaign" for membership last year, our membership reached the saturation point. Still memberships continue to pour in. New Membership fees and renewals for the last three months moved considerably over the $500 mark. The Secretary has notified the Board of Directors that he intends to launch a campaign with your assistance in the Fall known as the "Exclusive Life Membership Campaign." There are nineteen counties in the state that have no Life Member of this Society in them. There are many counties that have very few and many of these are very rich and thickly populated counties. All Members of the Board agree that this is wrong and largely due to the fact that the Society has failed to cover the state as it should. This will be remedied in the Fall campaign known as the "Exclusive Life Membership Campaign."

There are many other matters of significance that could be brought before the Board of Directors in this brief report but they will be presented in a report to the Board of Directors ten days before the regular meeting on October 26, 1950. In conclusion, may I say that the Society has never had a larger and more loyal membership and a closer contact with the citizens of the state and over the United States through the 4,000 copies of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 5,000 "News Letters," (for the quarter) and 2,500 brochures, (all sent out in the past quarter), than at the present time. The Society is better equipped with proper apparatus and furnishings of all kind than ever before. Seven thousand dollars has been spent in 1950 for redecoration, $5,000 for enlargement of the News Paper Room and plans are already shaped for better salaries and appropriations for improvements on the building and the purchase of needed apparatus for proper expansion.

The Board, through its progressive president, has assisted materially in carrying out this program, assisted by faithful members of your committees and staff members.

Hoping that the largest attendance possible on the part of the Board of Directors on October 26, 1950, 10:00 a.m., in the Historical Building will reveal the large interest each has in this institution, I am

Sincerely,

Charles Evans, Secretary

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA LIBRARY
MAR 23 1951

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

Winter, 1950-51

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

Volume XXVIII Number 4

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 26, 1893.)

76.6

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers

WILLIAM S. KEY, President
EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, President Emeritus
REDMOND S. COLE, 1st Vice President
BAXTER TAYLOR, 2nd Vice President
MRS. JESSIE R. MOORE, Treasurer
GRANT FOREMAN, Director of Historical Research
GOVERNOR ROY J. TURNER, Ex-Officio
DR. CHARLES EVANS, Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Directors

Grant Foreman, Director Emeritus for Life, Muskogee

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1951

Thomas A. Edwards, Cordell — H. Milt Phillips, Seminole
Emma Estill-Harbour, Edmond — George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
Jessie E. Moore, Wayne

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1952

I. N. McCash, Enid — George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Jim Biggerstaff, Wagoner* — Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor
Mrs. Frank Korn, Oklahoma City

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1953

W. J. Peterson, Okmulgee — Thomas G. Cook, Buffalo
N. B. Henthorne, Tulsa — Edward C. Lawson, Tulsa
Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Tulsa

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1954

Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa — Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Ponca City
E. E. Dale, Norman — R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee
H. L. Muldrow, Norman

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1955

William S. Key, Oklahoma City — Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City
Baxter Taylor, Oklahoma City — N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City
Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City

POSTMASTER—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter at 301 W. Harrison, Guthrie, Oklahoma, by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are two dollars; life membership, twenty-five dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Secretary.

Entered as second class matter January 11, 1924, at the Post Office in Oklahoma City, under Act of August 24, 1912. Re-entered as second class matter on September 20, 1943, at the Post Office in Guthrie, as required by Act of August 24, 1912.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Printed by Co-Operative Publishing Co., Guthrie, Okla.

97839

* Resigned

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT
EDWARD EVERETT DALE
N. G. HENTHORNE
H. MILT PHILLIPS
GEORGE H. SHIRK
THE SECRETARY

Volume XXVIII **Number 4**

Winter, 1950-51

CONTENTS

ED H. MOORE 374
By Charles Evans

HARRY CAMPBELL 377
By Charles Evans

ALBERT H. ELLIS 382
By Angie Debo

EARLY DAYS OF ANADARKO 390
By Sara Brown Mitchell

OLD GRAND, GHOST TOWN 399
By C. A. Squire

JOSEPH ABSALOM SCALES 418
By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

OFFICIAL RECEPTION OF THE WHIPPLE PAPERS 433
By Charles Evans

THE SURVEY OF INDIAN TERRITORY 445
By Junius B. Moore

THOMAS J. PALMER, FRONTIER PUBLICIST 452
By Jack Cross

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 488

NECROLOGY
ANABEL FLEMING THOMASON ..... By Sara Thomason 499

MINUTES 501

ED H. MOORE

By Charles Evans

Very few thinking men and women who ever looked upon the face of Lincoln did not see there the traces of a rugged and stormy life. One of those who served with him through the terrible days of 1861-1865, said that never could he forget the grief he saw when he looked into the eyes of Abraham Lincoln.

Whatever may have been the form and face of Ed H. Moore, United States Senator from Oklahoma in the years 1943 to 1949, in his earlier life, those who saw him in his latter days found in his rugged form and features unmistakable proof that his life had ranged through the experiences of poverty, in association with the poor and needy, and that whatever life had brought him, it had been won upon a hard fought battlefield.

This man, who was given the honor by the electorate of Oklahoma of being given the highest position a State can offer to any man, was born on a Missouri farm on November 19, 1871. Like hundreds of other American's he received his best training in the universal farm life, in a pioneer home with scant furnishings, the round of daily chores and farm work that was not restricted by any eight-hour day, but reached high up through necessity to include that range of service rated as from sun-up to sun-down, the daily grind that demanded sacrifice and self denial on the part of all within the home. All this, Ed H. Moore learned from teachers more serious, more capable, and when understood, more ennobling than any other given to mortal man. Recently in a convention, embracing 300 of the most eminent men of America, a census was taken of their birth and origin. Out of these, more than 235 were born on the farm.

After a rural school education had been obtained, he broke away from a small farm in Nodaway County, Missouri, to teach school in the surrounding region. As many another of great leaders has done in his early manhood, he turned from the school room and fixed his eye upon the law, entering Kansas City Law School he graduated in 1901, and with keen eyes and close analysis, he concluded that an expansive life lay in that strange new land—the Indian Territory. He went to Okmulgee, and with Mr. Edgar T. Noble of that city, formed a legal partnership. From the first, this combination of Moore-Noble prospered, and in subsequent years it became one of the largest and most powerful law firms in the State of Oklahoma. In 1910, this partnership was dissolved and Ed Moore set out to form an oil career which became the very working substance of his after years and brought to him not only immense fortune,

ED H. MOORE

but revealed his unwavering courage, his remarkable discernment, and his profound honor and nobility as well.

He organized the Independent Oil and Gas Company, incorporated it with $250,000, and as one of his friends said, "His magical touch transformed this business into a venture which, eleven years later, he sold to the Phillips Petroleum Company for some forty millions of dollars." These Napoleon's of commerce are seldom satisfied. Mr Moore went on into the development of the Holmes Field of Okfuskee County; he developed pools in Creek and Seminole County and entered Kansas and California to widen his oil empire. In this world of the Oklahoma and American oil industry, he not only conquered, but as he entered the domain of larger living, his reputation and character equally enlarged and engaged the attention and admiration of his fellowmen. Here he met Lew Wentz, the philanthropist, Eugene Lorton, the great editor, the Phillips brothers, mighty industrialists, Lloyd Noble, a millionaire benefactor, all of these and more of every vocation, profession, creed or party, knew that they met in this man one who knew his rights and the rights of his plain neighbor, and knowing these rights, dared to maintain them.

Senator Moore took his citizenship as he did his oil business—dead in earnest. Throughout his life, up to the age of seventy-one years, he had been a party Democrat. In 1940, Governor Leon Phillips, appointed Mr. Moore as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, which nominated the late President Roosevelt for the third term. Upon seeing the trend of the New Deal, and thoroughly displeased with the platform and policy of the Democratic party, he declared in almost strident terms his opposition, which led him at last to a nomination by the Republican party as a candidate for the United States Senate in 1942. The nature of his character was revealed in this campaign for his friends and enemies alike marveled, as one said: "He did everything in the books to defeat himself." Although he met in this senatorial arena, one of the most formidable and brilliant Democratic United States Senators, he won and took his seat in the United States Senate on January 3, 1943. A newspaper said of him that he took his job as United States Senator seriously, and quoted the Senator as saying: "The job of Senator in these terrible times is no laughing matter." His figure in the United States Senate in the filibuster of June 1946 took on immense proportions. America saw in him at this time a man who was willing to fight, and to fight hard, for what he considered was right. He retired from the United States Senate upon his own volition. Two months before his retirement on November 19, 1948, Senator Moore observed his 77th birthday and the press reported that he arrived in Tulsa on that day by plane from Duncan and that he said: "I am feeling fine; I don't feel any older."

In early life, Ed Moore had married Miss Cora McComb, daughter of a Lamar, Missouri physician. They were never blessed with children, and perhaps out of this grew the continuous provision in his life for the care and education of a great number of worthy young men and women. Although given without ostentation, his friends knew that he was a generous patron of churches, schools and hospitals. In his last days he developed a very beautiful home at 2431 East 29th Street, Tulsa, of Georgian style, an exact duplicate of the home at Alexandria, Virginia, where the Moore's resided while the Senator was serving in Washington. Here, on the morning of September 2, 1950 at 11:25 death came to this stalwart man. Some members of his family had been buried in the city of Okmulgee and there is where he wished to lie, and there is where, through the years to come, the Oklahoma people who loved and honored him will find his resting place.

Governor Roy J. Turner, when advised of Mr. Moore's death said: "I feel that a great loss has been suffered by the State through the death of one of Oklahoma's pioneers in industry—a man who took an active interest in the civic affairs of the State." Mr. Norris G. Henthorne, editor of the *Tulsa World,* stated: "Mr. Moore's death represents a great loss to Tulsa and Oklahoma. He was a man who faced adversity with courage. He never avoided an issue. He was the pioneering spirit that went into the building of this nation."

So, if the youth read of this man's life, let them know of a truth, that as they see him come from a poor farm home, finding his education in the now almost despised one-room school, observing him as an obscure country school teacher, and then moving into law and then industry and finally, in the highest seats of power in the greatest senatorial forum of the world, let them take heart, let them repeat and without reservation, know, that the old fashioned stanza they have read somewhere is still the best and highest guide to character and power:

> "The heights by great men, won and kept
> Were not obtained by sudden flight;
> But they, while their companions slept
> Were toiling upward in the night."

HARRY CAMPBELL

By Charles Evans

Somewhere in Holy Writ, a man is said to have walked so close to God that God took him. When Judge Harry Campbell sank to rest at 2:10 a. m., September 8, 1950, at his home at 1443 South Norfolk Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma, those who had known his life in this Oklahoma country for more than fifty years believed that he was one of God's chosen men.

Harry Campbell was born in Hamilton County, Illinois on August 20, 1867. His early life was spent in rural regions and therefore his education was in the Illinois rural schools. Of a studious nature, the fact that he took up teaching as early as his eighteenth year, reveals that his was no ordinary mind. Between terms of school, he attended Indiana Normal and Business Institute at Valpariso, Indiana. In 1891, he entered the Law School at Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, paying his way by working in a law office and teaching in night school. He graduated in 1893, and his alert eyes in looking about for a place to build his life, discovered the Oklahoma country. He located at Pawnee, Oklahoma, and for a brief season was connected with the United States Agency for the Pawnee Indians. This work gave him an opportunity to study the whole region about him, as it took him from place to place throughout the Cherokee Strip and across to the Arkansas line.

Believing that his opportunities for professional progress would be far larger if he located at the little town of Tulsa, he opened a law office there on April 28, 1895, and from that time to the day of his death, Harry Campbell was an active citizen of Tulsa. Tulsa, as it grew into one of the most remarkable cities of America, never forgot that Mr. Campbell was one of the ten petitioners named in the legal proceedings brought for the incorporation of the town of Tulsa in Federal Court at Muskogee, January 19, 1898. When he passed away at 83 years, he was the sole survivor of the ten pioneer petitioners, who shaped the first charter of that truly great city.

One of the metropolitan newspapers of Tulsa in recording the story of his long and useful life said, "He drew the petition for the incorporation of Tulsa, himself, three years after driving a mule team into Tulsa on April 28, 1895. With a library consisting of one book, he began practising law in this then little town of 800 population." During the years, since he drove his mule eastward from Pawnee to the new town, he saw Tulsa grow in population, in wealth, in area and in prestige, until it became the

oil capital of the world and one of the municipal wonders of the modern world.

His keen mind, his steady and persistent desire to serve in civic, as well as legal affairs of the city, county, territory and state, drew him to that clientele and host of friends that made him an active and influential power in the northeastern part of the Territory. Although never a candidate for office, he took an active interest in politics, serving as Chairman of the Democratic party and became campaign manager in many of the first state elections. Although called "Judge" throughout his career, it is significant and a beautiful insight to his able mind and temperament that he never ran for, nor held, any public office.

He rose steadily and occupied high places and received splendid honors from the bench and bar throughout Oklahoma. In 1934, he was elected to serve a term as President of the Tulsa County Bar Association. His law library, which he often spoke of as beginning with one book in 1895, became one of the finest and best as he moved upward in his profession. He frequently, with one of those dry, Scottish smiles for which he was noted, spoke of the gift of the statutes of the Creek Nation and the purchase of the *Mansfield Digest* of the Laws of Arkansas, as a "wonderful addition" to his first library of one book.

Judge Campbell loved his fellowman and attached himself to all the organizations and movements whereby the life of man is enriched. He was a member of the Delta Masonic Lodge, No. 425, and was held in genuine esteem and honor by the Oklahoma Consistory Rite at Guthrie. The last time I looked upon his face was when the Scottish Rite Masons invited me to address them in Tulsa in the early Spring of 1950 and I discovered his face in the audience and had a cheerful talk with him. He smilingly said, "I should not have come out tonight, but I did, and I am more than glad that I came." He attached himself to the Akdar Shrine and was a member of the Tulsa Club, the High Twelve Club and the Chamber of Commerce.

Perhaps no work of his life did he more enjoy than that of encouraging, advising and enlarging the Oklahoma Historical Society. Elected as a director more than twenty-five years ago, he never failed to attend the quarterly meetings of the Board and offer his sage advice that led it on to greater power and influence. When he resigned from the Board because of ill health, not many months ago, each director around the table sat in somber silence, and then from the lips of his Board associates, there came beautiful tributes to his life and expressions of sorrow that Judge Harry Campbell would not sit with them again.

It is revealing that his first home in Tulsa was located where the magnificent Sinclair Building now stands at Fifth and Main

HARRY CAMPBELL

Street, and that he later lived where the National Bank of Tulsa, one of the most beautiful, modern buildings of its kind in America, is now located.

Of his family surviving him are three sons, Hewitt Campbell, 1412 South Baltimore Avenue, Tulsa; Fred Campbell, Columbus, Ohio; Harry Campbell, Jr., Dallas, Texas; a brother, Frank Campbell, Reno, Nevada; and six grandchildren.

Through the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Hewitt Campbell, some brief sketches written by Judge Campbell came into the possession of the Society. They are so full of early history and quaint and valuable comment, that they will be placed for permanent preservation in the archives as information concerning him and his experiences.

So passed this gentle life of whom it could be said:

None knew him but to love him,
None named him but to praise.

REMINISCENCES

By Harry Campbell

I was born and raised in the State of Illinois, and in June, 1893, graduated from the Law Department of the Northwestern University in Chicago.

Shortly thereafter I came to Oklahoma Territory, stopping at first at Pawnee Agency where I stayed some time with the Agent observing the habits and customs of the Indians and attending a Ghost Dance with the Agent, clandestinely under cover of night. To me it was a most thrilling experience. In April, 1895, I moved to Tulsa, and with the exception of the short time that I was at Sapulpa I have lived in Tulsa ever since.

Tulsa at that time was a town of approximately one thousand people and was the trade center of an extensive territory. There was only one railroad, the Frisco, hte terminus being at Sapulpa.

Tulsa had what was called a United States Commissioners' Court, whose district extended from the Kansas line to Deep Fork Creek and far enough east to include Claremore, Coweta and Okmulgee. The Commissioner had the jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace under the Arkansas laws.

A word or two about the early courts may be in order here. From the years 1836 to 1889 the only court having any jurisdiction over this portion of the Indian Territory except tribal courts was the United States Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. For a great portion of this time the Ft. Smith court had jurisdiction only in felony cases and had no civil jurisdiction whatsoever.

Prior to 1889 there was no law and no court in the Indian Territory in which one man could sue another in any civil matter whatsoever. If one man became indebted to another it was a question of honor whether he paid or not. Many important towns had sprung up in which almost all lines of business were carried on, but many of the old business men have told me they had no more difficulty collecting debts before courts were established than they have since.

The act of Congress of March 1, 1889, established the United States Court for the Indian Territory of very limited jurisdiction. Other acts of Congress were passed enlarging the jurisdiction of the court, and on March 1, 1895, an Act of Congress went into effect in which 3 judicial districts of the Indian Terrritory were established, Tulsa being in the Northern District. The Act also provided for a United States Judge in each district. It also provided for the office of U. S. Commissioner, who had in his district jurisdiction as an examining magistrate in felony cases, jurisdiction to try all misdemeanor cases and the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace under the Arkansas law in all civil matters. Under this Act the U. S. Commissioners' jurisdiction greatly exceeded the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace as we now have them.

This Act also provided for a U. S. Constable and for the District Judge to divide his district into U. S. Commissioners' districts and to appoint the U. S. Commissioners and Constables.

Honorable William M. Springer of Springfield, Illinois, was appointed by President Cleveland judge of the Northern District of the Indian Territory.

Judge Springer, by order, established a U. S. Commissioners district with Tulsa the place of holding court, and appointed Honorable E. G. Tollett U. S. Commissioner and R. E. Smith, commonly known as Osage Smith, U. S. Constable, with headquarters at Tulsa. I do not have access to the order establishing a commissioners district before me, but I do remember that it included all of the territory east of what is now Lincoln, Payne, Pawnee and Osage Counties North of Deep Fork Creek. It extended North to the Kansas line and far enough East to include Claremore, Coweta and Okmulgee and South to Deep Fork Creek, and up that Creek to the Lincoln County line. It included Bartlesville, Claremore, Catooosa, Coweta, Okmulgee, Sapulpa, and later Bristow, an immense region in those days when there were no bridges and practically no roads. All suits for $100.00 or less arising in the above named district had to be brought in the U. S. Commissioner's office at Tulsa and cases of more than $200.00 and in some instances as high as $1000.00 could be brought in this court. All misdemeanor cases and preliminary examination of felony cases had to be heard in the court. At that time and until the latter part of the year 1898, the only peace officers in all that region were the one constable and not to exceed two or three deputy U. S. Marshals, with an occasional Marshal coming from Ft. Smith or Muskogee. There is proof that early settlers in this portion of the Indian Territory were not criminals nor bandits, but were peaceful, law abiding citizens who came to establish homes, build churches, schools and cities. Criminals and bandits do not lay the foundation of civilization.

Judge Tollett became displeased at certain people and happenings in Tulsa and induced Judge Springer by order to change the headquarters of the U. S. Commissioner's Court to Claremore, where all suits had to be filed, but the order provided for terms of court at Tulsa and Bristow.

Judge Joseph A. Gill succeeded Judge Springer as District Judge and he appointed Honorable Harry Jennings U. S. Commissioner, who held the office until Statehood.

The speaker came to Tulsa in April 1895. At that time there were already 4 lawyers here. They were Edward Calkins, Flowers Nelson, E. J. Daughters, R. E. L. McNair and a man named McGary. McNair and McGary soon passed out of the picture but Colonel Calkins remained here until his death, and Flowers Nelson remained until after Statehood, when he returned to his old home in Mississippi. Both Calkins and Nelson were high-class men. Nelson was Tulsa's delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1907.

The next attorney to come to Tulsa was Judge L. M. Poe, who came a few months after I did. According to the recollection of the speaker Mr. A. R. Querry, who died many years ago, was the next. Shortly after 1900 numerous attorneys established themselves in Tulsa, but I am not able to name them in their order of arrival.

The Act of Congress of May 27, 1902, created the Western Judicial District and Tulsa was included but did not get a court. The court towns were Muskogee, Wagoner, Eufaula, Sapulpa, Wewoka and Okmulgee. C. W. Raymond of Danville, Illinois, was appointed Judge and was later succeeded by Judge William R. Lawrence of the same place.

In 1904 Congress passed an Act for an additional Judge in each Judicial District and Honorable Louis Sulzbacher, who at that time was U. S. Judge for Porto Rico, was appointed the additional judge for the Western District and retained the office until statehood.

A rider was put on the Indian Appropriation Bill of 1906, providing for three terms of court at Tulsa and providing the U. S. Commissioner's Court should be established and maintained at Tulsa and the boundaries of the Western District were extended to include a large portion of the Cherokee Nation North and East of Tulsa.

W. W. Hyams was appointed U. S. Commissioner at Tulsa under this Act and retained his office until Statehood.

The Curtis Act of 1898 authorized the incorporation of the cities and towns of the Indian Territory and conferred on the mayors the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace under the Arkansas law, their territorial jurisdiction being coincident with the boundaries of the municipalities.

The first mayor was Edward Calkins. The second was L. M. Poe, and if I remember correctly, the third was George W. Mowbray, St. A great deal of business was transacted in the courts held by these mayors at that time.

ALBERT H. ELLIS

By Angie Debo

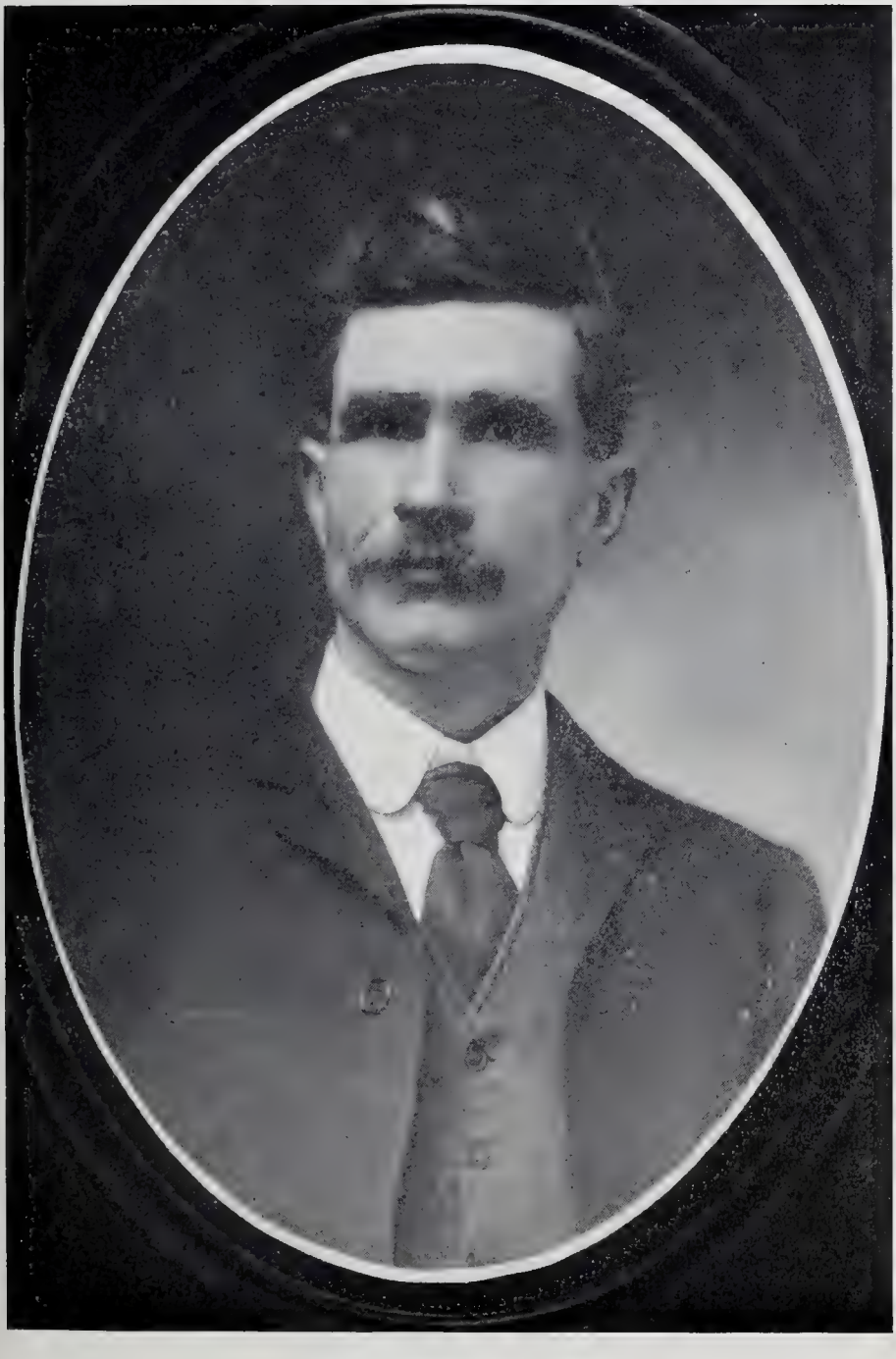
The government of Oklahoma, with all its faults and its virtues, grew directly out of the experiences of a pioneer democracy. Typical of the agrarian ideals of its founders is the life and work of Albert H. Ellis, Cherokee Strip homesteader, member of the territorial and state legislatures and of the Constitutional Convention, and always a dirt farmer.

He was born on a farm in Indiana, December 17, 1861. His ancestors had come from Virginia and North Carolina in that stream of emigration that flowed up from the South to people the Old Northwest. His only schooling was in a one-room country school, but he came under the influence of a devoted teacher, and he developed an interest in books and ideas that endured throughout his life. Later he read law and practiced it in Kansas and Oklahoma without benefit of bar examination. Also he discovered a natural gift for public speaking.

From his earliest years he was interested in politics. Though his mother remained a "rebel" in sentiment, his father was a Republican, and at the age of fourteen the boy worked actively for Hayes and Wheeler against Tilden and Hendricks in the campaign of 1876. Four or five years after that he left home and joined the throng that was rapidly filling the vacant prairies of Western Kansas. Here in the ferment of pioneer politics he came to believe—as he expressed it in later years—"that the Republicans had got to developing wealth against the welfare of the people. Before the Civil War the Democrats ran the country, and they became overbearing and ran it in the interest of the Slave Power; after the war the Republicans took over, and **they** got overbearing and ran it in the interest of Industrial Capitalism." Thus the young man cast his first vote for the Democrats.

He first settled in Ottawa County, and it was here on August 5, 1883 that he married Mary Arminta Foster, an Indiana girl, who also had been swept into the Kansas emigration. The home thus established, whether in early-day sod house or later comfortable farmstead, was a center of gracious living for nearly sixty-seven years.

Two hundred odd miles to the southwest a land boom was on in Comanche County. The young couple loaded their first child and their few possessions into a covered wagon and journeyed there to take a homestead. But the settlers, "burned out and starved out" by hot winds and drought, soon abandoned the coun-



(Photo taken about 1906)
ALBERT H. ELLIS

try and struggled back to the east. The Ellises, with fewer possessions and one more child, joined the covered-wagon exodus. "I think now," Mr. Ellis used to say in after years, "that if we had known to plant kaffir we could have made it. It was kaffir that saved us later in the Strip."

They stopped in Neosho County, where they lived on a rented farm and where two more of their children were born. They had not recovered their finances from their disastrous pioneering venture, but they looked across the border to a newer frontier in Oklahoma, where from 1889 on as successive tracts had been opened to homesteaders the settlers had managed to dig in and stay. They waited for the opening of the Cherokee Strip.

Finally the President set high noon of September 16, 1893 as the hour when homeseekers might enter. Mr. Ellis crossed the tract by train and camped on the south side. Behind him were the sod houses and frame shacks and plowed fields of "Old" Oklahoma, opened to settlement four years before. Before him was a virgin land with scattered fires, started no one knew how, eating their way into the sun-scorched grass. With him was his friend, Albert B. Brown, who had been waiting for some time in the older settlement. They had a wagon and a mule team.

The line of homeseekers stretched as far as the eye could see through the hills and timber. A blue-uniformed trooper on a bay horse was out in front guarding the border. Even in the excitement Mr. Ellis was moved by a sense of historic portent. He took time to admonish a little girl in a near-by family group, "Watch this and remember it as long as you live. *This is history.*"

Then the trooper fired his carbine and the race started. Most of the homeseekers turned to the northwest in search of level prairie. Mr. Ellis and his companion drove deeper into the canyons and blackjack-covered hills to the northeast. As he said later, "I couldn't afford a level farm. I had to have wood and water. I had no money for fuel, not even money to drill a well." He came to a rugged quarter-section six miles south and one mile west of the present Hayward. There he drove his stake. From it fluttered a white flag Mrs. Ellis had made from a floursack and lettered with blueing: "THIS CLAIM TAKEN BY A. H. ELLIS." (Mr. Brown at first failed to find land to his liking, but eventually he too settled on the homestead he still owns, and the two families have been neighbors for fifty-seven years.)

As Mr. Ellis lay down to sleep that night on his own land, he was conscious of great elation. This, he felt, was home. The next day he walked around over his domain. He went into a canyon and to his great joy discovered a spring. As he rose from taking a drink of the bubbling water, he saw a rattlesnake coiled

on the edge; he dispatched it quickly, but he was a little apprehensive of Mrs. Ellis's reaction to such episodes. He picked his building site close by. Then he went to file at the landoffice where the new town of Enid was springing up on the prairie, and returned to Kansas to prepare to bring his family.

It was in March of '94 that the Ellises made their third move by covered wagon. Cold rains had set in, and the journey was difficult. "But this is our last trip," Mr. Ellis assured his wife; "we'll never travel like this again." Besides their wagon and team they brought only their household goods, half a dozen chickens, and enough flour and other supplies to last for two months. (Eventually they were reduced to a diet of cornbread with a thin cornmeal gruel serving as gravy.) The family stayed a few days with another homesteader, a former Comanche County neighbor, while the two men built a house on the Ellis claim—one room, part log, part stone, and part dug-out in the bank, with an earthen roof and floor. Here they established their home.

To protect her chickens from coyotes Mrs. Ellis put them to roost on the roof poles that stuck out beyond the house. One of the hens laid her eggs in a box under the bed and hatched her brood there, but at night Mrs. Ellis had to put the baby chicks in the oven to keep them away from the pack rats that overran the house. Tarantulas sprawled across the floor and centipedes ran up the walls. But Mrs. Ellis speaks of these hardships now with a serene smile. "We were happy because we had land of our own." And Mr. Ellis said in later years, "All of us settlers were poor, but all of us were equal. And we were not really poor. No man with health and opportunity is poor." Asked if he realized then that he was laying the foundations of a future state, he answered with a joy, a confidence, a depth of feeling impossible to express in print, *"I knew then."*

From the very first he was active in local politics. As soon as the land was settled, the territorial governor organized the new counties, and temporary appointments were made to county and township offices, but in 1894 regular officials were elected. A lively township caucus was held that summer in the frame shack of a homesteader. Here Mr. Ellis soon established a leadership among these new settlers, most of whom were strangers to each other. He was nominated and subsequently elected as township trustee. It was his duty to assess the property for taxation, and to oversee the construction of roads. Thus with an established tax base schoolhouses soon began to nestle in the timber, and roads began to thread their way through the tangle of hills and ravines.

In 1896 the Democratic caucus of the township was held in a grove, where the men sat on boards brought from a near-by sawmill. It was a well attended and enthusiastic meeting, and

Original home of Mr. and Mrs. Albert H. Ellis,
Marshall Township, Garfield County.

five delegates—all Ellis supporters—were elected to the district convention, where Mr. Ellis received his party's nomination to the territorial House of Representatives. His campaign was an exhilarating experience. The district was entirely rural, comprising all of Garfield County outside the city of Enid, and two townships of an adjoining county. To these voters so like himself in poverty and aspirations he argued free silver, free homes, the payment of fees to witnesses, and the reduction of salaries of county officials. The year 1896 was a Democratic-Populist year in Oklahoma, and Mr. Ellis was elected and sat in the Fourth Territorial Legislature. Although they had no power to deal with free silver and free homes, he and his colleagues pulled down county salaries with a vengeance. "We were living on boiled kaffir corn and turnips," he said many years later, "while we paid good salaries to the men we hired to carry on our county business, so we reduced them to something like our level." They also passed a law providing for the payment of witnesses, but since they forgot to state who should pay them, the territorial supreme court declared the law inoperative.

In 1898 Mr. Ellis was again a candidate for the legislature, running on the basis of his previous record. But the Cherokee Strip had raised its first wheat crop and sold it for a good price in 1897, its farms were becoming stocked, and new houses were springing up on every hand. Thus the Democratic-Populist argument had lost much of its appeal, and the victory went to the Republicans. (It is well known that the section of Oklahoma comprising the Cherokee Strip has normally been through all the years a Republican stronghold.) The same prosperous conditions prevailed and contributed to his defeat when Mr. Ellis ran again in 1900. For the next few years he was content with his farm, his family, and his community interests.

It was a lively young society that flourished on the new soil of Garfield County, crowding the schoolhouses for "literaries" and religious meetings, filling the homes for visiting and eating, gathering in groves for picnics and dancing. If Mr. Ellis pondered meanings where his neighbors skimmed the surface, if he and his wife created refinement in family living, if their children read books and sought knowledge, these differences did not set them apart from the community. The neighbors did not fully understand the Ellises, but they accepted and trusted them. And when the government at Washington decided that Oklahoma was ready for statehood, they turned instinctively to Mr. Ellis as the only one of them who could write the kind of constitution they wanted.

To him it was the call of destiny. As he had plowed his land and tended his live stock, he had thought deeply of a government that would safeguard the rights of his own people, the humble people who toiled on the farms. In his campaign he spoke much

of an absolute democracy that would take power from party bosses and place it in the hands of the average man; and he promised to restrain the railroads—the only corporations in his experience—which had been levying a toll on the hard-pressed settlers through exorbitant rates. In the convention he worked with a thrilling sense of fulfillment; he believed the constitution he was helping to write would become a great charter of human freedom, and its principles would sweep the nation. He found the other delegates of like mind; near the close of his long life he characterized them as "the very best men we had—good morally, honest, sincere, mostly of the pioneer type—and their equal in intelligence has never been matched."

He soon assumed a leadership in this group. At a Democratic party caucus held in the historic city hall of Guthrie the day before the convention met, he first supported, as a courtesy to a Garfield county colleague, the candidacy of Charles L. Moore of Enid as the nominee for president. But when he realized the strong position of William H. Murray, he was the first to start the switch that brought about Murray's triumph. This was the beginning of a friendship that was to endure throughout his life. In the stress of constitution-making there were times when the two men were pitted against each other, but their disagreements were over the matters at issue and never disturbed their personal relations.

Mr. Ellis was not nominated for any office at the caucus. But after the convention met and elected the Democratic nominees, a committee was appointed to report on the need of additional officers to complete the permanent organization. On the second day of the session this committee recommended the election of a second vice president in addition to the president and vice president provided by the caucus. Two Democrats were nominated: Mr. Ellis and F. E. Herring of Elk City. Mr. Ellis was elected. Thus it became his duty on numerous occasions to preside over the convention. Old-timers still remember his commanding presence. Tall, handsome in a gaunt Lincolnesque way, with a compelling sincerity, a powerful, resonant voice, and adroitness in parliamentary tactics, he maintained an easy mastery of the assembly.

He served on the committees on Revenue and Taxation and on Primary Elections. On the first he helped to formulate the provision giving the state the power to select its own subjects of taxation independently of local subdivisions; for he believed the state government should be supported from such sources as a gross production tax on minerals, a gross revenue tax on public service corporations, and a graduated land tax, leaving the general property tax for the local government. He lived to see this general principle realized in public practice. On the second committee he

worked for the mandatory primary. In later years he observed sadly that this popular device had not improved the quality of public officials, but he attributed this failure to the indifference of the electorate.

He was ardently in favor of other "progressive" innovations incorporated in the constitution: the rendering of a verdict in minor cases by less than unanimous decision of a jury, limitation of the power of courts in imposing penalties for contempt, the power of the people to call a grand jury, the expressed right of the state to engage in business, the initiative and referendum. He supported the provision that the oath of office should include a pledge against the acceptance of free passes from the railroads. He favored the guarantee of bank deposits and the imposition of drastic penalties for usury. He backed Murray in requiring the teaching of agriculture and domestic science in the common schools. He worked for a provision borrowed from Kansas law exempting a farmer's 160-acre homestead from seizure for debt; and when the Committee on Homesteads and Exemptions was about to favor a less liberal proposal he influenced Murray to appoint Charles N. Haskell, whom he knew to favor the plan, to a vacancy on the committee, and thus insured its acceptance. He introduced proposals for the abolition of capital punishment and for the granting of pardons and paroles by a special board elected by the people, rather than by the governor. Both these measures, however, were defeated. He supported resolutions requesting the United States Congress to initiate amendments to the Federal constitution permitting the levy of an income tax and providing for direct election of United States Senators.

It was a matter of lasting gratification to Mr. Ellis that the Committee on County Boundaries placed his name on one of the new counties. Many years later in their sunny old age he and Mrs. Ellis paid a visit to this western county and received the old-time hospitality of a region where the pioneer tradition is still strong. It was one of the happiest experiences of his life.

Mr. Ellis was elected to the First State Legislature, where he served as speaker pro tempore of the House of Representatives. (It will be remembered that Murray served as speaker.) Here he was active in implementing the provisions of the organic law he had helped to write. He was again a candidate for the Second Legislature in 1908, but was defeated by three votes. In 1910 he was defeated for the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. Here he discovered that the primary system, in which he had once believed so fully, imposed a serious financial handicap upon a poor man seeking a state office. But there was a deeper cause behind his forced retirement from politics. Powerful forces unknown to the experience of the simple homesteaders had come into

Oklahoma affairs—oil, the growth of cities, the exploitation of Indian property, a growing complexity in social and economic life. The day had passed when a pioneer farmer, no matter how able, would be called to guide the destinies of the state.

If Mr. Ellis was disappointed at this failure to achieve his political ambitions, he was not embittered. With his increasing prosperity he began to buy good level land up on the prairie near Hayward. In 1918 he established his home there. Here on the edge of the townsite he built a comfortable rambling house and planted an orchard. As he retired from the actual work of farming, he spent more time with his books and his historical collection, but he followed passing events with alert interest. With his son, Newal A. Ellis, as his printer he began to publish homespun verses and sketches, more notable for their broad humanity than for their literary excellence. In a tract entitled *The Reign of the Fools* he described with devastating sarcasm the building of the inverted pyramid of false values that collapsed with the crash of 1929; but he had equal condemnation of the New Deal for what he considered its failure to return to fundamentals. He produced *A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma,* which is still the best published account of that historic gathering. With a memory almost unbelievably accurate he answered the questions of those who came to learn of the beginnings of their history.

When Murray became governor, Mr. Ellis returned briefly to public life, for his old friend appointed him as superintendent of the Whittaker Orphans' Home. The couple spent four full years at Pryor. Mr. Ellis used all his integrity and practical common sense and Mrs. Ellis all her homemaking skills, but it was not their kind of work. They returned with relief to their home in Hayward.

For the old couple these were their golden years. At first two, and later all three, of their living children were settled in the Hayward-Covington area. Their grandchildren and then their great-grandchildren were growing up around them. Their old friends came to visit them, the high and the humble, where all found the same welcome in the farmhouse under the trees. Their religious faith stretched out into a future beyond the world in which they had lived so actively.

Although he had been in failing health for some time, Mr. Ellis's final illness was brief. When the writer visited him the last week of his life, a shocking physical disintegration was apparent, but his mind was still alert and his memory accurate. He talked of his pioneering experiences, of his affection for the blackjack farm he had never sold, of Johnston Murray's prospects in the approaching primary. His last rational conversation was with

(Photo taken about 1934)
MR. AND MRS. ALBERT H. ELLIS

his old associate, Henry S. Johnston, who had driven over from Perry to see him, and the two exchanged happy reminiscences of the Constitutional Convention. Then he lapsed into unconsciousness. The end came June 18, 1950.

Albert H. Ellis was not a statesman of overpowering influence. He was simply a good man of the plain people, who looked beyond the labor of his hands to ultimate meanings, and who sought to use the essence of his life and thought in public service.

THE EARLY DAYS OF ANADARKO

*By Sara Brown Mitchell**

Anadarko is a city with a fascinating past. To discover all of its interesting history,[1] we must begin with the establishment of the Wichita Agency in May or June of 1859. It was situated about eight miles west of the present site of Anadarko on what is now known as Leeper Creek.[2] Samuel A. Blain was the first agent.

Matthew Leeper was the acting agent when the Confederates took over the agency in 1861. He remained in charge until October 23, 1862, when the agency was the scene of a bloody Indian massacre, which was carried out by a group of renegade Indians. Some of the employees were murdered, but Agent Leeper escaped with his life.[3] The buildings were burned, and the agency was not rebuilt until after the Civil War.

William Shirley, who had been a licensed Indian trader for many years, founded Shirley's Trading Post in 1859 to do business with the Wichitas. By studying his old ledger, it is apparent that he sold many types of articles. The following are among those listed: food, clothing, tobacco, soap, looking glasses, rope, playing cards, saws, knives, padlocks, blankets, canned goods, hunting equipment, candles, ribbon, and buffalo robes.[4] It is interesting to note that Shirley outfitted General Albert Pike, who in August of 1861 purchased a large amount of supplies from Shirley. Jesse Chisholm was quite a steady customer in the spring of 1862. Of course, Shirley sold a great deal to the white men of the Agency and a large quantity to the Indians of that area. Apparently, there was a Negro who was also a frequent customer.

The Wichita Agency was re-established in 1871. It was situated across the Washita River north of the present site of Anadarko. Shirley's store was set-up near by. This was the period of the

---

* Sara Brown Mitchell is an advanced student of Dr. E. E. Dale, Research Professor of History, The University of Oklahoma, at Norman.

[1] For other articles dealing with this region see *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*: C. Ross Hume, "Historic Sites Around Anadarko," Vol. 16, No. 4; Samuel Y. Allgood, "Historic Spots and Actions in the Washita Valley up to 1870," Vol. 5, No. 2; E. H. Linzee, "Registration and Drawing for Opening of Kiowa and Comanche Country, 1901," Vol. 26, No. 3; Sidney H. Babcock, "John Jasper Methvin," Vol. 19, No. 2; Muriel H. Wright, "The American Indian Exposition in Oklahoma," Vol. 24, No. 2; A. Emma Estill, "The Great Lottery," Vol. 9, No. 4; Berlin B. Chapman, "Establishment of the Wichita Reservation," Vol. 11, No. 4.

[2] J. J. Methvin, *In the Limelight*, p. 6.

[3] C. Hume, *op. cit.*

[4] *Copy of Ledger of Shirley Trading House* (June 7, 1861-August 18, 1862), copy in Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

Quaker agents, and Johnathan Richards was the first one sent here. According to Reverend Methvin, the Quaker Agents made a fine record in this region.

In September, 1878, the Kiowa and Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita office, and the Anadarko Indian Agency became a larger and more important concern. It was now responsible for the safety and well-being of 4,117 Indians.[5] By September of 1901, it was reported that the Agency had jurisdiction over some 3,626 Indians. This number included the following tribes: Apache, Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and affiliated bands, and the Caddo.[6]

The name "Anadarko" also has a picturesque legend behind it. In 1875, a post-office was established at the Agency. The men there wanted to name the post-office after Shirley, but he declined the honor and suggested that they call it "Nadarko." Mr. Shirley's wife was a member of a nearly extinct tribe, the Nadarkos (Nadakos). They had been moved to the Leased District from Texas and had settled among the Wichitas. In 1869, they camped near the present-day Anadarko. Their history, however, goes back to 1539, when they were mentioned by De Soto as the Naidaches Indians. He found them in Louisiana at that time. The name of the agency became "A-nadarko" supposedly through a mistake in the spelling in agency records.[7]

The religious work done in this area must be given its rightful place in this discussion because of the important role it played in bringing civilization to the Indians. The Baptists had sent missionaries to the affiliated tribes north of the Washita River, but "beyond the work of the Friends in their official capacity and the efforts of Battey, nothing had ever been attempted among the warlike tribes south of the Washita River."[8] The Episcopal mission was brought here in 1883, but it was not permanent. Reverend J. B. Wicks was in charge of it, and when he retired, there was no mission in this area for some time.

Reverend J. J. Methvin was sent by the Methodist Episcopal Church South to work among the "wild tribes" of all of the western portion of Indian Territory. He arrived in this region in 1887. Reverend Methvin was to fix mission locations and to plan mission work. He finally centralized his attention upon Anadarko, where he worked with the three tribes south of the river. Here he built a parsonage with a church annex and held regular services.

---

[5] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1879, p. 62.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 320.
[7] Philip J. Dickerson, *History of Anadarko, O. T.*, pps. 31, 33, 35.
[8] Methvin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Reverend Methvin founded a school for Indian youth, called the Methvin Institute, which was opened in 1890.[9] He began with fifteen pupils, which soon became thirty, and in two years there were over seventy-five pupils in attendance. Reverend Methvin managed to get some government funds for his school, and it was also given 160 acres of land. By 1901 there were 120 pupils, four teachers, and eight employees in the industrial department. A commendable job was done in preparing the Indian youth for living full and worthwhile lives in the white man's society.

The new Anadarko was built right up against the school property, and this made it quite valuable. Methvin Institute was closed after over twenty years of creditable service. It was purchased by a syndicate of four men, much against Reverend Methvin's wishes.[10]

Reverend S. V. Fait established a Presbyterian school and mission in 1892. He built a church at the Agency and founded his school, the Mary Gregor Memorial School, or Mautame, four miles east of Anadarko. It had an excellent reputation and the enrollment was about twenty-two in September of 1901.[11]

Saint Patrick's Mission Boarding School was for many years a government contract school. It was founded in 1892 by Father Isidore Ricklan, who acted as superintendent. The Sisters of Saint Francis were in charge, and this Catholic mission school also contributed its large part to the care and training of the Indian youth of this area.

The present day Riverside Indian Boarding School was established by A. J. Standing on September 23, 1871, at the Wichita Agency. There had been little educational work among these Indians before this time. Thomas C. Battey took over as superintendent on October 31, 1871. The school's meager beginning was with from six to eight pupils. They had only the crudest accommodations, and the children slept out-of-doors until November 15 of that year when the school actually became a boarding school. There were eleven pupils at this time, most of whom were Caddo or Delaware with a few Creeks. Battey was there only a short time, as he soon went on to do work among the Kiowa.[12]

A modern and more adequate building was constructed in 1879 when the school was re-built after having burned. The new building was filled almost to capacity. In 1901 the Riverside School had several wood and brick buildings and complete water and sanitation facilities. Along with their regular classroom studies, the boys

---

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[10] *Ibid.*, pps. 89, 90.
[11] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1901, p. 321.
[12] Thomas C. Battey, *A Quaker Among the Indians*, pps. 27, 30, 72, 73.

received instruction in farming and the girls in domestic duties. The school's average attendance in 1901 was 161.[13]

With two organized churches, four schools in and around the Agency, and the Rock Island Railway which had been built through the town site of Anadarko while it was still on the reservation, the Agency employees early shared most of the advantages of a small town. The little settlement included the agent's office, two commissaries, a physician's office, saw mill, shops, homes, traders' stores, and the Masonic Lodge, which was chartered in 1884.[14]

The women of the Agency had in January, 1899, organized a literary society, the "Philomethic Club," which was "composed of those who are interested in improving their leisure hours by literary and social pursuits."[15] It was still active in 1901, and was contributing its part toward making the new Anadarko a cultural community. That year, its sixteen members were studying Caesar among other subjects.

The opening to settlement of the Fort Sill Country was the last great land opening in Oklahoma. The day selected was August 6, 1901, when the reservations of the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, and Wichita Indians were opened to the white man. This region was divided into three counties; Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo. The registration for lands in the "Kiowa-Comanche Country" was held at El Reno and Ft. Sill. Registration for the vicinity of Anadarko was conducted at El Reno. The drawing for all land was at El Reno and began on July 29.

This plan was used in subsequent openings in other parts of the country with the same success, and "the old days of the 'horse race' were over."[16] The lottery was a better and more satisfactory system.[17]

> The plan of opening was a very good one, and it was carried out in excellent fashion. The feature of selling the lots of the county seat towns at auction and giving the proceeds to the new counties for roads, bridges, public buildings and the expenses of local government until taxes could be levied and collected, was a particularly good arrangement, and the results were very satisfactory.

Anadarko was selected as county seat of Caddo County, and Colonel Janes F. Randlett, the Indian agent, was asked by the government to locate a site for the new town. He decided it should be situated between the property of the Indian Agency on the north

---

[13] Annual Report, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 75, 1901, p. 323, 324.
[14] Hume, *op. cit.*
[15] Dickerson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[16] Edward E. Dale, "The Opening of the Fort Sill Country," MS. in Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.
[17] *Ibid.*

and the Methodist Mission land on the south. This area was a corn field full of tall corn which was dried and withered due to the long drouth.

On August 6, 1901, the town lots were sold at auction to the highest bidders. The property was sold for cash, and each person was allowed to purchase only one residence lot and one business lot.

Those who wanted to settle in the new townsites flocked to the outskirts to await the day of the auction. A camp grew up on the edge of each one. The future citizens of Anadarko, like those of other towns, established their "Rag Town." It was made up of tents and covered wagons methodically arranged like the buildings of any other small town. Various shops and establishments opened up and carried on business in normal fashion.

There were 1,129 lots bought in Anadarko, and the total amount received from their sale was $188,455. The expense of the sale was only $2,489.62 plus the surveying expense. When this was subtracted, it still left quite a "tidy sum with which to set up housekeeping for themselves."[18] This paid for the erection of a court house and jail, and it also furnished funds for the establishment of a light and water system.

Reverend Methvin gives a very colorful account of the "opening" in Anadarko in his book, *In the Limelight,* a part of which is quoted here:[19]

The multitudes came, some 20,000 strong and more. From every direction the people came—from the north and the south, from the east and the west, from every state in the Union and from nearly every country beneath the sun: of all casts and colors and creeds; Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Democrats and Republicans, Socialists and Societs, Holy Rollers and Shouting Methodists, staid and placid Presbyterians and elected aggressive Baptists—all a conglomerate mass of live, restless, writhing, eager humanity.

Here were honest men seeking homes, and adventurers hunting prey like wild beasts in the night. Here were lawyers hungry for a fee and ready to represent anything beneath the sun, and advocates of caste equipped for honest counsel; doctors of skill along with the quack and patent nostrums; editors and newspaper men with printing press quickly adjusted for business; preachers who got but a meager hearing above the din and noise and clamor and onrush of writhing multitudes.

The Politician was loud in the land, proclaiming his love for the "dear people," and his superior fitness for serving them in office.

Great trainloads of intoxicating liquors rolled in, and the saloon man plied with rapid gain his iniquity, and the strange woman with brazen face walked unashamed. The saloon, that rendezvous of all iniquities, and its associate evil, the baudy house, did a big business.

---

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Methvin, *op. cit.*, pps. 101, 102, 103.

"C" Street (Main), Anadarko—14 days old.

East on "C" Street (Main), Anadarko—3 months old.

First Court House, Anadarko.

Laundry and other business firms in "Ragtown."

The saloons were constantly violating the law, but it was impossible, before the courts, as they then were, to convict one of them. . . . .

Crime stalked abroad for days and nights, and an occasional murder was committed. The provisional carpet bag Government that ruled at the time seemed helpless or indifferent to the enforcement of law.

The Indians seemed to catch the spirit of dissipation and tried to drink all the booze that was shipped in, and each morning the police station was filled with 'drunks' . . . .

On account of unsanitary conditions, much sickness prevailed, and there came an epidemic of typhoid fever and many died . . . . Frequent mourning mingled with the mirth and hilarity of the times. It was a wonderful day in the history of Anadarko that was duplicated in other towns at the same time. But at last the storm blew over and the surf on the flood of humanity floated on, and Anadarko settled down with a citizenship worthy of the name.

When the white man came, the problems of the Indian Agency greatly increased. The Indian copied the white man's drinking and gambling. The merchants also extended the Indians credit far beyond their ability to pay, "so a system of credit and debt paying had to be arranged by the government." Louis McNight, a young attorney, was employed by the government to handle this situation.[20]

Of the 20,000 that arrived to take part in the opening, only around 10,000 stayed in Anadarko. After several months, the population of this new frontier town shrank to about 3,000.[21]

The Congregational, Christian, Methodist, and Baptist denominations all set up churches in the new Anadarko. The Methodist Church built a tabernacle and held services in "Rag Town" on Sunday, August 4, and on the following day an "anti-saloon league" was organized under its guidance. The Methodists moved into the city proper on the day of the opening. The Congregational and Christian Churches were also brought to the city on August 6. The Baptists followed on the eighth. By December of 1901, all four denominations had permanent church buildings and memberships of up to fifty.[22]

The two banks were the first and second businesses started on the town site. They were simply tents equipped with iron safes and armed guards for protection at all times. The two lemonade stands were the third and fourth establishments, and an auditorium near the auction stand in which people rested while they waited for lots was the fifth.[23]

---

[20] *Ibid.*, pps. 106, 107.
[21] *Oklahoma, A Guide to the Sooner State*, p. 268.
[22] Dickerson, *op. cit.*
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

The following is the list that Dickerson gives of the businesses operating in Anadarko in December of 1901:[24]

2 abstractors
2 artists
2 banks
7 bakeries
10 barber shops
2 building and loan
6 blacksmiths and repairing
4 contractors and builders
8 clothers, furnishers, and shoes
13 doctors, physicians, and surgeons
1 dentist
6 druggists
3 embalming and undertaking
7 furniture
7 feed and produce
8 groceries, feed, and grain
5 general groceries
6 candies, fruits, cigars
3 coal
18 dry goods and shoes
13 general merchandise
6 hotels
4 harness shops and shoe repair
15 hardware
7 insurance—fire and life
4 jewelers and watch repairing
21 liveries and feed stables
11 lumber yards
3 millinery
8 meat markets
5 papers and printing offices (3 city papers and 1 county)
2 news stands and books
9 notary public
3 painting and wall papering
26 real estate, law and loans
22 restaurants and short orders
31 saloons
4 second hand stores
5 surveyors
2 tailors (and repairing)
3 transfers and deliveries
5 tinners
8 wagon and feed yards
3 brick yards
2 works and bottling
8 miscellaneous (including pool rooms, bowling alley, light company, lamp company, post office, telegraph company, and Rock Island Depot)

It is interesting to note that there were more saloons than any other single type of business establishment. Many of them were

[24] *Ibid.*, pps. 36-54.

"B" (Broadway) west, Anadarko—one year after the Opening.

Anadarko's First Anniversary celebration.

expensive establishments and apparently were well supported by the male population of Anadarko. Dickerson states that: "Not less than $15,000 to $20,000 are invested in the fine sideboards and bars alone, besides the buildings and the cost of running them . . . . . From $5,000 to $10,000 per month is invested in the luxury of drinking."[25]

In December of 1901, a cemetery was planned, and many good buildings had already gone up in Anadarko. Almost all of the tents had given way to more permanent types of structure. There were also numerous cottages, and several two story homes were under construction.

Anadarko had an active commercial club, which worked for the progress and enlargement of the city. The citizens of Anadarko felt that "the possibility of good water power from the falls in the river and the timber, and perhaps mineral near Anadarko would make the town a fine manufacturing center."[26] The incorporation of the Anadarko Ice Company and its definite plans for construction was a venture of great interest to Anadarkoans in 1901.

Apparently the city was somewhat over-weighted with the spirit of frontier optimism. Some of the numerous business establishments would have to fail, because the town was too small to support all of them.

Regular public schools were functioning in less than ninety days from the sale of the first lots. They had an adequate and well-trained staff of teachers, and the course of study included eleven years of work. The Superintendent received $100 a month, the principals $75, the grade teachers $50, and the primary teacher $65 a month. Also, Anadarko's colored population of nearly 100 was not neglected in the educational system. They had a well-trained teacher who received $50 a month for teaching from fourteen to twenty Negro children. There was one Negro grocery store in the town, and the teacher for the colored youth was the daughter of the owner of this business.[27]

Cultural and moral advancement, as well as progress in business and educational development, were quite evident by December of

---

[25] *Ibid.*, pps. 59, 60.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[27] *Ibid.*

1901. A twelve-piece band was organized very early; there was also a literary club and a historical society; and an ordinance closing barber shops on Sunday had been passed; there was an agreement by drug stores to close on Sunday; and vigorous attacks upon the bagnios of the city were being conducted.[28] The number of church members was growing steadily, and the churches were becoming well established. By the winter of 1901, Anadarko was looking forward to a bright and prosperous future.

[28] *Ibid.*

OLD GRAND, GHOST TOWN

*By C. A. Squire**

On April 19, 1892, at the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation there was a big spring then known as the "Upper Robinson Spring" coming out of the ground near the upper side of one of the best native groves of trees on the prairies of Western Oklahome. This grove consisted of walnut, hackberry, coffee bean, cotton wood, persimmon and various other varieties of trees. It was several acres in extent and was watered by a large beautiful spring of clear sparkling water. As all the other known water in the neighborhood was full of gypsum, or in the parlance of the people of the country it was "gippy." This spring was to become the source of water for the town of Grand, and the bone of contention between the owner of the adjacent land and the County Seat town of Grand. At that time, this spring was possibly a half mile from the Canadian River and came out of the side of an old range of hills to the east; from the lower side of the grove one could distinctly see the Antelope Hills to the southwest at a distance of some ten miles.

Immediately at the west edge of the grove was the Canadian River. This river was nearly a mile wide at this point, and sometimes the water covered the whole distance across its bed. At such times of high water, great waves 10 or 12 feet high rolled down with such force that neither man nor horse could stand against them. The floor of the river at such times was boggy. In the language of the cow man, "it would bog down a saddle blanket." There was no crossing the stream when the Canadian was at its worst. At other times the river was swift enough, high enough, and boggy enough to make it hazardous for amateurs but for those who were acquainted with it, crossing was quite safe. At other times it was dry or nearly dry, and anyone would be safe in crossing with a team and wagon.

At the point where the big spring above mentioned empties into the river, the stream is flowing nearly due south. A big bend of the river swings north around the Antelope Hills, running north 10 or 12 miles then gradually making a horseshoe bend back to the south till it reaches a point due east of the Antelope Hills. The country between the river and the Antelope Hills has been called

* C. A. Squire, now of Blackwell, has lived in Western Oklahoma forty-five years. He came to Oklahoma Territory in 1905, and filed on a claim one and a half miles east of Grand. Thus, he saw nearly three years of life in the Territory and two years in the State before the town had vanished. He taught school in a number of places in old Day, Ellis and Roger Mills counties, including a district cut from the original Grand school district. All this time, his home was on his homestead near Grand, and he voted there for many years.—Ed.

"Horseshoe Bend," "Snaky Bend" and just "the Bend." I shall refer to it in this article as "the Bend." The big spring and grove are on the east bank of the river where the water is flowing south.

To the north of the grove was a tract of level prairie land between the river and the hills to the east and north. This was to be the site of Grand. Geographically located it was just south of 36 degrees North Latitude, and 13 miles east of the 100th Meridian, West Longitude, the Texas line.

By authority of an Act of Congress that part of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation lying between the Cherokee outlet on the north and Roger Mills County on the south was to be called County E until given a name by the people of the county.[1] The temporary county officials were appointed by the Governor of Oklahoma Territory to serve until regular officials should be elected. The temporary county seat was placed at Ioland some sixteen miles nearly east of Grand, on the north side of the Canadian River. This location of the county seat was not satisfactory to a great many people, as the water was bad and as far as was known in those days no good water was obtainable. It must be remembered that the population of E County was scant and almost entirely along the small streams that flowed into the Canadian River.

The E County courthouse, such as it was, burned down on the night of November 12th, 1893, and the next day the County Seat was established at Grand by order of the County Commissioners: George Hastings, John Webb and A. Blackstone. There was always a question about how the court house came to burn. Some of the County Officers were charged with complicity in its burning but no one was convicted in the trial that followed. The sheriff at the time of the removal of court house was convicted of something or other in Texas after he had gone out of office. He was wanted as a witness in the court house burning case. By request of the Territorial court, he was released to come to Grand to testify and never went back. The Texas people refer to the incident as a "life sentence to Oklahoma."

The legality of the transfer of the county seat was always in question. The courts always held that Ioland was the *de jure* county seat while Grand was the *de facto* county seat. However the *de facto* county seat got the court houses (two of them) and court henceforth

---

[1] In the preparation of this article, the writer wishes to make special acknowledgment for the assistance given by C. A. Null and by others in the offices of the County Clerk, Court Clerk, and County Superintendent of Ellis County. The writer checked the Day County Records in the courthouse at Arnett, Ellis County, from first to last.

was held at Grand as long as there was Day county. The county was named Day before the seat was moved to Grand.[2]

There are several legends afloat about how Grand got its name. The most likely one is as follows: A number of county officers and a few of the citizens of the neighborhood were standing around the big spring on the day that the tent for the court house was set up. As they viewed the grove and the raging river, and drank the water from the clear spring, one of the officers who had for a year been drinking gyp water at Ioland remarked, "Well, this is Grand." The rest of the crowd agreed, and so they called the place "Grand."

It wasn't long until Grand had a post office and a small wooden court house on main street.[3] There were two stores and two saloons at one time. As the country settled, more and more lawyers came in till by statehood in 1907, Grand had four law offices occupied by six resident lawyers. Regular terms of the district court were held twice a year. A federal judge appointed by the President presided over both Federal and Territorial courts. The same jurors served both courts. A deputy U. S. Marshall waited on the court when sitting in federal cases while the Sheriff of the county waited on the Territorial court. The county officers were all elected by the voters of the County.

One point about the county in territorial days that was not up to standard was the county jail. This was a wooden structure and prisoners with any enterprise about them could cut their way out, which a goodly number of them did. A good story is told of one prisoner who got out in the night, took the sheriff's horse and the under sheriff's saddle and made his get-away. The sheriff afterward got a letter from him thanking him for the outfit and praising the horse as one to be proud of. A prisoner escaping jail wasn't a great calamity in those days. If he escaped it saved the County the cost of convicting him. He dared not come back, so the county was rid of him for good. The people of Day County were tax conscious in those days.

Another story is told about the sheriff arresting a great exhibitionist down town. The jail was located up the hill. The arrested man said, "Back where I came from the officers furnished a vehicle and hauled me to jail. Get your rig and I'll go with you." The

---

[2] On the authority of Dennis T. Flynn, the origin of the name of Day County is given as follows by Dr. Charles N. Gould in *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933), p. 58: "Day County, which was eliminated at the time of the Constitutional Convention, was named at the first election for Captain Charles Day, who, with Dennis T. Flynn and Joseph W. McNeal, built the first courthouse at Ioland, the county seat."—Ed.

[3] O. H. Richards, of Arnett, contributed his reminiscences in "Early Days in Day County," published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 313-24.

sheriff got his horse and threw a rope around the arrested man and started up the hill. The man decided he would walk. That's another good story whether it is true or not. A St. Louis paper published at that time said that the sheriff roped his man in the Canadian river and dragged him back to jail. This latter story is not substantiated by eye witnesses.

The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention decreed that Day County as such should end on November 16, 1907. On that day the old Day County officers turned over the reigns of government to the newly elected officers of Ellis and Roger Mills Counties with due formality. Ellis County got the county records and old frame court houses which had belonged to Day County. In the course of time Roger Mills had the records pertaining to Roger Mills transcribed and got a judgment against Ellis County as her share of what had been common property. The temporary county seat of Ellis County was located at Grand until the people of the county should decide where they wanted it. The County Seat battle for the next nine months was the most heated and bitterest campaign the people of Ellis County have ever been through. The fight gave Arnett the County Seat and the county commissioners immediately commenced to move the county property. The move was completed in the spring of 1909 and Grand, as a town of any importance, ceased to exist.

From about 1900 the farmers commenced to settle around Grand thick and fast until by 1907 there was a homesteader on nearly every quarter section of land. A great amount of land was settled which was entirely unfit for farming. This was the case, both with the rough land close to town and the sandy land farther east. The settlers on these poor places commenced to find out that they couldn't make a living on their places, by 1908. By 1914, the great majority had sold out and gone.

The decrease in population can be estimated by the decrease in votes. At the last County Seat election in August 1908 there were 199 votes in the box at Grand. The women didn't vote in 1908. Now the three election precincts which supplanted the old Grand precinct cast a combined vote of about 100.

The buildings have all been moved away from Grand and the townsite has grown up to weeds and brush. The big spring has been neglected but it still flows. The river hasn't cut much nearer the last few years but much of the timber has been cut down. The only thing left to indicate a town was ever there is a pile of rocks and mortar sticking out of the hill to the east side of town—the remnant of the old court house vault. The Canadian River doesn't rise so high any more, and is dry most of the year. The hundreds of dams on the small creeks above Grand hold back the floods. A team and

wagon could cross most any time now but as there is no town left no one wants to cross and no one has a team any more. Besides, there is a bridge at the mouth of Packsaddle Creek, ten miles away.

The great school organizing year in Oklahoma Territory was 1894. Many schools were organized in Day County about that time. Since there was practically no deeded land, taxes were raised altogether by a tax on personal property, principally cattle. School houses were small, terms of school were short and teachers were poorly paid. Four months was a good school year, and $25.00 a month was about the average pay for teachers.

Grand was first included in District No. 2, most of which was north of Grand. It was soon cut off and became District No. 12. Della Cann was the first teacher, salary $25.00 per month. Miss Cann was also the first elected County Superintendent. Later on a considerable part of District 12 on the north was cut off, and in 1905 two new school districts were cut off of the east side, leaving the Grand district little more than a mile wide and a very poor country to pay the school bills. Shortly after Statehood the Grand district was disorganized and annexed to the district to the east.

For a time Grand maintained two teachers but after so much territory was lost it could not raise the price. The school records of early Day County are somewhat confusing so I have had to depend upon persons now living for a considerable part of the school story. Some of the teachers who at one time or other taught at Grand were: Miss Libby Richards, now Mrs. Lanning Ballard of Enid; Alva Presnell, deceased; J. C. McLean, deceased; Lewis Pickens, now of Canton, Oklahoma; Ora Black, deceased; Della Cann, deceased; Benjaline Weaver. Members of the first district board, district No. 12: J. Howlett, C. F. Stevens and J. C. Langdom.

The original title to the original townsite of Grand, Oklahoma Territory was under U. S. patent signed by President Cleveland. Afterwards the townsite was extended to the north across the townsite line into Section 31, of Township 18 north of Range 24, W.I.M.[4]

---

4 PATENT

August 4th, 1894

United States of America
By — Grover Cleveland,
President
(S E A L)
to
Robert Alcorn, Probate Judge
Ex officio Trustee — In trust
for the use and benefit of the occupants of the Townsite of Grand, Oklahoma Territory.
Lots one (1), two (2), three (3) & four (4),
Section six (6), Township seventeen (17) north,
of Range twenty-four (24) west of the Indian
Meridian consisting of 63-70/100 acres.

The title of the whole townsite is now vested in Mrs. W. E. Bannister of Woodward. Unlike the ghost towns of the mining country of the Rocky Mountain States, there is nothing left to show where the town was. In case of most of the mining towns, the townsite, at least, is left—with Grand, even that or a considerable part of the townsite has gone down the Canadian River.

Since beginning this history of Grand, I have just attended the old Day County Settlers' Reunion in the old Grove at Grand. The first Sunday of June every year, this picnic is held at Grand, or rather in the Grove where Grand once was. The last few years this gathering of the old settlers has been hindered or entirely prevented by rain which either came the day of the meeting or sometime before that day and washed out the dirt roads so it was hard to get to the old Grove. This year (1950) the day was beautiful, but not hot, and the road coming in from the east was good. A large crowd from all parts of Old Day County assembled and ate a splendid picnic dinner prepared by the women of the two counties—a reminder of the earlier days when such picnics were common in the old Grove.

All of which reminds me of the old gatherings in the Grand grove in Territorial days. People from all over the county would gather there for the County Fair in the fall. Exhibits were few and not of much importance but socialibility was great. Here was where people from the four winds of the earth met on common ground. I never heard of any great controversy arising at these picnics between the North and the South.

Political meetings were also held in the old Grove. Sunday school gatherings and church meetings were also held there. The first graduation exercise for an 8th grade class (consisting of one girl) was held at night in the open air under the trees, and lit by gasoline torches. The Grove is now half gone. Cattle graze over part of the old picnic grounds. The spring is neglected and muddied up but is still flowing as strong as ever. An artificial lake covers part of the old townsite and the river covers part of it.

Although Grand was never much of a town, short-lived, entirely unknown, and is yet unknown to the world outside, it served as a training school for a number of men who made a name for them-

selves after leaving there. The writer has been personally acquainted with all the principal characters mentioned in this article.[5]

Millard Word

Without any doubt, Millard Word was the first permanent white settler in the vicinity of Grand as he was somewhere in that vicinity in the employ of a large cattle outfit, or as an independent operator long before the country was opened.

Mr. Word was born in Corpus Christi about 1860. In 1880 he came to the northern Panhandle of Texas and northwest Oklahoma country where he was engaged in raising beef for the army post at Fort Supply before the Cheyenne and Arapaho country was opened to settlement. At the opening he came to E county and filed on a homestead three miles northeast of Grand. Unlike most of the early settlers, Mr. Word located on a level quarter of land with neither wood nor water. This piece is one of the best farms in Ellis County now. He afterward bought land on the creek two miles north of Grand where his ranch was located. He built his ranch buildings on this creek place and there is where he lived. In the early days before the country was settled, Mr. Word pastured land for fifteen miles to the northwest. This was mostly fenced, and the homesteaders that located inside the enclosure were fenced out. This arrangement seemed to work pretty well until early in the 1900's when the homesteaders were getting too thick. The ranch finally was reduced to 1800 acres, extending south to the old townsite of Grand.

When the town of Arnett started, Mr. Word moved his family there and lived there until he died. Vernon Word, son of Millard now operates the ranch. Mr. Word was one of the County Commissioners of old Day County. He died in 1837 in Arnett.

The Churchills

The first settlers south of the river in the Bend were Edward Churchill and his four sons and a son-in-law, Bert Fay. The elder Churchill settled first on a piece of land with some native meadow on it but after cutting the hay in 1892, he decided to file on a quarter of level land, a mile and a half farther east. His

[5] The data for the brief biographical sketches presented here are personally known by the writer or have been secured from members of the families represented. Vernon Word, of Grand, helped in writing the story of his father, Millard Word. Fred Churchill gave the story of the Churchills. Data on the McQuiggs and the Ellises are from Mr. and Mrs. Ansley Ellis. Judge Sylvester Grimm supplied the data on the Grimm family. Mrs. Mary Seward gave the early history of her father, S. A. Miller. Q. A. Walck of Arnett, the only son of Adam Walck now living, gave the early history of the Walcks. The history of the Alcorns and the Mercers is from Mr. and Mrs. O. E. Enfield, the latter a daughter of J. L. Mercer and granddaughter of Judge Alcorn. The story of O. E. Null is from his son, C. A. Null, and from Mr. Null himself.

filing, I think, was the first between the Canadian River and the Antelope Hills. It is also one of the best quarters of land in the country. Three of his sons settled from two to seven miles up the river, the first claim picked by the elder Churchill is nearly all in the Canadian River now. The Churchills all came to Canadian, Texas in 1889 where they lived until they moved to the Bend. Mr. Churchill planted and raised the best apple orchard in these parts unless it is possible that Bert Fay's was better.

While the Churchills had a good herd of cattle, these cattle were not worth much. They milked cows and Mrs. Churchill made butter which was peddled out at Higgins and Canadian in Texas and at Grand after there was a Grand. The price ranged in these frontier town from 10 to 15 cents a pound. Once Churchill and sons shipped four cars of cattle to Kansas City from Higgins, two of these cars were lost on the road, the other two arrived safely at the Kansas City stockyards where they sold for $13.00 a head. Another time a calf crop was sold at $5.00 a round.

The first school in this region was held in a shanty 12 x 14 feet given by Mr. Churchill and moved four miles on skids. The school in this district was long known as the Churchill School, and the neighborhood known as the Churchill Neighborhood. Today the children in this district go by bus to Durham and Crawford. Some of them ride fifteen miles to school.

Two of the second generation of Churchills, Vern (81) and Fred (75) now live on the original homestead of the latter three miles north of Durham. A third brother and sister, Mrs. Bert Fay are living in California. Frank Churchill filed on the east side of the Bend. He started to make final proof before the Free Homes Act was passed. He paid his $1.25 an acre but before the proof was cleared, the Free Homes Act had gone into effect and he got his money back.

John McQuigg

There is no question but what the Churchills were the first settlers south of the Canadian River and North of the Antelope Hills. Nor is there any question that Alex Crawford and John McQuigg were the next homesteaders on the east bend of the river opposite Grand. John McQuigg was born in Tennessee in 1862. When six years of age, his family moved to Montague County, Texas, where he grew to manhood. At the age of eighteen he went to Lipscomb County, Texas, adjacent to Day County. Here he worked as a cowboy on the Box T Ranch for nearly ten years. In the meantime, acquiring good herd of his own. He pastured his cattle on government land in the early 1890's. He staked a claim on the Canadian River in 1894 although he had run cattle over this part of the country for four years. This claim contained the

finest hay meadow in this part of the country. It might be well enough to note here that nearly all of John McQuigg's original homestead is now in the bed of the Canadian River. There is some question as to just the time McQuigg moved his family to the ranch on the Canadian river but it was about 1897.

A piece of hard luck deserves special mention here: An April snowstorm in 1897 drove McQuigg's herd of cattle into a canyon, and the whole herd of 200 head perished leaving him with nothing and owing a $1400 store bill in Higgins twenty-five miles away. When the owner of the Box T ranch heard of Mr. McQuigg's loss, he called him out there and sold him a herd of 111 horses at $10 a head, asking no money down and no security. Mr. McQuigg drove the horses through to Arkansas and sold them for enough to pay all expenses and his store bill. This, in particular, gave him a reputation for honesty which he retained to the end of his life.

In 1897, Mr. McQuigg moved a three-room house from Lipscomb, Texas, to the ranch forty-five miles, with the help of Alex Crawford and four yoke of oxen. This old house has a history worth telling. It was originally built in No Man's Land, out of lumber freighted from Dodge City, Kansas, about 1894. In 1897, it was moved to Mr. McQuigg's ranch where it rested 30 years. In 1927 Gwen Focht, his son-in-law, bought the old ranch house and moved it to the west side of the Bend across the river from the mouth of Little Robe Creek. With some additions, alterations and modernizations, it is now a modern farm home and it is probably the oldest house still in use anywhere in this part of the country. Mr. McQuigg died in 1934, and is buried in Bellview Cemetery on the old Churchill Homestead. His wife preceded him in death.

H. K. McQuigg

H. K. McQuigg was born in Tennessee in 1834. He moved with his family to Texas in 1868 and came to Day County in 1898. He settled on a claim, near his son John, where he planted and cultivated one of the best orchards in the country. He lived there until about 1921 when he went to Texas where he died in 1923.

With H. K. McQuigg came one daughter, Mary, who married Ansley Ellis in 1908 and lives in sight of old Grand now. Also, with the McQuiggs came May Dunn, who later married Will Thomas near Durham where they now live. Both of these younger women filed on and proved up claims near John and H. K. McQuigg.

Alex Crawford

Alex Crawford came to Day County with his old friend, John McQuigg. These two men had been friends for years on the range in Texas. They homesteaded adjoining quarters. Mr. Crawford moved his filing to a piece of upland some two miles from his

original bottom place. On this he lived till 1913 when he traded all his land for a business in Ft. Worth. The original homesteads of Crawford and McQuigg are now mostly in the Canadian River.

The Ellises

Levi Ellis was born in Tennessee in 1855. His early home was near enough the Battle of Shiloh where he could hear the cannonading. He had some clear recollections of the sound of that conflict and the excitement in the community at the time. He moved to Texas in 1877 where his son Ansley was born. He came to the Chickasaw Nation in 1894 and to Day County in 1898 where he filed on a claim four miles northeast of Grand. He sold out here and moved to Ochiltree County, Texas, in 1905. He received $1600 for his land here. The wheat crop went with the place and more than paid for it. Mr. Ellis was killed in a car wreck in California in 1927.

Ansley Ellis, son of Levi, was born in Texas in 1877. With his father he moved to the Chickasaw Nation, and came to Day County in 1898 where he filed on a claim adjoining his father. He worked for M. F. Word on the Word Ranch about five years when he was appointed undersheriff of Day County. He was afterwards appointed Sheriff to fill a vacancy, thus being the last sheriff of Day County. In 1908 he married Mary McQuigg, daughter of H. A. McQuigg, and sister of John. Mr. Ellis lives with his wife in Roger Mills County, four miles west of Grand in view of the old townsite.

Alex Hutchison

Robert Alexander Hutchison was born in Kentucky in 1854. He came to Texas when a young man where he served three years as a Texas Ranger. An odd accident happened while he was in Texas, deserving of special mention. Mr. Hutchison tells of a time in the Amarillo country when he was shot by a steer. Alex was carrying a pistol in his pocket when trying to hog-tie a steer. The steer kicked the pistol pulling the trigger and shooting him in the leg. He had a bad limp in that leg as long as he lived. Mr. Hutchison was manager some time or other of two different stores in Grand. He was also County Assessor at one time. Alex never married. He died in 1933 and is buried in Bellview Cemetery. He was a Mason.

Isaiah Blackmon

Isaiah Blackmon, sometimes called "one-eye Blackmon" from the fact that he signed his name "I. Blackmon," was born in Alabama. When he was fourteen years old he ran away and joined the Confederate Army and served four years until the close of the Civil War. He moved to Cordell, Washita County, in 1898. An

incident at Cordell shows the business conditions of the times. Blackmon traded a team of horses, harness and wagon and $300 in money (a large amount at that time) for relinquishment on a homestead. The stranger signed the relinquishment and then found his own brother, and saw to it that said brother made haste to the land office to file on the land. Blackmon's filing came back from the land office with the information that Mr. Blackmon had been played for a sucker and had lost his money. After this experience at Cordell, Blackmon, with the help of Ansley Ellis, moved to Day County where he filed on a claim one and one-half miles east of Grand. Mr. Blackmon died in Arnett about 1936 at the age of ninety.

Charles Swindall

Probably the man who afterward became the most noted of the early settlers of Grand was Charles Swindall. He came to Grand in 1897 soon after graduating from Cumberland University in Tennessee. Mr. Swindall was elected County Attorney in 1898 when he was barely 21 years old. He held this office one term. He then went to Woodward where he practiced law for a number of years. He was District Judge for one term and was elected to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma in the Republican landslide of 1928. He served one term on the Supreme Bench. When he came to Day County, he filed on a claim three miles northeast of Grand. This claim is now part of the Word Ranch. Mr. Swindall also served out the unexpired term of Dick T. Morgan in the 66th Congress. He died in 1939.[6]

A. L. Squire

One of the lawyers and newspaper men of some note was A. L. Squire. He was born in Northern Wisconsin in 1865 just at the close of the War between the States. He moved with his parents to Nebraska when he was seven years old. He studied law in Nebraska and at one time in the office of Senator W. V. Allen. He was admitted to the Bar and practiced law in Nebraska, Missouri and Oklahoma. Mr. Squire came to Oklahoma in 1901. He served for a time as Deputy Court Clerk and was appointed County Superintendent to fill a vacancy in 1903, serving till 1905. 1905 he bought the *Day County Progress* which he continued until the County Seat was moved from Grand. He was elected County Judge of Ellis County in 1910-1912. He moved to Blackwell, Oklahoma where he continued the practice of law until a short time before his death in 1949. Mr. Squire filed on a claim one-half mile east of Grand and lived there till he was elected County Judge.

---

[6] Richards, "Early Days in Day County," *op. cit.*, p. 315.

Frank Burnett

The man who brought more industry to Grand in the early days than any other man was Frank Burnett. He had a sawmill and a store at Grand, and later had a cotton gin and a canning factory at Little Robe. Mr. Burnett was one of the earliest County Clerks and was considered a very efficient officer.

W. H. Suthers

As Mr. Suthers located twelve miles from Grand and never lived any nearer, he should not be included in the history of Grand except for the fact that he was one of the last County Commissioners and was the prime mover in the organization of the Masonic Lodge at Grand. He was also the main mover in the organization of the M.E. Church South. Mr. Suthers died in 1913. Three sons still live on their original homesteads. George H., the oldest was clerk of the proposed County of Ellis before Statehood in 1907. W. K. has been secretary of the County Election Board of Ellis County most of the time since 1912.

George Rader

George Rader came to the country around Grand on the day the C. & A. reservation opened in 1892. He was born in 1865. He settled with his family about five miles northwest of Grand. He had scarcely stopped on his place when his four horses and $700 in money were stolen. That was a large sum of money for those times. The horses were recovered a few days later near Coffeyville, Kansas, the next day after a notorious bank robbery at that place. Mr. Rader and his wife ran the largest hotel in Grand for several years around 1900. He moved to Shattuck in Ellis County where he died in 1909. Mrs. Rader was the daughter of Adam Walck. She lives in Shattuck, now.

S. A. Miller

One lawyer who practiced law at Grand in the last years of the Territory and at Arnett many years after statehood, was S. A. Miller. In 1899, he came from Crawford County, Arkansas, where he had been a member of the State Legislature. He was elected County Attorney in 1900, and was elected County Judge of Ellis County three times. He died in 1934.

Albert McRill

As far as I know, Albert McRill was the only man at Grand, who ever made "Who's Who in America." He was born in Kansas in 1880, and had some newspaper experience in his native state. He filed on a claim near Ioland. Soon afterward, with O. E. Null and O. H. Richards, he started the *Grand Republican.* He later bought the *Day County Progress* and consolidated the two papers.

In the spring of 1905 he sold out to A. L. Squire. Mr. McRill was admitted to the bar in Day County and practiced at Grand and Watonga before coming to Oklahoma City. He was City Attorney and City Manager of Oklahoma City from 1931 till 1933. Mr. McRill is listed in *Who's Who in America.*

Soloman Grimm

Sol Grimm was the last County Treasurer of Day County.[7] He was born in Missouri, moved to Nebraska and came to the Cherokee Strip when it opened. Mr. Grimm made the Run, staked off a claim, but did not file on it, owing to some technicality of the law. He lived several years in the eastern part of the Strip. He came to Day County in 1900 and settled in what is now the northeast part of Roger Mills County. This was just about the time the herd law fight was getting fierce, and in 1902 Mr. Grimm was elected County Treasurer on the "herd law" ticket. He was elected again in 1904, serving in the office to the end of Day County. Mr. Grimm was living with his son, Sylvester, in Norman, when he died at the age of 87 years, in 1934.

Sylvester Grimm was the fourth child of Solomon. All the time that Sol was County Treasurer of Day County, Sylvester worked in the office, virtually running the same. He was born in Nebraska in 1880, came to Day County with his father. When his father was elected County Treasurer, Sylvester moved to Grand and took charge of the Treasurer's office, in 1903, and continued to run the same until statehood.

When Day County was divided Mr. Grimm went to Cheyenne in Roger Mills County. Sylvester Grimm had studied law while running the treasurer's office and was admitted to the Bar. He served six years as County Attorney of Roger Mills County. About 1921, he moved to Norman, Oklahoma. He has been elected County Judge of Cleveland County four times, and is serving in that capacity at the present (1950). Mr. Grimm raised five children, three of whom were born at Grand. His son, Orville, represented the Second Senatorial District in the State Legislature, 1946-50.

E. L. Mitchell

E. L. Mitchell was born in Missouri. He came to Day County in 1900 and with his brother, Dick, published the *Canadian Valley Echo* until statehood. Mr. Mitchell was studying law in the meantime. After the end of Day County, he went to Cheyenne where he practiced law. He went to Clinton in 1916 and continued the practice of law. He represented the Second Senatorial District in the State Legislature several times. He was at one time President Pro-tem

[7] Clara B. Kennan, "Neighbors in The Cherokee Strip," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 81-2.

of the Senate. He was several times elected Judge of the District Court in the Clinton district. Mr. Mitchell now lives in Arapaho—I understand he is nearly blind.

W. E. Banister

W. E. (Billy) Bannister came to Grand as a rural mail carrier shortly before the close of the Territory. He soon became postmaster and bought the only store left. He continued to run the store many years after the rest of the town was gone. He at some time or other bought the whole townsite of Grand and the old Walck place and other land nearby. After leaving the store he moved to Woodward. He died in 1948. Mrs. Banister still lives in Woodward.

Dr. O. C. Newman

There was no resident doctor at Grand and none nearer than Canadian, Texas, or Woodward, Oklahoma, the first six or seven years of the town of Grand. In 1900 Dr. O. C. Newman just out of medical school, came to Grand to practice medicine. For the next few years he was the only physician nearer than twenty-five miles on the north side of the river. He moved his office and residence to Shattuck before statehood but has retained most of his practice in the Grand vicinity until the present time. Much more could be written of Dr. Newman but his story has been written and published elsewhere many times.[8] Dr. Newman's portrait is in the portrait room in the Historical Building at Oklahoma City.

O. H. Richards

O. H. (Oat) Richards is another one of the early settlers who held office in both Day and Ellis Counties for many years. He, however, has written his own story in a recent issue of *The Chronicles* ("Early Days in Day County," *op. cit.*). Mr. Richards now lives in Shattuck.

Robert Alcorn

Robert Alcorn and his sons homesteaded over on Packsaddle Creek, ten miles from Grand. He was the first elected County Judge and was Judge at the time of the removal of the County Seat. He was one of the most important personages in the story of early Grand.

Robert Alcorn was born in Iowa 1838. In 1861 he enlisted in the Union Army and served four years. His second daughter was born shortly after he went to war and she was four years old when he got back home. He had never seen her before. He taught school in Iowa, was a member of the Iowa legislature. He was admitted to

[8] O. C. Newman, M.D., "Reminiscences of a Country Doctor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter 1949-50), pp. 412-19.

the Bar in Iowa and afterward in Arkansas where he moved in 1872. He moved to Texas by ox team in 1874, came to County E in 1892, and was the first elected County Judge. It was to Judge Alcorn as trustee that the town site of Grand was patented. Judge Alcorn was elected Judge several times and had a hand in almost all moves connected with the early development of Grand. He had six sons, all of whom came to County E with him. As all of these sons lived ten or more miles from Grand and held no county office, nor had any business in Grand, I will leave them after giving their names. Billy the oldest and only one now living is in California. The others are John, Bob, Jim, Aleck and Granville, all deceased. Judge Alcorn died in 1920.

J. L. Mercer

J. L. Mercer was a son-in-law of Judge Alcorn. He was born in Ohio in 1838. Altho a northern man, he believed in States rights and went South. He joined the Confederate Army and served in the Medical Corp. He came to County E in 1893, and was the second elected County Superintendent. One son, Shannon, was killed in the Phillipine War. Another, James, died of disease in France during the World War I. Earl and Hise are now living in Ellis County, and another son, Ed, is deceased. There are three living daughters. Maud (Mrs. Dick Porter), Maggie (Mrs. Orville Enfield,) Jane (Mrs. Jim Bull), and one daughter, May, deceased.

A. A. Bennett

The last postmaster in Day County who held the office well into Ellis County times was A. A. Bennett. He was born in Nebraska in 1871 and was married to Jessie Meeker in 1893, moved to Kansas in 1897.

The Bennetts moved to Day County and homesteaded three miles northwest of Grand. This claim is now part of the Word Ranch. When the mail route was changed from Higgins, Texas, to Gage, Oklahoma, Mr. Bennett became postmaster at Grand. He remained postmaster about six years, the time of the greatest influx of settlers around Grand. During his term as postmaster, three rural routes were established from Grand. After Grand lost the county seat, Mr. Bennett took charge of the lumber yard at Arnett, and continued the same business to near the close of his life. He died in 1946. Mrs. Bennett still lives in Arnett.

Adam Walck and Family

The history of Grand is tied up so closely with the history of Adam Walck, that part of what has already been written will have to be repeated here.

Adam Walck was born in Ohio in 1834. He left home when he was twelve years old and drifted around the Great Lakes region for

several years. He was married to Mary Walker in 1850 and moved to Missouri about the end of the War between the States. Here he was caught between the two bitter factions created by the war and the causes of the war. He moved to Kansas with his family in the early 1870's and to No Man's Land, that part afterward known as Beaver County, in 1887. He went on to Texas and settled four miles south of Higgins the same year. Here he lived till the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Country April 19, 1892. From here he walked in to County E on the date of the opening. The only stake was wood and water. Mr. Walck had his eye on the lower Robinson Springs and his son Del had his eye on the upper Robinson Springs about two miles up the river. On his way to the new country, he met one Sam Ratliff who informed Mr. Walck that he had already staked off the lower Robinson Spring. After some bargaining Mr. Walck gave Ratliff $50.00 for his rights and proceeded to take possession. His family was soon moved over from Texas, only about twenty miles away. They lived in a tent for some time.

Adam Walck's first filing covered lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Section 6, Township 17, North of Range 17, West of the Indian Meridian. When the County Seat was moved Mr. Walck relinquished his right to lots 1 and 2 to the townsite, and placed his filing on lots 5 and 6, and certain lots in section 7, down the river. Thus, the townsite of Grand was on lots 1 and 2.

The County Seat hadn't been located long before a difference arose between Mr. Walck and residents of the town about the ownership of the big spring as it was upon this spring that the town depended for water. Mr. Walck had the place surveyed and his surveyor said the spring was on Mr. Walck's place. The district judge had a surveyor, a Mr. Ross, from Cordell, run the line and he found the town owned the spring. The suit dragged on. After seven years of litigation a compromise was made. The court decreed accordingly that the spring belonged to Mr. Walck but the people of the town could get water there. However, they were not to cut any timber on the strip of land in dispute.

Adam Walck was the first postmaster, the first hotel keeper and the first storekeeper. In the early days, the Indians came to Grand, and were Mr. Walck's best customers in the store as well as furnishing amusement for children and others who had never seen Indians before. Mr. Walck continued to live on his claim several years after the county seat was moved, until his death in 1920. Mrs. Walck died in 1910. They were the parents of six sons and two daughters—all of whom came to Grand with him or shortly thereafter.

L. A. Walck, oldest son of Adam, was born in Ohio in 1855, came to Grand and settled three miles from his father in 1892. A short time after statehood he went to Rogers, Arkansas, where he died in 1935.

George Walck, born in Ohio, came to Grand with the rest of his family, and filed on river bottom land four miles above town. The river got most of his land and he filed again under the Free Homes Act adjoining the town of Grand where he had a barber shop for many years. After the demise of the town he went to Arizona. He had three children, two of whom are well known in Ellis County: Jennie, who became Mrs. Charles Johnson, has lived in Arnett about forty-five years; Leonard, known as "Happy," and "Rastus" who has worked in Arnett and other places in Ellis County.

H. I. Walck, better known as "Hi" was born in Ohio 1860 and came to Day County with his family in 1892. He filed on a homestead four miles above Grand, and after the passage of the Free Homes Act he filed again five miles northwest of Grand. Most of his first homestead is now in the Canadian River. Mr. Walck was the first elected County Clerk of Ellis County, and was County Clerk when the county seat was moved to Grand. He continued to live on his last homestead until his death in 1950.

Ed Walck was born in Missouri 1863 and came to Day County with his father when the country opened. He opened the first saloon in Grand but didn't stay long in that business. He left the country in 1895. He died in California about 1938.

Del Walck was born in 1871 and came to Day County when barely 21. He filed two miles above Grand and on what was known as the upper Robinson Spring. He lived here until 1909 when he went to Colorado. He died in 1945.

Quinn was the youngest and is the only living son of Adam Walck. He was born in 1879, came with his father to Grand when he was about thirteen years of age. He lived with his father or on his father's place until 1912. He married Nora Johnson, daughter of J. F. Johnson, of Arnett. He lives at present on the place his father-in-law homesteaded in 1901.

O. E. Null

Probably the man most identified with the growth of Grand next to Adam Walck was O. E. Null, a son-in-law of Adam Walck. O. E. Null was born in Indiana in 1862. His father died when Omar was three years old and a few years later his mother married a preacher, and she became a matron of a County Poor House. It was here the boy got his first official position through the influence of his mother—that of usher at the poor house. It was his place to show visitors around the grounds. There were a great many of these visitors, especially on Sundays. The family moved to Kansas, and afterward Omar went to Colorado where he worked on a railroad for a few weeks then got a job of making railroad ties from virgin timber. After earning $200 at this, he went back to work on a Kansas

farm for a while. He then went over into Indian Territory as foreman on a ranch twelve miles northeast of present Stillwater. He was but twenty years old at that time. He joined Payne's "boomers" in 1882, but did not make the Run. He went back to Kansas where he farmed ten dry years and nearly went broke. Some time in the early 1880's he married Mallissy Walck, oldest daughter of Adam Walck.

Mr. Null with his family came to Grand in 1894 and settled on a claim five miles north of Grand. From this time on he was definitely connected with the town of Grand. Mr. Null started an abstract business as soon as there was any abstracting to do in Day County, and has continued in that business ever since—the last forty-five years in partnership with his son, C. A. Null, who will be mentioned hereafter.

About 1902 Mr. Null was appointed resident deputy clerk of the district court of Day County of the 6th Judicial District of Oklahoma Territory, which position he held till the end of the territory November 16th, 1907. At the election of September 17th, 1907 he was elected Clerk of the District Court of Ellis County to which position he was re-elected 3 times.

The first years in Oklahoma Territory Mr. Null performed many public services aside from his regular official work. He was delegated to go to Kingfisher and copy all the field notes from the government survey for Day County. Another time in 1898 he with two others were appointed by the Territorial district court to take two men charged with murder to the county jail at Pond Creek, as the jail at Grand was inadequate. These two men had many friends who were organizing to overtake them on the way and release the prisoners. The men in charge started northwest toward Higgins, Texas, traveling a few miles in that direction then switching off to Gage, Oklahoma. When the crowd that would release the prisoners got to Higgins they learned their quarry was already on the train at Gage. Both these men were subsequently convicted and sentenced to 99 years and 10 years, respectively, in prison. President McKinley soon after pardoned the 99 year man. The other served a good part of his term.

Mr. Null was the prime mover in organizing the Woodmen of the World Lodge at Grand and also the Odd Fellows Lodge. He retains membership yet. In 1906 Mr. Null was nominated Republican delegate to the Constitutional Convention but he was defeated in the election by David Hogg, Democrat. Mrs. Null died in 1935. Mr. Null still lives in Arnett and goes to his office nearly every day altho the business is principally run by his son, C. A. Besides C. A., Mr. Null had two other sons, both deceased. He also had 3 daughters; Mrs. E. E. Plank, Mrs. Cleve Cooley and Mr. Orb Vincent. Mr. O. E. Null is a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Chester A. Null, son of O. E., also had a hand in the history of Grand. At a very early age he was in his father's office assisting with the clerical work in both the Court Clerk's office and in the abstract business. He was for a short time in 1906 Deptuy Clerk of the District Court while his father was U. S. Commissioner. He has lived in Arnett since statehood and is still running the abstract office of "Null and Son."

JOSEPH ABSALOM SCALES

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Joseph Absalom Scales was one of the most brilliant and useful men in the Cherokee Nation. He held every high office within the gift of the people except principal chief and he would probably have achieved that honor if he had been more of a politician than of a statesman and judge.

Webbers Falls was the home of several noted Cherokees, but none did more for his fellow citizens than Joab Scales, as he was familiarly known to his friends. He was born at Chattanooga, Tennessee, June 23, 1832. His father, the Reverend Nicholas Dalton Scales[1] was a son of Absalom Scales, a native of North Carolina; his grandfather was John Scales a citizen of England who emigrated to the United States and married a woman of the name of McCrary.

His mother was Mary Coodey, a daughter of Joseph Coodey whose wife was Jane Ross a sister of Chief John Ross; so Scales belonged to the best blood in the nation. His mother was born in 1802 and died in 1837 at Randolph on the Mississippi while on her way to the Indian Territory with a party of seventy Cherokees. The boy whose Indian name was Digadundi, lived with his grandparents until the death of Mrs. Coodey when he went to live with his uncle William Coodey. When he was eighteen his uncle passed away and he then made his home with his sister Charlotte who had married John Drew a public spirited and able member of the Cherokee Nation.

Scales was educated in the public schools of his nation and in Ozark Institute, Fayetteville, Arkansas. Two years were spent in the Cherokee Male Seminary at Tahlequah. He early became interested in the affairs of his nation and in 1856 he became sheriff of Canadian District and in 1858 he was elected prosecuting attorney and held that office until the beginning of the Civil War.[2]

---

[1] The Methodist went into the Cherokee Nation after the Moravians and Congregationalists had established missions. In 1823 the Reverend Thomas L. Douglas was appointed superintendent of the Indian Missions, with Richard Neely in charge of the Lower Mission and Nicholas D. Scales of the Upper Mission. Samuel Cole Williams, "Christian Missions to the Overhill Cherokees," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March, 1934), 70.

In 1824 three missionaries were appointed among the Cherokees by the Methodist Episcopal Church; Nicholas D. Scales in the Upper, Richard Neely in the Lower and Isaac W. Sullivan in the Middle (Wisconsin Historical Society, *Shane Scrap Book*, Draper Collection D S M E E B21, 142). N. D. Scales was born in 1800 and died at Chattanooga in 1834.

[2] Scales was only twenty-seven years old when he was elected senator from Canadian District (Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee People* [Oklahoma City, 1921] p. 270).

(From photo, Grant Foreman Collection)

JOSEPH ABSALOM SCALES

From the Creek Agency, January 10, 1853, W. Whitfield had a man of the name of Sadler write as follows to "Mr. Joab A. Scales" who was probably staying in the home of John Drew at that time:

"The urgent demand for salt requires me to send down at this early date. ..*If it is possible* you will *please* be kine enough to send me whatever amt the boy can haul. If *not all* you can spare and let me know by him when I can send down again and be certain of getting some. Excuse my pencil. . . . . Cold enough to freeze dead snakes—and of course our ink is *frozen*." John Drew was the operator of salt works which were known by his name.

Joab had evidently returned to the Male Seminary as he wrote to his sister Charlotte Drew from there on January 28, 1853:[3]

"I have only one minute to write to you, as Mr. Van Horn is about to start for the mail. . . . . as you know I am not very well satisfied with this lonesome dull place I would be glad to leave as soon as possible, but to be brief our session ends the evening of 16th of Feb. so Mr. Van Horn says, please send for [me] on or before that day.

"I still have my cough, went to school yesterday for the first time since I was at home, soon be well, are you coming to our examination? I heard since my return that you were, though I thought you wouldn't or couldn't. . . . . Your bro. J. A. Scales."

On April 5, 1853, Joab Scales wrote his sister Charlotte Drew from the Cherokee Male Seminary:[4]

"When I wrote you last I promised to go see if Mr. Worcester would board Miss Emma [Drew] and am sorry to inform you that he does not take any boarders, as I came by Foremans, I found that Nan Harper was staying there and thinking you would have no objection I appalyed there, and Mrs. Foreman says she will take Emma if you will bring or send her up. I think it would be a very good place, as I think *Nan* would take care of Emma, and there are two or three other little girls boarding there. But you know best, so excuse haste. Good night Joab. ALL WELL! P.S. Has Mr. Drew started yet? and when do you look for him back?

J. A. Scales."

When Miss Eliza Holt resigned her school to marry Mr. Joseph McCorkle she was succeeded by Joab Scales who was then a recent graduate of the college at Fayetteville. He taught only one year as he went into the merchantile business with his brother-in-law John Drew at his salt works on "Dirty Creek."[5]

In 1861 Scales enlisted in the Second Cherokee Regiment to serve in the Confederate cause; for a year he was in the quartermaster department but upon the reorganization of the First and Second regiments Joab was assigned Company C of the First which was commanded by Colonel John Drew.

---

[3] Grant Foreman Collection of Drew Papers.

[4] *Ibid.* Mr. Worcester referred to was of course the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester of Park Hill and Mrs. Foreman was the wife of the Reverend Stephen Foreman of the same village.

[5] Authority of Mrs. Ella Coodey Robinson.

When his term expired Scales recruited a company which became included in a battalion commanded by Major Moses Frye. He served as captain until the battalion was incorporated with another into a regiment when the captain was promoted to adjutant general under Brigadier General Stand Watie. At the close of the war Scales accompanied Stand Watie to Washington as a delegate of the southern Cherokees and spent the years from 1866 to 1868 in the national capital.[6]

According to Joseph Albert Scales, grandson of Joseph Absalom Scales, the latter participated in the battle of Fort Wayne on October 22, 1862, and at Fort Davis on December 27, 1862; the confederates were defeated in both engagements and Fort Davis was burned by the Federals.

Webber's Falls, C. N.[7]

April 12, 1863

"Colonel: [Col. W. P. Adair]

"I arrived to-day at this place, and found that the excitement growing out of the approach of the enemy had somewhat subsided. Captains [Alexander] Foreman's and [Charles] Holt's companies are encamped on the river at the Falls and Captains John W. Brown and John Shepherd Vann on the prairie . . . . the river is picketed up to the mouth of Grand River at all times; but the smallness of the forces under Captain Foreman does not give the protection that our people should have. . . . . Captain Foreman, who is, as you are aware, president of the convention, desired me this evening to suggest to you the sending up of at least 200 more men. . . . . Jack Cookston, a prisoner captured by Captain Holt at White Oak Springs near Tahlequah, says that they (the Pins) intend issuing a circular inviting us back again . . . . it was already prepared and being printed. . . . .

"We have been reduced from opulence to penury, driven from our homes, endured cold and hunger, and had our friends murdered by an inhuman and enexorable foe. . . . .

"Our troops are forced to defend Fort Smith, a filthy sink of corruption and iniquity, inhabited chiefly by a foul, speculating horde, our enemies at heart, who sell the comforts of life to Confederate soldiers at ten

---

[6] According to the Confederate records in the Oklahoma Historical Society, compiled from the archives in the War Department in Washington, J. A. Scales enlisted in the First Cherokee Mounted Volunteers on July 12, 1861. He was thirty years old, five feet seven inches in height with a light complexion, blue eyes, light hair. He was a lawyer. His name was on the roll December 4, 1861.

Scales also served in the Second Cherokee Mounted Volunteers (also called Mounted Rifles or Riflemen) formed February 3, 1863 by the addition of five companies, formerly attached to the first Cherokee Regiment Mounted Volunteers, to Bryan's 1st Battalion Cherokee P. R. Scales was adjutant of the Second Regiment; captain of Company A of the Cherokee Battalion; on April 21, 1865 he signed a requisition as major. It is also stated that he enlisted on July 12, 1862 at Fort Davis.

[7] *The War of the Rebellion.* . . . Series I, Vol. 22, Part II, 821-22, Washington, 1888. A notation states: "This letter was written to the colonel of the Second Cherokee Regiment, who remarks, "The letter needs no comment. So far as I have learned, it breathes the sentiments of the great majority of our people."

prices. . . . . but we must confess that the Federals treat their perfidious allies better than the Confederate government, through its officers, has treated its most devoted and loyal Indians. I will not enter the convention with that cordial feeling toward the South that I had two years ago. *Quid pro quo* is human nature. Use me well, I love you; abuse me, and I don't.

"With much respect, I remain, your friend, J. A. Scales."

Mr. Scales stated that Major Scales was with General Watie when he captured the steamboat *J. R. Williams,* loaded with supplies for the Federal troops at Fort Gibson. The capture was effected at Pheasant Bluff on the Arkansas River at the point where Israel Vore had maintained a store for some fourteen years.[8]

The Confederates were greatly cheered by the capture of the steamboat *J. B. Williams* on the Arkansas River near the mouth of the Canadian on June 12, 1864. This boat was loaded with one of the largest cargoes ever sent by water into the Indian Territory. McDonald and Fuller of Fort Smith shipped merchandise worth $120,000, under their trader's license, to Fort Gibson for the troops and refugees encamped there. The cargo consisted of one thousand barrels of flour, tons of stripes, prints, yarns, blankets, shoes and boots, bacon, sugar and shawls. Watie planted cannon upon the bank of the river and so disabled the boat that she was easily captured and the Confederate "Indians bore away to their destitute families all they could carry. It was said that the scattering to their homes of the Indians thus loaded with loot almost broke up Stand Watie's command."[9]

The first Confederate convention held by the Cherokees was in session at Tahlequah for eleven days during August, 1862. The final session took place near the mouth of Coodey's Creek in the Canadian District from May 22 to June 1, 1863. Members of the convention from the Canadian District were J. A. Scales, Walker Carey, and O. H. P. Brewer.[10]

Mr. Scales and Rose Talley also a Cherokee, were married and became the parents of a daughter Nancy, who was born in 1859 and died at the age of sixteen, while a student at the Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill. Peter J. their son was born in July 1862, and died October 28, 1896. Mrs. Scales died on November 30, 1862 and he subsequently married Mrs. Amanda Morgan Fowler who was

---

[8] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian-Pioneer History, Foreman Collection, Vol. 43, 382-418. For an account of Israel Vore see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Israel G. Vore and Levering Manual Labor School," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Autumn 1947) 198-217.

[9] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942), 128.

[10] Starr, *op. cit.,* 301.

a daughter of Gideon and Margaret Sevier Morgan. By that marriage a son who bore the name of Colbert died at the age of four years.[11]

Major Scales wrote to Colonel William Penn Adair on April 12, 1863, "a circular inviting us back again" was being printed by the Pin Indians and that doubtless it would cause disaffection in the Confederate forces, not to say desertions when it was realized that the men might remain at home, with their families, well fed, well clothed instead of nakedness and starvation and probably walking to the Red River. "The simple truth is, we have been very badly treated by officers of the Confederate States. . . . . to say nothing of the utter failure of the Confederate States to give protection promised in the treaty, and that at a time when their military pantimime, General Pike, had force enough to defend us. . . . ."[12]

Scales wrote his niece Emma Drew from Headquarters First Cherokee Battalion, May 25, 1864, that he had just received her note and was glad that the babies were well:[13]

"I have just returned from a Scout upon Ark. [ansas] River. Saw Fort Gibson but the river was too high to cross—I was not about the Falls [Webbers Falls]—We will start back tomorrow, to be gone I know not how long, or where we are going to. You can write me, & send to '*Hd. Qrs. 1st. Ind. Brig. In the* Field.' & I will get your letters—Don't be so *lazy*, & write more.

"We had a hard scout of fifteen days, eight days without bread, & raining nearly all the time—I do not know how I can ever get home again—since I have taken command of the Battalion—I came down to see Col. Walls, but found he had gone up on Ark—There [were] only a few pins at Gibson, the impression is that they have abandoned Ft. Smith—Col. Bell is on scout down there & will be back in a few days. . . . .

"I suppose you have heard of the Arest of Vann & Willie Coody—They did not kill Willie until the next day [paper torn] wounded & was crawling to the River for water, and the Picket saw him, & came over and killed him & threw his body in the River. . . . .

"Your Uncle
Joe."

Five days after Stand Watie surrendered on June 23, 1865, he appointed a delegation made up of J. A. Scales, John Spears, Joseph Vann, J. P. Davis, William Chambers, and Too-nah-na-lah Foster to secure information that would "forward the great work of establishing thorough harmony among all Indian tribes. . . . ."[14]

---

[11] D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* (New York and Chicago, 1901), 592-93. Much of the same material is to be found in an interview with Joseph Albert Scales, a son of Peter J. and Sophia Vore Scales. The latter was a daughter of Major Israel G. Vore, a prominent citizen of the Indian Territory and a resident of Webber's Falls. Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian-Pioneer History, Foreman Collection, Vol. 43, 382-417.

[12] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, (Norman, 1938), 164-65. J. A. Scales was secretary of the council which met at Armstrong Academy in August, 1863.

[13] Grant Foreman Collection, Drew Papers.

[14] Wardell, *op. cit.*, 180.

"An Act in regard to Scales and others[15]

"Whereas a communication, dated at Fort Gibson July 7th, 1865, has been presented to the National Council from J. A. Scales, Delegate of the Grand Council &c addressed to Lewis Downing, Asst. and Acting Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, submitting the communication therein referred to and requesting a conference on behalf of himself and associate delegates, with the authorities of the Cherokee Nation, Therefore

"Be it enacted by the National Council That the Principal Chief Wm. P. Ross, Smith Christie, Budd Gritts, Thomas Pegg, James McDaniel, White Catcher, James Vann and Houston Benge be and they are hereby directed to grant and hold said conference with Messrs. John Spears, J. A. Scales, J. P. Davis, Joseph Vann, Wm. P. Chambers and Too nah na lah Foster, as Cherokees and late citizens of this Nation, to assure them of the amicable feelings of the People and authorities of the Cherokee Nation towards those Cherokees who have been involved in the late war on the side of the Rebellion, of their desire for peace and of their willingness to receive and readmit to citizenship as such Cherokee individuals, in the manner and upon the conditions embraced in the Act of the National Council Approved July 13th 1865, with a copy of which they will be furnished, But the Cherokee Nation is not to be understood by their present action, as recognizing the said Cherokees in any other capacity than private persons, nor as representing any Government association or Political community of Cherokees independent of, or in opposition to the Goverment of the Cherokee Nation. Nor as committing them in any way, to the terms of any agreement entered into by said Cherokees and other parties without the knowledge or sanction of the authorities of the Cherokee Nation nor of their willingness to submit the adjudication of any questions pertaining to their domestic affairs to any Council, Tribunal or Authority than that presented by the Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation.
Tahlequah C. N.
"July 14th 1865

"Approved
"Lewis Downing Asst. and
Acting Prin. Chief"

Lewis Downing, in the absence of John Ross, called his adherents to a council in Tahlequah to decide whether the Cherokee delegation should be given a hearing. The amnesty was proclaimed on July 14, 1865:[16]

"At the same time, Scales, who seemed to have been the leader and spokesman of the delegation, was informed of a willingness to confer and of the basis upon which the truant members of the tribe, with certain exceptions, would be taken back. They were to subscribe to an oath of allegiance and surrender all claims to individual property rights. Reconciliation seemed farther off than ever. Colonel Garrett[17] was nonplussed and tried to persuade Scales that the best thing for him and his people to do was to go quietly and peaceably to their homes and there abide until such time in September as the Grand Council should reconvene."

At Armstrong Academy September 6, 1865, J. A. Scales, was Secretary of the Grand Council which was made up of Clermont,

---

[15] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives Division, Cherokee Vol. 251, 36.

[16] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian under Reconstruction*, (Cleveland, 1925), 157-9, 160-61.

[17] Colonel John A. Garrett, Fortieth Iowa Infantry, commandant of Fort Gibson.

Chief Osages; Co-not-sa-sonne; Comanche Chief; George Washington, Chief Caddoes; Luck-a-o-tse, Chief Arrapahoes; John Jumper, Chief Seminoles; Winchester Colbert, Governor Chickasaw Nation; Stand Watie, Principal Chief Cherokee Nation; Samuel Checote, Principal Chief Creek Nation; P. P. Pitchlynn, Principal Chief Choctaw Nation.[18]

The commission appointed to go to Washington in 1866 was made up of Elias Cornelius Boudinot, Stand Watie, and his son Saladin Watie, William Penn Adair, Richard Fields, Joseph Absalom Scales and John Rollin Ridge who served as chairman. This was the only time that John Rollin Ridge ever took part in the affairs of his nation. He had been obliged to flee from his home after he shot and killed David Kell. He had a distinguished career as a poet and editor in California where he made his home until his death at Grass Valley, October 5, 1867.[19]

Chief John Ross was ill in Washington in 1866, but he directed the northern delegates from his sick bed. Stand Watie was greatly needed among his followers in the nation and he took Scales with him and returned home.

On June 20, 1866, J. Woodward Washbourne wrote to Scales from the steamboat *America* urging him to have the Southern Cherokee government organize immediately. Of course Chief Ross and his delegation were not willing to have the nation divided.[20]

Major J. Woodward Washbourne was a son of Dr. Cephas Washbourne and at the beginning of the Civil War he was Seminole agent and editor of *The Arkansan,* of Fayetteville, Arkansas. He enlisted at the commencement of the war and served throughout that conflict, first with Arkansas troops and later with Stand Watie. He married a daughter of John Ridge.[21]

A convention of southern Cherokees was held at Briartown school house in Canadian District on December 31, 1866, to hear the reports of the delegates recently returned from Washington. The meeting lasted at least two days and William P. Adair, J. A. Scales, and Richard Fields were chosen to represent the southern branch of the Cherokees. The men departed for Washington as soon as possible, while W. P. Boudinot and Stand Watie stood guard at home.

Chief Downing thought that affairs in the nation would be more amicable if there was only one delegation so he appointed Adair and

---

[18] Able, *op. cit.,* 187 note 400.

[19] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Edward W. Bushyhead and John Rollin Ridge," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 14, No. 3 (September, 1936) 209-311.

[20] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers,* (Norman, 1939), 230-31, 245.

[21] Mabel Washbourne Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie and Contemporary Cherokee History,* (Pryor, Oklahoma), 1931, 73.

Scales among other southern sympathizers on a large delegation thus uniting the factions.

The first members of the Cherokee Citizenship Court were John Chambers president, Scales (who succeeded David L. Nicholson who died), O. H. P. Brewer, and George Downing.[22]

It appears that the southern faction maintained a delegation in Washington long after the treaty of 1866 was signed. Adair wrote to Watie from Webber's Falls June 20, 1867 that he was expecting Scales within a week. "When he comes we will call the people together and report to them. At this time I think our prospects in Washington are much better than they have been, provided we can beat Bill Ross for Chief which I feel assured can be done with proper management." He was correct in his surmise as Lewis Downing defeated Ross the following August.

Scales was still in the national capital in November, 1867 when Saladin Watie wrote to him from Webber's Falls on the fourth of that month:[23]

" . . . . I . . . . saw Col Adair a short time ago and he told me that he expected you back in a few days; I since herd from you threw Sulaton who said you did not speak of coming home until Christmas. Every body is very anxious to see you, more especially the girls who are very affraid you will bring home that yankee wife, and if you do you need not expect to have any friends 'here a bouts.' . . . . "

"Articles of agreement made and entered into, this sixth day of August, A.D. 1868, between the Cherokee Nation of Indians represented by the following duly authorized delegates and representatives, *viz.*, Lewis Downing, Principal Chief, H. D. Reese, Chairman, Wm. P. Adair, J. P. Davis, E. C. Boudinot, Arch Scraper, Samuel Smith, and J. A. Scales, and the Munsee or Christians of Kansas, represented by their duly authorized councilmen, Ignatius Caleb and Moses Kilbuck."

The document goes on to say that the Cherokees, actuated by motives of humanity and a sincere desire to do good to all civilized Indians, agreed to accept the Munsee or Christian Indians into the Cherokee Nation and to confer upon them all the rights and privileges of Cherokee citizens; the Munsees agreed to abide by, conform to and obey the constitution and laws of the Cherokee Nation.

In consideration for such privileges the Christian Indians agreed to pay the Cherokees four thousand dollars to become part of the National fund. This money was to be paid within sixty days after the treaty concluded between the United States and the Munsee Indians on June 1, 1868, shall have been ratified by the Senate of the United States.

---

[22] Wardell, *op. cit.*, 208, 212, 228-29 Note 17.
[23] Dale and Litton, *op. cit.*, 230-31, 245.

This document was signed in Washington by J. A. Scales and the other Cherokee delegates on August 6, 1868.[24]

At the international council held in Okmulgee in September, 1870 the Cherokee delegates were W. P. Ross, Riley Keys, Allan Ross, S. H. Benge, O. H. P. Brewer, J. A. Scales, S. M. Taylor, Stealer, Moses Alberty, Ezekial Proctor, Joseph Vann, Clement N. Vann, Stand Watie and John Sarcoxie (Delaware).

At Okmulgee, Muskogee Nation, on Tuesday, December 6, 1870, the General Council of the Indian Territory assembled with Enoch Hoag, superintendent of Indian Affairs, presiding. I. G. Vore was the secretary and the Cherokee Nation was represented by O. H. P. Brewer, S. M. Taylor, J. A. Scales, Stealer and Joseph Vann. On December 8 Moses Alberty and Ezekial Proctor took their seats. The following day Scales was put upon the committee on judiciary, in place of Clement N. Vann who resigned. Henry Chambers replaced Vann on the delegation.

On December 15, Allen Ross, chairman of the committee on international relations, submitted the report of his committee in the form of a resolution tendering to the wild tribes of the Plains the hand of friendship, and recommending to them the prudence of refraining from acts of hostility among themselves, as well as against the citizens of the United States . On the motion of Scales the report was unanimously adopted. [25]

Scales was nominated for member at large to the General Council from the Cherokee Nation on November 13 ,1871. He was a delegate to the International Council in September and December, 1870, June, 1872 and May, 1873. He also attended the General Indian Council at Wichita Agency in April, 1871 as a delegate of his nation.

One of the most tragic occurrences in Cherokee history took place at Goingsnake Courthouse in April, 1872, in which eight United States marshals and three Indians were killed. "Major Joab Scales, a prominent lawyer in the Cherokee Nation, is in town. He was present at the Indian fight and was one of the attorneys prosecuting Ezekial Proctor for murder."[26]

The Fourth International Council composed of delegates from the Indian tribes legally resident in the Indian Territory, assembled at Okmulgee from the fifth to the tenth of May, 1873.

J. A. Scales was one of the eleven delegates from the Cherokee Nation and at the meeting on May 7 he moved that the rules for the

---

[24] This agreement is to be found in *Laws of the Cherokee Nation,* 1868 (Tah-le-Quah, 1870), 28.

[25] Forty-first Congress, third session, Ex. Doc. No. 26, Message of the President of the United States, [U. S. Grant] January 30, 1871, 15-21.

[26] *Fort Smith Herald,* April 20, 1872, 3, col. 4; April 18, 1872, 2, col. 3.

deliberation of the previous session of the Council be adopted for the present session. During the afternoon session on May 9 Scales moved that the committee on International Relations be instructed to take into consideration the best method of inducing the Cheyennes to confederate with the nations and tribes.

On May 10 Scales was appointed chairman of the committee on credentials and on his motion the chair added Mr. John McKinney, Choctaw, to the committee on International Relations.

When the report of the credentials committee in the case of the Miami delegate was read Mr. Scales interposed some objection to the phraseology, saying "some words occurred in it which he thought were unnecessarily pointed." Joseph P. Folsom, of the Choctaw Nation, spoke in support of the spirit of the report and showed the reasons for the use of the objectionable words.[27]

When J. P. Folsom submitted a memorial to the Council to be presented to the President of the United States praying for a liberation of the Kiowa chiefs Satanta and Big Tree, Scales requested that a few verbal alterations be made. The following day he submitted a substitute because the original was couched in bad English.

Mr. R. E. Blackstone of the Cherokee delegation, excused the committee by saying that it was made up of Indians, who thought in Indian, and hence the irregularities of their English; Scales advised not to write in English when they were thinking in Indian. Mr. Folsom replied that the committee was competent to write and transact its business much better in Indian, but that he feared Scales could not well manage business coming up in that shape.

Folsom actively opposed the Dawes Commission in 1895. He was president of the Senate at that time and during the session of the Council he introduced a bill "providing that any citizen who should attempt to overthrow the Choctaw government of system of landholding or to convey any Choctaw lands to non-citizens 'or attempt to betray said land and Choctaw country into the hands of a foreign power' should be guilty of treason and subject to a jail

[27] Joseph Pitchlynn Folsom, born in 1823, was educated at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky and at Dartmouth College. He was a three-quarter Indian, and attorney of note in his nation. His wife was a Seneca Indian. He attended the General Council in 1870 and took an active part in the Council of 1873 when he was a member of the Committee on Education, a member of the Special Committee and chairman of the Committee on Relations with the United States (*Journal of the Fourth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory at Okmulgee, Indian Territory*. . . . Lawrence, Kansas, 1873). In 1875 Folsom was one of the organizers of the International Printing Company which issued the *Indian Journal* at Muskogee.

Folsom compiled an official digest of all the Choctaw legislation enacted before 1869. He opposed the charter granted to the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad and he was defeated as chief by Jackson McCurtain in 1884.

sentence and fine for the first offense and death for the second." This bill passed the Senate but failed to pass the House.[28]

" . . . . . On the 19th of November, 1874, the national council of the Cherokee nation passed an act authorizing the principal chief, William P. Ross, to appoint three commissioners to revise, amend and codify the existing laws and prepare new laws as the conditions of the nation demanded. The commissioners appointed were Messrs. William P. Boudinot, D. H. Ross, and Joseph A. Scales."[29]

The delegation to Washington in 1874-75, composed of D. H. Ross, Adair, and Scales was charged to "give all the aid in their power. . . . . to the 'Old Settler' Cherokees in the prosecution of their interests, yet due them, of the percapita funds, set apart to the Cherokees by the treaties of 1835-36 and 1846."

The Cherokee Advocate on August 8, 1877, published the news that Hon. Solicitor General, Maj. J. A. Scales of Webbers Falls had been prostrated by a severe stroke of paralysis and that Dr. William Campbell, his physician, gave no hope of a permanent recovery.[30]

However, in August, 1878 Major Scales went to Hot Springs, Arkansas to spend two or three months for the benefit of his health. In November he was appointed clerk of the citizenship commission and the *Advocate* declared: "A better selection could not have been made—in fact we look upon Scales as being one of the best men in our Nation."[31]

The Cherokee National Council granted J. Scales a lease on the saline known as Drew's Saline, Canadian District and the act was approved December 9, 1881. His lease was to run for "five years, free of tax, with the privilege of leasing the same thereafter in accordance with the provisions of the existing law in relation to 'minerals.' " Scales was also granted the free and unmolested use of all of the timber within one-half mile from the salt well for the purpose of operating it—provided that it did not interfere with the improvements of any citizen within that area.

It was further provided that no claim on account of any improvement made by Scales, should arise against the Nation, "but all such improvements, excepting kettles and movable machinery,

---

[28] Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), 123, 166-67, 195, 215-16, 252.

[29] D. C. Gideon, *History of the Indian Territory* (New York and Chicago, 1901), 854; Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian-Pioneer History, Foreman Collection, Vol. 7, 184. Interview with Mrs. Elinor Boudinot Meigs. This edition of the *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation* was issued at St. Louis in 1875.

[30] Major Scales was Assistant Executive Secretary of the Cherokee Nation in 1879, 1891 and 1893. He also served as Executive Secretary.

[31] *Cherokee Advocate*, August 24, 1878; *ibid.*, November 9, 1878.

shall revert to the Cherokee Nation, whenever the said Joseph A. Scales ceases to operate said saline. . . . ."[32]

That Judge Scales had a gift for language is demonstrated by letter from him which appeared in the Vinita *Indian Chieftain* March 10, 1887.

J. H. Akin, an attorney at Vinita, had sent a letter to the *Chieftain* which was printed on January 13, in which he indulged in severe criticism of the Supreme court. He signed his communication "Subscriber" and Scales obtained his name from the editor so as to answer him directly. He wrote:

"I . . . . was curious to know which of the attorneys before the supreme court was so wanting in decency as to write such an article. I inferred from the internal evidence that it was the product of some disappointed pettifogger who desired to attain notoriety by attempting to cast odium upon the court and its officers. But singularly protected by your utter insignificance your name did not occur to me, and I did like to go skunk hunting in the dark.

"It is not my intention to defend the decisions of the court. They need none, and besides I am not responsible for them. I may however be allowed to say that the court has been able to discriminate between a constitutional requirement and a provision of the statute in relation to 'formal' defects, and it has also been able to judge whether some of the literary curiosities called 'bonds' were really such, and some times it has thought they were not. In this it is different with the fools who thought otherwise, but of course the court would think it beneath its dignity to enter into a newspaper controversy with every lying scribbler who might wish to avail this method through spleen or malevolence, to ventilate his imaginary grievances." The remainder of the letter is couched in the bitterest sarcasm which was calculated to remove the hide from any animal with a thinner skin than a rhinoceros and it closed with "you have been abundantly blessed with ignorance and self conceit and had not the good Lord benevolently made you an ass, you would have been a scoundrel."

The Cherokee Advocate of January 22, 1890, contained an article regarding the tragic death of Judge Lynch. Particulars of the accident were sent to the editor, R. F. Wiley, by Judge Scales so that an account could be given to the readers of the paper. Judge Lynch died on January 14th. He had driven to Briartown and on the return trip, near the home of Mrs. Vore, he drove his buggy on a stump and broke the double tree. He placed the broken pieces in the buggy, followed his horses a short distance, mounted one of them and rode away. About a mile distant he was found at dark, and taken to his home where he died shortly afterward. From appearances, it was thought that one of the horses had fallen on him. " . . . . He was one of the most respected men in this nation. He has often represented his district in the National Council, filled the position of circuit judge, and at the time of his death, a chief justice of a special supreme bench."

[32] *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Cherokee Nation, enacted during the Regular and Special Sessions of the Years* 1881-2-3 (Tahlequah, 1884), 39.

Scales was among the Downing men considered as a candidate for principal chief at the election in 1891 when C. J. Harris was elected.[33] He filled a really important position when he was selected to serve on the committee to dispose of the Cherokee Outlet; his fellow committeemen were Elias Cornelius Boudinot, the Reverend Joseph Smallwood, Roach Young, George Downing, Thomas Smith, and William Triplett.[34]

Judge Scales expressed his opinion on a number of national questions in a letter published in the *Vinita Chieftain,* March 20, 1890. Regarding the disposition of the western portion of the Cherokee Nation he declared:

" . . . . I favor the sale of the lands lying west of the Arkansas river, because they must be, in the near future, abandoned by the cattlemen; be left, unproductive, upon our hands, be open to inroads by the greedy and lawless hordes of Kansas and adjacent states.

"I believe, however, when we are offered a fair price, it will be wise to sell—especially, if in the arrangement we can strengthen our rights—not of soil, but political—east of the ninety-sixth degree. It ought not to be considered a party question—all should desire the fairest price possible, and endeavor to get it."

He advised that the funds be invested so that the interest might be used for schools where the Cherokee children would learn English and white pupils Cherokee:

" [Thus] the next generation of adults would be brought nearer together in sympathy, language and interest. . . . .

"Judging from my personal acquaintance, I think the number of white men intermarried who claim an interest in our soil other than that of their wives and children—insignificant. And while I think we made a very poor bargain with the Shawnees, I do not question their right to share with us. The same may be said of the children born of the Delawares since their incorporation. There may be a question as to the rights of the older ones.[35]

"I do not believe the negro entitled to a cent of our money, or to a foot of land. In 1866, after the war of the rebellion had ended, and the Indians that had been involved in it, were readjusting their relations with

---

[33] Wardell, *op. cit.,* 345.

[34] Elias Cornelius Boudinot was editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* in 1879 and in 1885; The Reverend Joseph Smallwood was solicitor of Going Snake District in 1883, delegate to Washington in 1895 and judge of Going Snake District in 1897; Roach Young served as senator from Illinois District in 1893 and 1895. Earlier in life he was chairman of the Citizen Court in 1879 and in 1885 he was associate judge of the Supreme Court.

George Downing was elected sheriff of Saline District in 1867; executive councilor in 1877 and councilor for Tahlequah District in 1885. Thomas Smith had been an executive councilor in 1899. William Triplett was councilor of Tahlequah District in 1877, senator from Tahlequah District in 1889 and judge of that district in 1895 (Starr, *op. cit.,* 235, 289, 296, 270, 298, 293, 280, 295, 287, 269, 277, 285).

[35] In June, 1869, an agreement was reached with the Shawnees whereby 770 members of that tribe removed to the Cherokee Nation. On April 8, 1867, agreement had been arrived at with the Delawares who purchased 160 acres of land for each member of the tribe at $1.00 an acre (Wardell, *op. cit.,* 219, 217).

the United States, the Creeks being the least intelligently represented, on the so-called loyal side, and being more than any of the civilized tribes dominated by negro influence, the government took advantage of their weakness, and negotiated the first treaty with them, the second article of which is as follows:

" 'The Creeks hereby covenant and agree, that henceforth, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties have been duly convicted . . . . shall exist in said nation, and in as much as there are among the Creeks many persons of African descent, who have no interest in the soil, it is stipulated that hereafter these persons, lawfully residing in the Creek country, under their laws, usages, or who have been thus residing in said country, and may return within one year from the ratification of this treaty and such others of the same race as may be permitted by the laws of said nation to settle within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Creek Nation as citizens (thereof) shall have and enjoy all the rights and privileges of native citizens, including an equal interest in the soil and national funds, and the laws of said nation, shall be equally binding upon, and give equal protection to all such persons, and of all others of whatsoever race or color who may be adopted as citizens or members of said nation.

"It is only necessary to compare the Cherokee and Creek articles, in relation to the Negro to see that striking difference between them and that they do not mean the same thing. The Cherokee treaty is as follows:

" 'Article 9th. The Cherokee nation hereby voluntarily in February 1863, by an act of their national council, forever abolished slavery, hereby covenant and agree that never hereafter shall slavery or involuntary servitude exist in their nation, otherwise than for punishment of crime. . . . . They further agree that all freedmen who have been liberated by voluntary acts of their former owners or by law, as well as all free colored persons who were in the country at the commencement of the rebellion, and are now resident therein, or who may return within six months, and their descendants, shall have all the rights of native Cherokees, provided, that owners of slaves so emancipated in the Cherokee nation, shall never receive any compensation or pay for the slaves as emancipated.' You do not here find any mention of lands, or soil, or national funds. . . . .

"If the 9th article of the Cherokee treaty conveys any rights of property to the Negro, it is the first recorded instance of the kind where property was conveyed without naming it, since the 'earth was divided' in the days of Peleg. . . . ."[36]

The Cherokees had made an agreement with the Jerome Commission at Tahlequah on December 19, 1891 and it was followed by articles of agreement made and concluded between the United States and the Cherokee Nation in Washington on May 17, 1893.[37]

---

[36] Peleg, son of Eber, and fourth in descent from Shem. His name Peh-leg, means division or separation, and is said to have been given him because in his days the earth was divided (Samuel Fallows (ed.) *Bible Encyclopaedia* (Chicago, 1902), Vol. 2, 1301).

[37] *The Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Indian Territory, June 24, 1893, 1, col. 8.

At the International Council held in Checotah on February 19, 1894, the Cherokees were represented by J. A. Scales, L. B. Bell, and S. M. Mayes as provided by an act of the National Council.[38]

The election of Scales as an associate justice of the Supreme Court was a tribute to his standing as an attorney. His first term in 1881 was followed by a second on October 6, 1882. The following month he was elected Chief Justice. John Wright Alberty succeeded to the high office in 1883 and Jackson Christy on March 2, 1885. James McDaniel Keys was the next Chief Justice and he was succeeded by Joseph Absalom Scales.[39]

In the Indian-Pioneer History project of the Oklahoma Historical Society an interview was had with Watt Gott of Hulbert, Oklahoma, in which he related:

"A speech was made by Joab Scales, a confirmed Confederate, and what he said about the *Dawes Commission* was: 'There is not a bakers dozen of you in this crowd who do not know that the Dawes Commission are going to give to your old slaves as much land as you will get.' Well it just about so happened, and the Cherokees did not approve of the Freedman Act at all, but they knew they were whipped."[40]

Judge Scales died on Friday, October 18, 1901 and his remains were laid to rest in the family burying ground near Webbers Falls. His widow Mrs. Amanda Scales continued to occupy the Scales home.

---

[38] *Ibid.*, February 14, 1894, 2, col. 7. Lucian Burr Bell, better known as "Hooley" Bell, was a native of Habersham County, Georgia. He was born February 13, 1838; his parents were John A. Bell and Jane Martin, a daughter of Chief Justice John Martin. He was educated in Arkansas and served in the Confederate Army under Stand Watie. After the war he became clerk in the senate and held that office from 1873 to 1877. In 1881 he was a member of the townsite commission. Mr. Bell was appointed by Treasurer Bushyhead to take charge of the revenue from the Strip, " . . . . the first man who proved the possibility of deriving revenue from that source." He attended several of the International Councils, was a member of the Cherokee senate, and a delegate to Washington on several occasions (H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* [Saint Louis, 1892], 314-16.

Samuel Houston Mayes, a son of Samuel and Nancy Adair Mayes, was born in Flint District, Cherokee Nation, on May 11, 1845. After the war he was educated in Rusk County, Texas. He began his public career in 1881 when elected sheriff of Cooweecoowee District for two years. In 1885 he was chosen as senator from his district and was reelected in 1891. Mayes reached the highest office among his people when he was elected principal chief in 1895 (Gideon, *op. cit.*, 280-81).

[39] Starr, *op. cit.*, 293.

[40] Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 84, 259.

IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF

Joseph Absalom Scales

Died Friday
October 18, 1901 Aged 69 years 3 mon 26 days

Jesus while our hearts are bleeding
O'er the spoils that death has won,
We would, at this solemn meeting,
Calmly say: "Thy will be done."

Though cast down we're not forsaken
Though afflicted, not alone;
Thou didst give and Thou hast taken
Blessed Lord, Thy will be done.

(From original in Grant Foreman Collection)

FUNERAL CARD, BLACK AND SILVER LETTERING.

OFFICIAL RECEPTION OF THE WHIPPLE PAPERS

By Charles Evans

Promptly at eleven o'clock A.M., October 28, 1950 President Key announced that the program which had been developed by the Board of Directors and relating to the official presentation of the valuable, historical material given to the heirs of Lt. A. W. Whipple would be taken up.[1]

The President said: "I have here a telegram from a truly great son of Oklahoma—General Patrick J. Hurley. The Secretary read the telegram:

> DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR KIND INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN PROGRAM OCTOBER " THE ACCENTING PRESENTATION TO YOUR SOCIETY OF WHIPPLE COLLECTION. THROUGH MY FRIEND COL. WHIPPLE AND MEMBERS OF THE WHIPPLE FAMILY I WAS HAPPY TO ASSIST GOVERNOR TURNER IN OBTAINING THIS SPLENDID COLLECTION FOR OKLAHOMA. A PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT PREVENTS ME FROM BEING PRESENT BUT I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE HONOR YOU HAVE SHOWN ME IN ASKING ME TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAM. KINDEST REGARDS TO YOU THE GOVERNOR AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY AND THE WHIPPLES.
>
> **Patrick J. Hurley**

The President then said:

"May I invite the attention of our distinguished guests to the exhibits in the next room. They are the documents which we have already received physically but which we are going to formally accept today. We want all visitors to see these exhibits.

"The Oklahoma Historical Society is a public agency. This building was erected for its use. Our Society is young in years but rich in historical data, largely because of the leaders of our great country who contributed to the establishment of Oklahoma. In many ways we are indebted to the Army, for after all Oklahoma was pretty much the testing grounds of the Army. We are also indebted to the old missionaries, to the surveyors and the engineers and to the Indian and Governmental leaders who made the early history of this great State. This commonwealth of which we are so proud,

---

[1] The Whipple Collection in brief, consists of the following: 32 leather bound notebooks (journals covering Mexican Boundary and Pacific R. R. surveys); 7 maps; 14 manuscripts including 8 letters; 48 art pieces (original drawings and paintings of botannical specimens, scenes, and characters—artist H. B. Mollhausen—4 by Tidball); 16 lithographs—Mollhausen, Tidball, Kern); 18 small proofs of lithographs marked on margin "Approved by W. P. Blake;" 3 printed items including book by Simpson. Total of 138 items.

is collecting and preserving its records in the Archives of this fine building.

"Our Historical Society, comprising the citizenship of Oklahoma and the Board of Directors, meet quarterly. We have an executive group who operate the affairs of this Society and the Directors meet quarterly to direct the channels of the organization and this happens to be the last quarterly meeting of the year.

"The Governor will arrive shortly. He is particularly appreciative of this historical collection. We might say to the grandchildren of General Whipple and to the great-grandson, Mr. Dudley Stoddard, that the Whipple family should feel at home in Oklahoma. It is a family of distinguished soldiers. Four generations of West Pointers comprise the Whipple family. The original General Whipple, whose documents have been given to us, was the first to serve in Oklahoma, and then General Whipple's son also served here and later a grandson and a great-grandson saw service in Oklahoma. I would like to tell you, Prof. Whipple, because you are the father of two fine soldiers, that Oklahoma has been the testing ground of the army for almost a century and a half; that the first white settler in what is now Oklahoma was the fourteenth graduate of West Point, Lieutenant Auguste Chouteau, who resigned from the Army and became a distinguished citizen of Indian Territory. Since that original West Pointer settled here a great many officers who later distinguished themselves in the Mexican War and in the Civil War received their training in Oklahoma. So you should feel at home. This is really not only the home of the Red Man but the home of the soldier man. Your distinguished grandfather would not recognize in this land of peace and progress the undeveloped wilderness through which he passed almost 100 years ago.

"We are greatly honored by the presence of our distinguished guests. I want to ask one of our Directors and a fellow soldier, Colonel George Shirk to introduce our guests."

Colonel Shirk spoke as follows:

"It is quite a distinction to be the one to introduce to Oklahomans a family who has known our country for one hundred years. General A. W. Whipple who came here in 1849 and made a survey in 1853, had four children, among them, Charles William Whipple who was appointed to West Point by President Lincoln. He served in what is now Oklahoma. General Charles William Whipple had five children. Of the four who are living today, three of them are here with us now. His oldest son is Professor William Whipple, now a resident of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His next child is Colonel Sherburne Whipple, U. S. Army, who could not be present today. He is likewise a graduate of West Point. He resides in North Carolina. He also has a son who is stationed at Fort Sam Houston

who had planned to be here but wired us this morning that he could not come. General Charles William Whipple's next child was Annette Whipple, now Mrs. Arthur M. Collens of Hartford, Connecticut; and his next was Eleanor, who is now Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard of New York City. So we have present the three grandchildren of General A. W. Whipple, and General Whipple's great-grandson, Dudley W. Stoddard. He, too, has served in the army in Oklahoma. He is the 'lad' who actually and physically brought the records here in June and gave them to this Society."

At This Time Hon. Roy J. Turner, Governor of Oklahoma Enters

The audience arising and cheering, President Key, said, "May I present the Ex-Officio Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the popular and efficient Governor of Oklahoma, Hon. Roy J. Turner."

Governor Turner spoke as follows:

"General Key and all of the family of General A. W. Whipple and all of those responsible for this fine contribution to the great history of Oklahoma: It is a real pleasure for me to have the privilege of thanking you for this gift; the word gift came to my mind but it really is more than a gift to the Historical Society. It is something for Oklahomans who are now here, and others who will visit this beautiful Historical Building in years to come to use and to treasure. I have read something about the work and explorations that Lieutenant, later General Whipple, made during his trip through this country, some one hundred years ago. We realize that this is a historical collection that would be appreciated by any historical society in America and therefore, we are more than proud that it is made a possession of Oklahoma. I want to offer profound tribute to all of our friends who had a part in securing this contribution from the Whipple family. We are proud of our remarkable progress in an area that we believe is more than important to the Southwest. I think I can assure you, knowing the efficient historical work that is being done in this Society that this collection will be treasured by all Oklahomans. And to you, the heirs of the illustrious General A. W. Whipple, I express my everlasting appreciation."

At the conclusion of the remarks of Governor Turner, General Key introduced Professor William Whipple, Dean of Engineering, Louisiana State University, grandson of General A. S. Whipple, in these words:

"We already have possession of these valuable documents. The great grandson of General Whipple brought them down about two months ago, but we postponed the official reception of them until this time. I want to recognize a member of the family who will present on behalf of this distinguished family these valuable gifts.

This gentleman typifies the blending of the finest characteristics of the northern and southern people of this great country. He is a lovable Yankee who moved to Louisiana, married a beautiful Rebel girl, and reared a family in the heart of the old South. He is a graduate of M.I.T. and has been Dean of Engineering at Louisiana State University for many years. I am proud to introduce Professor William Whipple, grandson of General A. W. Whipple, who will officially present these documents to us."

The audience gave eager attention as Professor Whipple made in brief this reply:

"Governor Turner, General Key, President of this Oklahoma Historical Society, and Directors and Members, I am really a poor choice of the family to perform this service. My two sisters wished the job on me. Nevertheless, my sister, Mrs. Stoddard, really did a great deal of investigation before deciding that this was the best place for the storing of these documents. We wanted to put them in a place where they would be appreciated. We are sure now that we have made no mistake. We have been delighted with the reception we have had. We are sorry that Dr. Grant Foreman will not be here because it was his book, really, that first brought our attention to the fact that you have this fine society and his magnificent fireproof building. It was made clear that you had rich archives, the Indian Division of which is second only, perhaps, to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington. Your Governor had a great deal to do in making us realize that this sacred historical material presented to you this day would be properly preserved and used. My nephew, Dudley Stoddard, has made the physical presentation. May I say that I have one boy who is now in the Engineering group of the Army and one, a Captain in the Navy, and they want me to say how sorry they are that they could not be present. Dudley represents with them this latest generation of our family. On behalf of my two sisters, also for my brother, Colonel Sherburne Whipple, and for myself, I assure you it is a great pleasure to present this historical collection to the Oklahoma Historical Society. This flower, which I hold in my hand, came out of a bouquet, which you kindly placed in my hotel room, and I offer it as a token of the feeling of our family of the happy hospitality extended while in your city to all of us. I thank you."

At the conclusion of these words of presentation, General Key said, "You have gladdened our hearts, Professor Whipple, and now I observe that Hon. R. H. Hefner, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court and Mayor for many years of our City, wishes to say a word."

Judge Hefner said he wished merely to urge that the audience should have a word from the other members of the Whipple family. General Key then introduced Mrs. Annette Whipple Collens of

Hartford, Connecticut, granddaughter of General Whipple. Her good husband is Chairman of the Board of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company at Hartford, Connecticut, represented by a distinguished citizen here today, Mr. George C. Summy. Mrs. Collens arose and in a happy fashion said: "All I can say is that we are most happy that these papers have come into this wonderful historical Society for their permanent home and that is something for which we have been hunting for a long time."

Mrs. Eleanor Whipple Stoddard, another granddaughter of General Whipple, charming mother of Mr. Dudley W. Stoddard, was introduced and she made a reply in a single sentence, "I am glad to be here."

Mr. Dudley W. Stoddard was called upon. He said, "I think it is not quite fair to call upon me. However, I might say that when I came down here with my great grandfather's papers in June of this year, I knew that this was the exact place where they should rest and I persuaded my family to come here today because I wanted them to see for themselves what a perfect place it is for my great grandfather's records."

The suggestion was made at this time by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour that our distinguished guests, Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard, New York City; Prof. William Whipple, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Col. Sherburne Whipple, Biltmore, North Carolina; Mrs. Arthur M. Collens, Hartford, Connecticut; Mr. Dudley W. Stoddard, New York City, be made honorary Life Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. In line with this suggestion Judge Edgar S. Vaught made the motion that the names here presented should be made honorary Life Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and the motion was carried unanimously.

President Key then turning to the Secretary said, "I am going to ask our distinguished Secretary, Dr. Charles Evans, to formally accept this fine collection on behalf of the Society."

Dr. Evans Spoke as Follows:

"Governor Turner, Mr. President, Members of the Board of Directors, distinguished donors of these valuable historical documents, and distinguished guests: At the very outset of what I have to say, I wish to make this observation that since I have been in public life in Oklahoma, some forty-five years, I do not believe I have ever seen assembled in a room of this proportion, a more splendid citizenship. It is good to know that a majority of the Supreme Court of the State, many heads of the State Departments, great leaders in the avenues of Oklahoma development, past and present, and these graced and ennobled by the presence and participation of

the Governor of Oklahoma, are here today. It is well that you have come to meet this wonderful family that has given to us this priceless gift.

"In order to understand an occasion of this kind which crowns with tribute a movement or a period, it is necessary to set a background. This is no ordinary occasion. In order to appreciate an hour like this in its fulness, it is well to take such a vantage point which permits one to view history in the large.

"The currents of life which have moved through the centuries and that have served to make America the leading Nation of the World, are flowing through this room and making this occasion possible.

"The European races of Caucasian blood coming upon these shores found here a noble race. The Indian leaders that met men like Penn of Pennsylvania, Elliott and Roger Williams of New England and John Smith of Virginia, had as much to give in all that really counts for courage—justice, honor and right, as these early discoverers and explorers had to offer them. Through the infiltration and neighborly relationship set up between the great Indian tribes of the Southeast and South—the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws, and other tribes, an amalgamation of blood took place that made an American, possessing all the characteristics of the higher European stock and those of the brave, intrepid, honorable and daring North American Indian.

"In the fell clutch of circumstance in the latter part of the third decade of the nineteenth century, yielding to the avarice and greed for land and gold, found in the blood of all human beings, these Southeastern first American's were stripped of their lands and possessions; their laws were set aside; their schools and churches and printing presses were despoiled and the American Government under military leadership brought them into this region now known as the State of Oklahoma. With great leaders like John Ross, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, they knew their rights, and knowing, dared maintain them.

"May I pause to state at this time that I believe one of the great books has not yet been written. I predict, or almost prophesy that some future historian with a clear and penetrative eye, not straying into other fields and not taking up other things, will hold steadily to the story that will tell how the American Indian in the land of Oklahoma met the Caucasian civilization of that day and eye-to-eye and foot-to-foot fought for equal rights and equal power and beneath overwhelming odds won the contest. The Oklahoma Indian won his battle, and because of this Indian prowess and courage and intelligent leadership, we can say of Oklahoma at this hour something that can not be said of any other Commonwealth in the

(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen, Whipple Collection)

View of Fort Smith from north bank of Arkansas River, 1853.

American Union: Here is the only state where the race of the first American, together with the sturdy stock of the finest Caucasian race, met and mingled to build up the one state only which upon its entrance into the American Union November 16, 1907, recognized and placed the American Indian on the same level and in co-partnership with the Caucasian race in bringing to the Union an American commonwealth. This is the central theme of a great book yet unwritten.

"Out of these merging forces, there appears in this room today two outstanding figures. One is that of a scion of a splendid New England family, a graduate of West Point, an adventurous spirit, who choosing civil engineering for his life work, found himself at the age of thirty-five called by those in high authority of the United States Government, to make a survey for a possible railroad, stretching from St. Louis through Jefferson City, on to Ft. Smith, Arkansas, and thence to the gold fields of California. Jefferson Davis, serving as Secretary of War under Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, hearing the clamor of the Gold Rush occasioned by the discovery of gold in 1848, made a provision for this railroad survey. He choose Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, a graduate of West Point who had proved himself an engineer of courage and initiative. He gathered about him a squadron of soldiers of the United States Army with military equipment. Perhaps the most outstanding proof of the wisdom and vision of this young Whipple was displayed when he chose to make this expedition into the Western wilderness, was that he chose as his aids, a Dr. J. M. Bigelow, physician and botanist; Jules Marcu, geological and mining engineer; Dr. C. B. R. Kennerly, physician and naturalist; H. B. Mollhausen, Topographer and artist; Hugh Campbell, Assistant Astronomer; William White, Jr., Assistant Geological observer and surveyor; George Gibson Garner, Assistant Astronomer and Secretary; John P. Sherburne, Assistant Meterologist, observer and surveyor; Thomas H. Clarke, Computor and Walter Jones, Jr., Assistant Surveyor. Behold what an aggregation of real discoverers, recorders and future historians this young man, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple brought about him. He moved out of Ft. Smith, Arkansas to enter the Oklahoma country, where we are sitting at this present hour, and on into the unyielding and unconquered West until finally in 1854 he arrived at the little town of Los Angeles. He took a route so clear and accurate that the Santa Fe Railroad uses it at this present time, to reach the Golden West.

Time forbids that we enter into any further details of this survey. However, it would be unfair to the very nature and character of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple and this splendid audience here today, embracing as it does the grandchildren and great-grandson, not to trace a line or two revealing the later growth of his life. Returning from the West, the military powers sent him to various points of

the United States—Red River on the South to the great lake regions and New England of the North to build proper defenses and forts for the growing Nation. The War came and immediately he was called by President Lincoln to be Chief Engineer for the defense of the City of Washington. He yearned for the soldier's life and was placed in command in due time of a division of the Federal Army, as a Brigadier General. Destiny moved him forward until on May 4, 1863, General Whipple found his men battling bitterly with Stonewall Jackson's Army in the Battle of the Wilderness. While near a battery directing construction of some earth works near the apex of the salient which extended into the Confederate lines, Whipple was mortally wounded by a sharpshooter. The bullet passed through his belt and stomach and came out of the small of his back close to the spinal column. The General was taken to Washington where he never regained consciousness. Just prior to death, President Lincoln caused him to be commissioned a Major General of Volunteers. Whipple died in Washington on May 7, 1863. President Lincoln attended his funeral and said, that he was there as a friend of the family and not as President of the United States. The President not only gave his autographed photograph to the widow, but he gave a presidential appointment to the older son of his friend. After Lincoln was assassinated, there was found on his desk a note asking his successor, if anything happened to him, to appoint the younger son of General Whipple to Annapolis. This, President Andrew Johnson faithfully performed.

The other figure that makes this occasion possible was another young lawyer who entered this country in the early territorial days and finding within his powers the ability to choose the real love of his life's work, he fixed his eye on the history of the Indian tribes centered in and about Muskogee or what is now Eastern Oklahoma, and became through the years the leading historian relating to Indian life, not only in this region but many spheres, the most prolific writer and best authority on Indian affairs in America.

I refer to Dr. Grant Foreman, who joined the Society on November 6, 1923 and was elected a member of the Board of Directors February 5, 1924. From that day until this good hour, Dr. Foreman has been the leading light in this Society's greatest field and that is to make it a genuine depository of the broadest and richest archives of the Caucasion and Indian races, which purpose has brought it to its present high state. In February 1927, Dr. Foreman introduced a resolution before the Directors of the Society petitioning Congress of the United States, since its supervision of the Indians composing the Five Civilized Tribes was drawing to a close, that the records not essential to the administration of Indian affairs would be given over to the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to be properly arranged and classified for reference purposes and to be

protected against loss. Congress carried out this request and the first great step was taken whereby it can be said at this time that through the great vision of Dr. Foreman we have here more than two and a half million pages of manuscripts, making the second largest Indian Archives in America. In order to carry out the promise made to Congress that these records so valuable to posterity would be lodged in a worthy, fireproof building, Dr. Foreman and Judge R. L. Williams, together with such other men as Judge Doyle, H. L. Muldrow, Baxter Taylor, and other of like mind on the Board, set up July 25, 1929 in his Society, a special division of mechanism of steel filing cases, typewriters, cards, etc., and on September 9, 1929, they called Mrs. Rella Looney, the good lady who is now taking notes at this table and whose service can not be too highly defined, and these archives began to take practical and profitable shape; this called for a better building and so in that year the Board of Directors secured $500,000 and upon this spot this building was erected and dedicated on November 16, 1930, before a great concourse of people with Governor William J. Holloway, presiding. This home of history, as Mrs. Stoddard called it, immediately placed the Oklahoma Historical Society in the van of the leading historical societies of America. Such in brief, too brief in truth, is just the beginning of the remarkable work done by this truly great historian, Dr. Grant Foreman. And it would be wholly unfair and inaccurate if it is not said that his aim could not have been so high, nor his labors so broad and so fruitful, had it not been that another eminent historian, his beloved wife, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, had not been as she is today at his side. He has served this Society without compensation. Though he is on a sick bed, he is with pen still enriching our fields of history and he is still defining ways whereby priceless records of Oklahoma history can be brought to these archives.

"In January 1941, there appeared from Dr. Foreman's pen a book from the University of Oklahoma Press, entitled *A Pathfinder in the Southwest.* Time is too brief to tell you how this eminent writer became familiar with the marvelous records of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, a pathfinder of this Southwest; how he met the members of this distinguished family sitting here now in this room; how all the features relating to the constant persistence and remarkable research has brought about this occasion, and brought to this building this wonderful collection coveted by all the historical societies of America acquainted with its nature.

"In this letter which I hold in my hand, Dr. Foreman states: 'I have known the Whipple and Stoddard family for a long time. Mr. Stoddard, at one time, opened up the question by asking me where I thought would be a good place to deposit the papers of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple. This conversation, and further negotia-

tions with the family resulted in the Oklahoma Historical Society securing them.'

"In the front of this book, Dr. Foreman has written this: 'To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

'Herewith my book, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest; the journal of A. W. Whipple during his Exploration for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the years 1853-54.* I present this to you in order to preserve in our archives a record of an interesting service to this country this illustrious Army officer. In part to celebrate this occasion when the surviving representatives of General Whipple have come to our building to present to us a gracious gesture of appreciation of our desire to preserve them, the papers of General Whipple, concluding the negotiations between me and the said representatives begun nearly ten years ago. In presenting this book I ask only that it be received as a proxy to represent me at the meeting.

October 26, 1950 (signed) Grant Foreman

"This request, needless to say, will be sacredly kept. This book will be placed in the library of this institution along with other remarkable books and documents in a beautiful case where in future years some of the story of this occasion may be read.

"So, in conclusion, Ladies and Gentlemen, here in this Society's home, these more than valuable historical documents, which even in their material worth could not be very well estimated, will repose in well protected vaults and cases. Here, future generations will come and learn the story of a great—truly great, American, who had much to do with pointing the way to the beauty, the riches and future glory of Oklahoma."

The President took over at this time and said: "As we come to the last part of the program we are reminded that Dr. Grant Foreman, Director of Historical Research, who in the largest measure has made this occasion possible, is not able to be present today. Through the long years he has served as a director of this institution. He has both in deed and thought been a shining light in the life of this institution and has shed constant luster upon it as perhaps the foremost Indian historian, not only of Oklahoma, but America. We more than deplore his absence today. One of his co-workers in the field of history and his ardent friend, Dr. E. E. Dale, also a director, is here today. I am going to call upon him at this time for a few words.

Dr. Dale arose and said: "It would not become anyone at this time to assume to take the place of Dr. Grant Foreman on this program. I shall not attempt it. I shall merely say that for a long

period of years I have served in the Department of History and Research in Oklahoma University. It has been my constant aim to obtain from every source possible, books, letters, everything that would reveal a better story of this State and region. This has led me into strange and remote places. It has been my privilege to bring here many collections, which in my mind were valuable. I shall continue to do this work. These papers we are receiving here today are from many standpoints almost priceless. In material worth many institutions would give a good sum for their possession. But over and beyond that, though I have studied the collection only indirectly and in a sense superficially, yet I know enough of this collection given us by this gracious family of Major General A. W. Whipple that these archives here will be all the more valuable because they shall rest here.''

President Key introduced many of the dignitaries present, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Denver N. Davison, together with his assistant Justices, Gibson, Arnold, Welch and Johnson. Judge N. B. Johnson was introduced as one of our illustrious Cherokees, and a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Many heads of the departments of the State were introduced, among them Hon. Wilburn Cartwright, Secretary of State, and Hon. John Connor, State Treasurer. Mr. Walter M. Harrison was introduced as a member of the Oklahoma City Council and writer and editor for many years. He received happy greetings.

The President introduced Judge Edgar S. Vaught, the senior Federal Judge in Oklahoma, stating that he was also one of the directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The crowd broke into warm applause.

Mrs. Guy C. Reid was introduced as a leading citizen of the city and a member of the Choctaw Nation. Her sister, Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor, was introduced and she presented Judge D. C. McCurtain, whose grandfather, Cornelius McCurtain, Choctaw Chief, had met General A. W. Whipple when he entered the Choctaw Nation with his survey in 1853. Judge McCurtain was cordially received.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn, for many years a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and founder of the State Memorial Association, together with Mrs. Virgil Browne who occupies a high station in the D.A.R. was introduced and received applause. Mrs. Korn presented Mrs. Mabel Bassett, who for many years was the State Commissioner of Charities and Corrections. Mr. Clarence C. Paine, Librarian of the Carnegie Library was introduced. Dr. I. N. McCash, President Emeritus of Phillips University and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was presented.

The President at this point said, "We have a distinguished officer of the United States Regular Army here today. I am happy to introduce Col. Henry A. Bootz and Mrs. Bootz residents of Oklahoma City."

Judge Baxter Taylor arose to say that "as one of the citizens of this community, I would like to impress upon the visitors the fact that you are looking upon an average group of Oklahomans. We are happy to say this. Will you be so kind when you go back home, (Addressing smilingly the Whipple Family) and tell them, if you will, that you saw more than cowboys and blanket Indians? It is gladdening to know that from whatever point of the compass we come, we are genuine Americans."

The President announced the conclusion of the program and Mrs. J. Garfield Buell arose and made the motion that the meeting now adjourn. Dr. Dale seconded the motion and it was passed unanimously.[2]

The audience passed from the hall in a merry mood and asserted that it was one of the most remarkable programs that had ever been witnessed in the history of the State.

[2] For a biography of Lt. A. W. Whipple and his Journal of the Pacific Railroad Survey through Oklahoma, see *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1950): Francis R. Stoddard, "Amiel Weeks Whipple"; Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple"; also, Charles Evans, Secy.," Itemized List of the Whipple Collection."—Ed.

THE SURVEY OF INDIAN TERRITORY 1894—1907

*By Junius B. Moore**

There were a number of reasons why the United States wished to convert the Indian Territory into a State, and to bring the Five Civilized Tribes—the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Indians—under its direct control.

First, many white people had come into the Territory and were asking for a share in the government, from which, as non-Indians, they were excluded. Another, which seemed more serious, was since the United States laws were not in force in the Indian nations, many criminals were evading justice by escaping to its borders. And further, the United States wanted to meet the demand, on the part of the country in general, that unused lands be opened for settlement. So in 1893 the Government took the first step toward converting the Indian Territory into a State by appointing the Dawes Commission to work among the Indians to persuade them to allow their property, which had been held in common, to be divided among the individual members of the tribes, and to accept United States citizenship.

The first step in the division of tribal properties was the survey of land. The field work was begun in 1894, under the supervision of U. S. geological engineers sent from the Geological Survey Department at Washington, D.C. The crew surveyed boundaries this first year, and in 1895 began the subdivision. The first headquarters were established at South McAlester, with C. H. Fitch in charge. Van H. Manning, assistant. The two made up the groups that were sent to various points in the Territory. In each group (twenty or more) there were two complete surveying parties and two compass crews, plentifully supplied with solar compasses, transits, plane tables, chains, rods, pins etc., in fact all the best in surveying equipment. For transportation there were wagons, buckboards, and mules to pull them. For housing, we had tents with tarpaulin floors.

Our party was the first to be sent out to the field. D. C. Harrison was chief, and topographer. The other men were, as I remember them, Sledge Tatum, James E. Shelly, Harry Stevenson, Charley Bingam, Oscar Bradley, W. H. Larrimore, John E. Blackburn, Dad Wringer, Sinclair, Ellis, Potts and Columbus, the cook.

* Junius B. Moore served on the U. S. Survey of the Indian Territory, preparatory for allotment of lands in severalty among the Five Civilized Tribes concluded before Oklahoma became a State in 1907. Mr. Moore now makes his home at 631 South Bois D'Arc, Tyler, Texas.—Ed.

Our first camp was set up 13 miles S.S.E. of Calvin, in the Choctaw Nation, where we took our first point on the Indian Base and Meridian, Township 1 North, Range 8 East. The first procedure after that was to lay out quadrangles, which were 24 miles square, then townships, 6 miles square, and later, sections 1 mile square. A township was comprised of 36 sections, and to lay these out the first party would start at corner to 35 & 36, run 1 mile north then 1 mile East. Closing on the corner to 25 & 36. The second party started at the corner of 34 & 35, thence north 1 mile, closing on the 1st parties corners, and so on throughout the township. Stones were put in for markers, and if they were not available, pits were dug or timber cut and driven into the ground. All sections bordering on the north and west boundaries were fractional. This was occasioned by the fact that all the accumulated error in the surveying was distributed along the north and west boundaries of the townships. The fractional parts were called lots and bore numbers. Each township corner was marked with a 4 foot and 4 inch iron tube, split and spread at the ground end, and capped with a brass plate stamped with Township, Section and Range.

For further identification, we marked bearing trees if there happened to be trees available. We marked four trees at each section corner, and two at each quarter section. This was done with a timber-scribe, a wood carving tool made especially for this work. The township, range, etc., were cut in a straight line down the trees, deep into the wood, after the necessary bark was removed. It was my good fortune to be called in on a corner dispute, twenty five years later, to locate one of these. The bark had grown over the cuttings, but was rough—showing it was new growth. All I did was, cut in above and below the marks and block-out the chip. The inscription showed plainly but it was in raised letters instead of deep cuts. This specimen is on exhibit at Tulsa University, and has been shown frequently at Tulsa Oil Expositions.

The pins which we set at the township corners could not be pulled up because of the split ends, but could be dug out of the ground. We had trouble a number of times with dissatisfied Indians who dug them up and either destroyed or hid them. The chief of the Creek Nation, Espiechee (Isparhecher) had men to take up those on his large plantation but we replaced them later and told him should he do it again he would be arrested by the United States Government. And one day our man who set the corners met an Indian with his wagon loaded with all his household goods and family. He was moving, because, as he said, "I don't like the surveyors running lines close to me." The Indian moved five miles farther North, and the next week we were running lines around him there. The fullblood Indians seemed to resent the Government's allotment of their lands more than any other, and quite a number had to be assigned arbitrary allotments because of that.

The Government surveying parties had men from every state in the Union and as a whole were very congenial. All liked the outdoors and their jobs. Their tents were comfortable even during winters. We had one large tent, 16 x 16, where most of the men stayed, and three others that were 9 x 9, besides the two for cooking and serving. My mate and I lived in one of the smaller ones. Party chiefs stayed in the other two. Jim Shelley was my tent mate and we got along fine. The tent fell down on us only once, and that was because we were asleep when a slow warm rain came up and we were too drowsy to get up and loosen the guy ropes, and a stake was pulled up. Jim had spent a good many years surveying Indian reservations in Montana and Idaho, before coming to Indian Territory, and was an expert at the job. He also was an expert marksman. I watched him empty a six-shooter into a tree many a time. He'd fire one shot, and put the other five bullets in same hole without a miss. He also had been champion middle weight wrestler at Columbia Athletic Club at Washington, D. C. Harrison had been heavy weight champion at the same club. We spent our leisure time in camp mostly in these sports, for nearly all owned guns, and all liked wrestling and target shooting. They never carried guns to the field for the metal in them affected the compass needles. I had a Savage rifle I sometimes took along when I did plane table work.

One day the boys jumped a big buck out of some high grass, in a valley where they had to close on a section corner several times and every time they went in there the old buck would jump up and run out. That seemed to me a mighty good chance to use my rifle and also to get some fresh venison so I decided I'd get him the next Saturday afternoon. It was a wonderful day. There had been a big frost the night before and the day was cold, and still. Late that afternoon I got out my Savage, hooked up my mules to my buckboard and started for the buck's hide-out. As I was driving along the side of a hill I flushed two big gobblers. One flew to the southeast. The other ran due south along the ridge. I waited until I thought the one to the south had had time to stop and then walked about thirty yards to a large tree, sat down in some tall grass, and faced the way from which the turkey would come. I then took out my call and gave one loud coarse call, like his buddy would have made, and he answered it in the same tone of voice. I heard him take the first step and then come running, making as much noise as if a horse was coming down the ridge. When he reached the place where I had flushed him, he stopped, and was so close I knew if I made a mistake he would go the other way. This I had learned from the Indians, and from experience. The Indians say, "When a deer first sees a man, he says, 'That's a man.' He looks again and says, 'That's a MAN', and then in fear, 'THAT'S A MAN!', and runs away. A turkey sees a man and says, 'THAT'S A MAN!'," and is gone with the wind. So I just shook my foot and made a noise like

a turkey scratching. The turkey came on, but could not see me because of the grass, and got so close that when I shot him I could have almost touched him with my gun. Proudly picking up my turkey, I went back to my buckboard and drove on to the buck's hide-out in the valley. I should have tied my mules to a tree and walked in, but drove in instead, for when within thirty or forty feet of the deer, he jumped out in front of my mules. They stood straight up on their haunches and almost turned over the buckboard. It was all I could do to keep them from running away. So I sat there clutching the reins and let that fine buck get away without my firing a single shot.

Columbus was our cook. One day after a trip to town he did not show up, and they delegated me to take his place, since they had heard me tell of some of my hunting trips, and some camping I had done where I had cooked my own meals. So I stayed in camp that day and attempted to get the evening meal. I put on Columbus' apron and his cap, the usual beans and potatoes, and proceeded with the biscuit making. Naturally I got pretty well covered with flour and dough and was rather messed up when the parties came in. The first one who saw me doubled up with laughter and called out, "Why hello Aunt Cindy." After that I was never "J. B.," as they had called me, but "Cindy," and I'm still "Cindy" to most of my Oklahoma friends.

Columbus paid for this later. One day one of the men killed a timber rattlesnake near Atoka, in the Choctaw nation, and when he was skinning it the flesh looked so appetizing the men suggested that he take it back to camp and let Columbus cook it. Columbus balked at that but Mr. Harrison (our chief) insisted that he cook it, so he did. While it was cooking it really smelled good, but Columbus served it without seasoning, and those of us who did taste it did not care for it. If it had been prepared properly we may have really enjoyed it.

The buckboards and wagons we drove to our work were ideal for cross country driving, but the mules we had to drive were the bane of our lives. My team especially. They were the most stubborn, the most stupid and meanest animals alive. If they could have had their own way they would never have worked at all. It was a battle every time I harnessed them. Once when crossing the Arkansas River on a ferry boat, the mules jumped off and waded back to the bank from which we started. When I finally got them back on I tied them, so they would not repeat their performance.

A great deal of my work was in the Choctaw nation and I really enjoyed being among the Choctaws. Part of my youth had been spent in their nation, and I understood their language better. They had a custom of helping each other with their crops, and one day while

doing cadastral[1] work I entered a field where fifteen or more happened to be working. When I stopped and sat up my plane table and began to ask for information as to ownership the whole party surrounded me. There was one big fat Choctaw with about a 55 inch girth, who was wearing a very large cartridge belt filled with 44 Winchester Cartridges. I took one out of his belt and after examining it, replaced it and reached into my pants pocket for a cartridge of my own, a 303 solid point Savage. Then lifting my arms, as if encircling a 18 x 20″ tree, I told them it would shoot thru a tree of that size. They shook their heads, and the interpreter said, "They don't believe you." So we all filed out to my buckboard where the Savage was, and picked out a nice straight grained cedar elm about 18″ in diameter, and when I fired the bark flew off the opposite side of the tree. It was easy to see the bullet had gone through. The big Choctaw looked, pressed his stomach against the tree and said, "Ugh! Shoot through tree, me too!"

It was in the Cherokee Nation in January, 1903 that my field work ended. It had been seven of the most wonderful years of my life. To others it may have been hum-drum and monotonous but to me it was ideal. In the wide open spaces there was game galore. In camp there were college men, blest with patience, humor and a desire to push others up to the top. The training I got through them began with holding a rod, at twenty years of age, and ended by my being an instrument man, and later doing cadastral work with a plane table. So to them, to my desire to make good, to the love of the woods and prairies and wild life, and to the peoples among whom I worked, I owe my "degree" in engineering.

Allotment of the land had already begun at Vinita, where I was supposed to go next, but the general headquarters (Dawes Commission) was at Muskogee, so I went there first and checked in my surveyor's tools, mules, and buckboard. We were at Vinita only a short time, from January to May 1st, 1903, waiting for the completion of the Cherokee Land Office at Tahlequah. We occupied an old school house that had been discarded, and was on a street that had not been paved. During wet weather a pool of water in a sea of mud stood there. One morning when we went to work we found someone with a sense of humor had braved the mud and water and had placed a post, with a hat on it, in the middle of the pool. Under the hat was a 4 foot x 1 inch board bearing the words, "Don't take my hat! I've gone down for my boots." The hat stayed there.

The Dawes Commission was headed by Colonel Tams Bixby, Chairman, who sent a Commissioner to each of the five land offices. An office was established in each of the five nations to which all the

[1] A cadastral survey is used in thickly settled places where an exact representation as relative positions and dimensions of objects and estates have to be recorded. Plane tables are required in these.

Indian citizens went to be enrolled for their allotments. It was the job of the local commissioner to sign each certificate for each allotee. A chief clerk supervised each office. Clifton R. Breckenridge was assigned to Tahlequah, to the Cherokees. Bruce Jones was his chief clerk. Other men on the Tahlequah office force were Jim Gibson, T. J. Farrar, Frank Lewis, J. B. Moore, Joe Gibson, Roy Palmer, Geo. R. Smith, Oscar Rabberneck, O. B. Jones, Peter Funk, Dick Berry, John Wallace, C. B. Rainey, Johnny Rosin, with Simon Walkingstick and Sam Foreman as interpreters.

The Cherokees had less land, according to the population, than any of the other tribes, so in order to make a fair division, it was deeded in proportion to valuation. It was appraised from $0.50 to $6.50 per acre. The allotee to receive properties to the value of $325.00. The value of the homestead was placed at $118.00. The surplus due was made up by adding acres of the required value, and should there still be a deficit the allotee was given fifty cent land. Some of the Indians refused to accept allotments and the Government officials assigned to them unoccupied lands which proved to be some of the richest oil fields in Oklahoma.

In order to protect the fullbloods and halfblood Indians and their property from unscrupulous people, Congress arranged for all their lands to be leased or sold under the supervision of a local bureau of administration called The Indian Agency, located at Muskogee, Oklahoma. This in turn was under the Department of Interior. Officials chosen by the Indians could have a certain voice in the property transaction.

When the books were closed they showed that there were more than 75,000 Indians who were entitled to an estate in the Indian Territory. The last year in which they were accepted was 1904.

Most of my time in the work was spent among the Cherokees. It was my job, while in the Land Office at Tahlequah, to allot all fullbloods. Sam Foreman, my interpreter, did his best to teach me how to ask the most used questions, but it seemed to me he never asked the same question, the same way, twice, and I never learned one word of Cherokee.

The land office force at Tahlequah was disbanded in 1907. Most of the men went to the Agency at Muskogee. I stayed at Tahlequah and later became County Surveyor. Ever so often, when in the field, a Cherokee would invite me to dinner. I never declined, because to me Indian dishes like broadswords, dogheads, kawista, kanutchee, and other corn, bean and nut dishes are delicious. One day I said as much to one of my Cherokee hosts and he said, "Mr. Moore, you like Cherokee cooking so much why don't you get you a Cherokee wife?" I told him I had one wife, and could not have another.

The survey of Indian Territory could hardly be chronicled in successive years, or survey locations, for the job was considered and worked out as a whole. All crews worked in unison—doing the job of the moment, where ever it should be done. Marking time was no object, the survey was the thing. The job took us all through all the nations, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw and Seminole.

At that time it was said to be the best survey in the world, and it has been my experience, in surveying all through Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, that it is at least the best survey I know.

THOMAS J. PALMER, FRONTIER PUBLICIST

*By Jack L. Cross**

All history may be viewed as local history, for everything has a location in space and time. The Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia is a part of the history of the City of Philadelphia, in which famous Americans who had a part in the Convention have their locales, where each has been better known among the husbands, fathers, and members of a community than as regional or national heroes. Those who ridicule "localism" do, in reality, but overlook the usefulness of much interesting data in favor of painting a broad canvas to hang in a gallery of popular acclaim. Men and women make history. They are numberless and, with exceptions, without honor; and only a few names have survived the historical gauntlet. Those that are remembered rest upon a pyramid of faceless and nameless thousands. We attribute to a few the work of the many, and dismiss the unknown by the clever device called "analysis of public opinion."

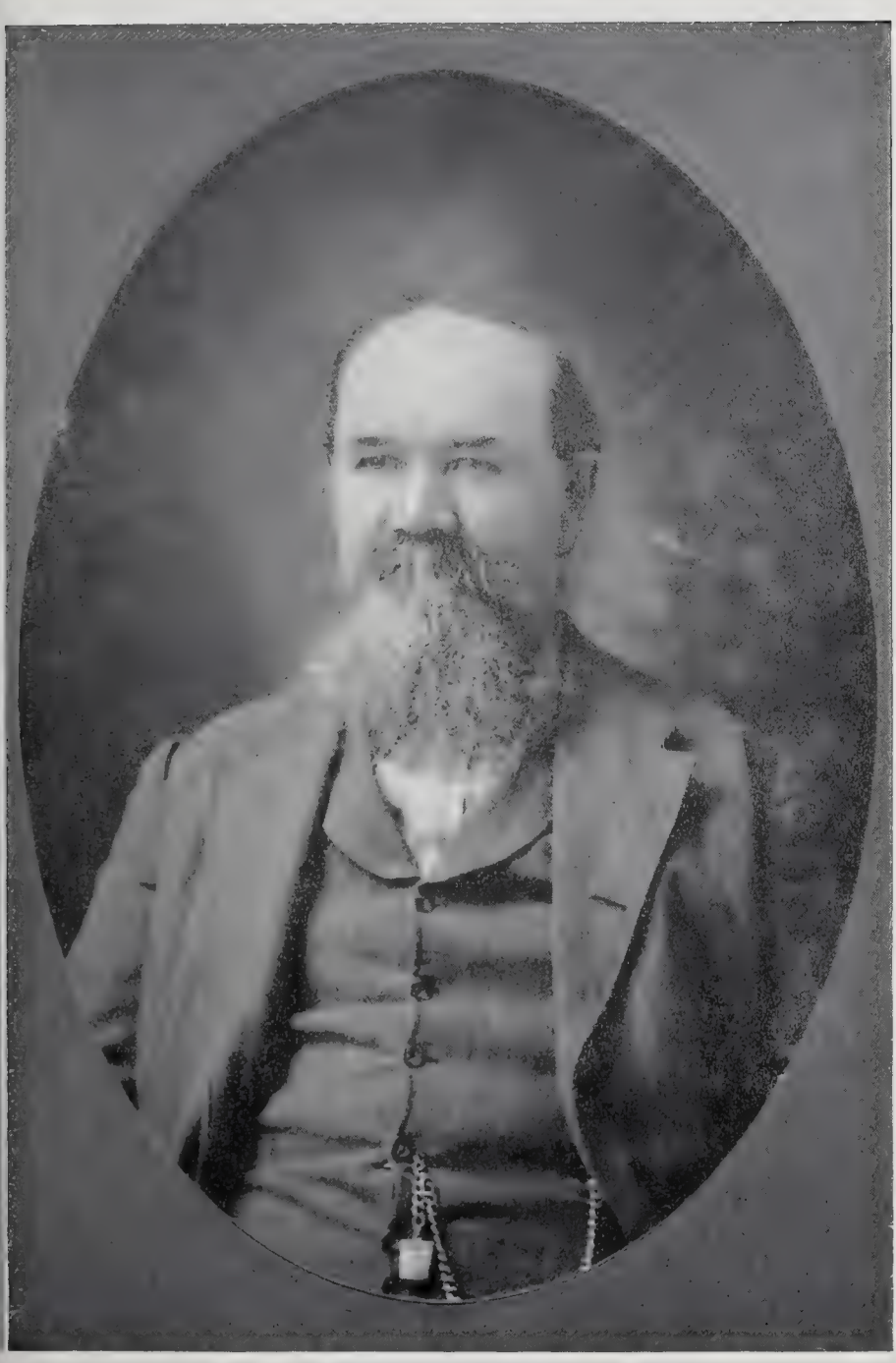
Some men can be rescued from such obscurity. The historian's job is made easier if that one who is saved leaves behind him a written record of his accomplishments, aspirations, and principles. Thomas J. Palmer has done that. In 1916, at the age of 69, Palmer summed up his experiences and put them on paper. Basing his recapitulation upon eight volumes of scrupulously kept diaries, he typed 155 legal-sized pages of his autobiography. He made some six copies to be distributed only to members of his family.[1]

Printed biographical data on Palmer is brief. Careful criticism of the two sketches in print suggests that both were written by Palmer himself.[2] The validity of the whole, therefore, must rest upon the accuracy of a part. While several inaccuracies in the text appear, most of them are either inconsequential or are not malicious errors. The hours spent with this autobiography have contributed the

* The author of this article is a graduate student in history at the University of Chicago. Born in Seminole, Oklahoma, in 1921, Mr. Cross has long been a resident of Texas. He served in the Air Corps in World War II, and returned to school at war's end. He holds the A. B. and A. M. from the University of Chicago, and is now working on his Ph. D.

[1] At this point, the writer would like to express his thanks to Mrs. Lois Hall of Odessa, Texas, and to her family who have furnished me with this manuscript to edit. Miss Muriel H. Wright and Mrs. Louise Cook, both of the Oklahoma State Historical Society, have been cooperative and helpful in answering some of my queries. Their patience and assistance are appreciated.

[2] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma.* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1916), Vol. V, pp. 1873-5. A shorter sketch written at an earlier time may be found in *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma,* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1901,) p. 650.



THOMAS J. PALMER

conclusion that Palmer was an honest man, a rare man of principle, a frank and open individual who loved to "call a bluff" and did not hesitate to announce his stand on any issue.

Palmer's quiet sense of superiority rested on his avid reading habits and acknowledged leadership. He preferred the "small puddle to the big lake," and he loved his position in the forefront of a crusade for the "right." Editor Palmer's headstone in the Medford, Oklahoma, cemetery has engraved upon it this inscription: "He thought he was right."

The migratory pattern of the Palmer family would, in itself, make a fascinating study. From the settling of New England, they were on the continent's frontiers of settlement. For the early 17th to the 20th centuries the Palmers have moved from Massachusetts to New York, Pennsylvania, Ontario, Canada; then to Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Oregon.

Thomas J. Palmer was one of six children born to Thomas and Catherine McVay Palmer of Pickering Township, Ontario, Canada. He was born on February 6, 1847. Son of a sometimes shoemaker and grocer, Palmer was a precocious lad. Under the prodding of a brutish taskmaster, one John Black, the boy mastered the equivalent of eighth-grade school work by the age of nine years, and was immediately launched into the study of high school subjects that included the physical sciences. His formal education was curtailed abruptly, however, by his father's business failure in 1856, and his family's removal to the United States. The boy, left behind, attended school for brief periods thereafter, working at various times in a stave and match factory in Canada. The presence in the Canadian labor market of large numbers of Americans who sought refuge from the Civil War and the draft law, forced young Palmer and his older brother Daniel David to seek employment in the United States.

On April 3, 1865, the two brothers began their American adventure. Moving by easy stages from New York State to Muscatine, Iowa, and pausing only long enough to find interim employment, the young men were re-united with their family two months and fifteen days later.

The period between Palmer's Iowa arrival and his entrance into newspaper editing and publishing in 1878, was one of activity and importance. During these thirteen years, he taught school in Iowa and Illinois, married Sarah Lazier of Port Perry, Canada, fathered the first two of his three children, became a naturalized citizen, farmed, sold insurance, peddled books and maps, turned to prohibition, vegetarianism; was a member of the Grange, and a sup-

porter of the Greenback party.[3] At one time he contemplated becoming a lawyer.

These were the future publisher's formative years. He had faith in himself and in his cause, and upon the refusal of one Iowa newspaper to publish one of his articles on the "burning financial problems of the hour," Palmer turned to newspaper publishing. He bought a press and set to work to destroy those things he opposed. During the next thirty-one years, Palmer edited and published eight different newspapers. Imbedded in their editorial columns is the story of Palmer's transition from Greenback to Populist to Republican.

The Greenfield, Iowa, *Greenback Patriot* (1878-1879) was the first of Palmer's newspaper ventures. In turn, he owned and edited the Mascatine, Iowa, *Patriot* (1879); the What Cheer, Iowa, *Patriot* (1880-1886); the Mason City, Iowa, *Cerro Gordo Republican* (1886); the Mason City, Iowa, *Express Republican* (1886); the Meade, Kansas, *Republican* (1887-1893); the Hutchinson, Kansas, *Daily Patriot* (1893); and the Medford, Oklahoma, *Medford Patriot* (1893-1909).

As an editor in the last decades of "personal" journalism, Palmer received varied financial assistance in his enterprises. A promising newspaperman had little difficulty in arranging loans from small banks, and communities were as anxious for publicity as were the railroads. The editor of the small town weekly was pursued by the publicity-hungry politician and socialite. He was the arbiter of society. He entertained and was entertained by the great and the near-great. He fed and housed temperance lecturers, visiting dignitaries, and troupes of entertainers.

All of this naturally had political overtones. Medford's editor got his introduction to politics in an Iowa chapter of the Grange in the late 1870's. From that time, as he changed the color of his party label, Palmer took an increasingly active part in local and state politics. His remark that the parties changed while he remained steadfast to his principles is an incisive and interesting comment on the development of politics in the late 19th century. If he managed to be elected only to local offices, his loyalty to the Republican party did not go completely unrewarded. At Medford's postmaster and a United States Court Commissioner, Palmer got some recognition for services rendered.

Palmer died in Medford on November 7, 1917, convinced that the cause of prohibition for which he had fought so hard was soon to triumph nationally.

---

[3] Thomas J. Palmer married Canadian-born Sarah Lazier on April 4, 1871. His first daughter, Mae, was born on May 7, 1873. Clyde Napoleon Palmer, his son, was born on March 13, 1875; and Cora, the youngest daughter, on November 23, 1882. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, p. 1875.

The following portions are from the manuscript pages 72-155 of his autobiography's manuscript verbatim. These excerpts with some paragraphing and punctuation added for clearness, pertain to his Oklahoma experiences and make a positive contribution to the history of this fabulous state.

(p. 72) . . . . *September 16, 1893.* is the memorable day for this part of Oklahoma, as that was the opening of the Cherokee Strip to settlement. The race was made from various points, the first on the land to be the winner. The start was made at 12 o'clock upon the firing of guns. . . . .[4] (p. 73) At Topeka I met M. A. Low, the general attorney for the Rock Island, who requested me to go to North Enid and Medford and put in a paper.[5] He said he would help me. I was introduced to their town agent. I went home to Hutchinson [Kansas] Tuesday morning. . . . and went with the agent that night to North Enid, where I arrived Wednesday morning. *Sept. 20.* I put in the day there. It was a busy place, as all freight and passenger traffic was done there for South Enid, the governmental town. It was now the Kansas officers of the Rock Island against the U. S., as the officers of the Rock Island were interested in the new towns. I slept in the corner of the depot Wednesday night, and Thursday started north, stopping at Medford most of the day, going to Herrington on a freight train, thence home. I decided to go to Medford, as I believed it was the best in the end, though . . . . only the depot and a 12X14 foot grocery [were] there at the time. Home again Friday morning. . . . . I had about $300 on hand when all was squared at Hutchinson. My venture there cost me over $600. . . . .[6] I posted books and settled around town. I was offered all the money I wanted by the banks to stay. But this meant a mortgage on my plant, which I would not do. It was clear and would so remain at all hazards. The die was cast.

---

[4] One of the most authoritative studies of the opening of the Cherokee Strip is Joe B. Milam's "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* (Oklahoma City) Vol. IX, pp. 268-286, 454-475. Vol. X, pp. 113-137.

[5] Marcus A. Low was born in Maine in 1842. He lived for awhile in Illinois and Missouri before going to California in 1863. In California he was principal of the Folsom City schools and studied law in Sacramento. Returning to the Mississippi Valley, he was admitted to the bar in Illinois. He did some advanced study in Michigan State University at Ann Arbor, after which he began his law practice in Hamilton, Missouri. Shortly after 1873, Low was selected as an attorney for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company. His promotions for that company proceeded with regularity until in 1892, he was made the general attorney for the line, a position he held until his 1912 retirement. In these later years, Low was a resident of Topeka, Kansas, where he was active in local political and financial affairs. Politically he supported the Republican party and was a delegate to three national Republican conventions. William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans,* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1918,) Vol. III, p. 1267 f.

[6] In Hutchinson, Kansas, Palmer published the *Daily Patriot.* Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints,* 1835-1907. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 357.

Sept. 23. Started to pack up the office for Medford. A freight car was procured to load goods in. . . . . *Sept. 26.* finished loading. We loaded so we could sleep in the car on a mattress and springs. Put in what we could from the house. . . . . We waited orders to move the car until Friday evening. . . . . The company passed the car to Caldwell, being the [Kansas] state line. From there it cost me $18.

Sept. 30. Reached Caldwell this morning and had the car rebilled to Medford. We reached our new home before noon. . . . . There was no building to put the plant into. I arranged to build as fast as possible. . . . . I bought 2 (p. 74) lots east of the Rock Island track for the office, as the town company concluded to put the business of the town there. We started a cellar on the lots, as I concluded to build a 1½ story building and live upstairs for the present. *Oct. 4.* Drew out lumber for the office building. . . . . *Oct. 9.* We were retarded a great deal for want of lumber. It was hard to get through with cars, the railroads were having so much to do. *Oct. 14.* The townsite company concluded to move all business buildings to the west side of the track. My building was one of the first to go. They let me keep my lots on the east side and sold me 2 on the west side, taking most of the pay in advertising. *Oct. 20.* We moved the plant out of the car, where it had been 5 weeks. The railroad company did not charge me any demurrage on the car. *Oct. 23.* I commenced on the paper to get out the first issue this week. Had a meeting on the street to take steps to incorporate the town. . . . . I was elected Inspector, who is one of the judges. . . . . *Oct. 27.* I went to Topeka and Hutchinson. Sunday made arrangements to go over the Santa Fe to Cameron with [my] family and household goods. *Oct. 30.* Hauled goods to the car in the forenoon and started for Medford, Okla., about 3 p.m., arriving about 8:40 p.m. *Oct. 31.* Loaded our wagons in the forenoon and started for Medford after dinner. Unable to get through, we camped about 5 miles from town for the night. *Nov. 1.* . . . . We arrived in Medford about noon. Paid $20 to be hauled over, gave the men dinners and they started back. *Nov. 2.* Got out No. 2 of the *Patriot* and it has been running every week since.[7] *Nov. 3.* Procured a loan of $200 [from] . . . . the townsite agent for 90 days at 10 per cent interest, and paid the lumber bill for the office. Sarah and Mae, with a little help from me, put partitions upstairs with heavy building paper and covered them with wall paper. Doors were made and hung and we were at home again. In all the trouble and moving, together with the first year in Medford, Sarah was uncomplaining and cheerful, doing her part willingly, and gave me courage to meet my difficulties.

Nov. 7. A meeting was held in the *Patriot* office to organize a Commercial Club. I was elected the first president. *Nov. 20.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 357. The Oklahoma Historical Society has a complete file of the *Medford Patriot.*

Held a Republican convention at Pond Creek to elect delegates to a state convention. I was elected president. *Nov. 27.* Went to Kingfisher to attend statehood convention as a delegate from L county. Convention was held the 28th, and I was elected secretary.[8] (p. 75)

Nov. 30. This was Thanksgiving day. Few in the Strip had anything to be thankful for, but to hope for the future. I took out a commission as Notary Public, being the first and only Notary in Medford for over a year. I have held the office to this day. I made Cora a desk for the select school which was being held by Mrs. Frances Boyer, the first in the county.[9] *Dec. 23.* Had Christmas doings for the first time at Commercial hotel, run by J. M. Hay.[10] *January 1, 1894.* Mae was married today to George Everett Woodruff of Hutchinson, Kansas. . . . . It was a blue day for me, as it shattered my hope of Mae becoming a physician. Such is fate. *Jan. 19.* The other papers. . . . expressed soreness over some remarks I made about them in the *Patriot.* My policy has been not to notice them. It is a fact, just the same, that we have had 3 papers in Medford since the town started.[11] This made slender picking for me. The year of 1893 has been one of the bluest I ever experienced. . . . .

Feb. 16. Went . . . . to Round Pond on notice from Frank Roberson that school districts were laid out. I had so secured the good will of Superintendent Ross that he had appointed Roberson one of his board of education. I hastened down on first train. I passed his door 3 times, and being clear on the 4th, I went in. I asked him when he would lay out the districts. He told me it was already done. I asked for the map, which he handed me. Opening it I saw that districts 53 and 54 included . . . . ½ of Medford, thus so dividing [it] . . . . that the pupils of the east half of the town would have to go 1½ miles to school east; and those of the west half 1½ miles west, and we would have to build school houses at those places. I asked him to make change and he asked me to suggest it. I saw (p. 76)

---

[8] This statehood convention in Kingfisher was the third in a series of meetings at which immediate statehood for Oklahoma was called for by the Oklahoma residents. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 680.

[9] Frankie E. Boyer, daughter of James M. Hay and widow of E. Boyer, was elected in 1894 on the Populist ticket to the Superintendency of the Grant county schools. She was re-elected in 1896. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, p. 632.

[10] James M. Hay was a Civil War veteran from Indiana. Establishing his residence in Kansas after that war, Hay speculated heavily in real estate. Suffering heavy losses in those ventures, he managed to recoup in Dallas, Texas, before moving to Oklahoma. He located a claim ten miles north of Medford, Oklahoma, in September, 1893. Hay was soon speculating in building sites in the new township. He operated a drug business and built Medford's first hotel, The Commercial. A Republican, Hay was territorial Representative from District 22 in 1898. In addition to this, he held several local politcal offices in Medford. *Ibid.*, p. 632 f.

[11] The two other papers Palmer refers to were the *Medford Monitor*, a Populist journal published under the guidance of Fred L. Naugh, and the *Star*, a Republican paper edited by H. I. Frayne. Both papers began publication in late 1893. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

that a district 2 miles wide with Medford centrally located would give us all the Rock Island road for taxes to help the school. So I suggested taking a ½ mile of the 2 districts east and west of Medford, leaving them 2½ miles each. He consented and I drew a pencil and helped make the changes desired. We had to renumber all districts above 54, which ours became. As soon as done, I asked him to let me have some notices to call a meeting to organize our district, which he did and [I] filled out one. . . . . I asked him to sign his name to the rest and I would fill them out when I got home. As soon as signed, I left for Medford. I went to the depot and learned that it would be an hour before a train would be along. So I started on foot for Pond Creek, now Jefferson. I had been gone only 10 minutes when some parties came in to learn what I was there for. They demanded the map. When they saw what was done they asked Ross to change the lines back. He said he could not do so as Palmer had notices to call a meeting to organize their district. They started out to find me. At the depot they saw me near the bridge, 3 miles away, going so fast that they said they could play checkers on my coat tail. The train came along as I reached Pond Creek and I got in and went home. The notices were put up before I went to my house. Of course, the election carried and a meeting was held to vote on organization and elect the first school board, of which I was elected director or president.

Mar. 10. An election was held to vote on incorporation of Medford. The vote was 52 for and 2 against. The town was full of people returning to their claims, the 6 months expiring the 15th of this month. Our school district being organized and desiring to have one out of debt, I canvassed the district for subscriptions to build a school house, the carpenters having already said they would do the work if the material were furnished. After getting the principal persons here [to donate], I went to Topeka and got those who were interested in the townsite [to give us help]. They gave [$]20 each. I raised the amount and the building was erected on the southeast corner of the school house square. The first teacher to occupy it was Miss Retta Baldwin, who received $25 a month cash, a good price then, as many taught for less and sold their warrants at a discount. No taxes had been paid in. Superintendent Ross informed me that $150 school land rents had been received by him for this county, and he had no use for it. I suggested that he offer it as a premium to the first three districts that would organize. He did so, and we got $50 of it. A per capita assessment was made to procure the rest. For furniture I made a desk for my daughter Cora and it was used as a pattern for others; all sending [children] having to furnish desks. . . . . By the time (p. 77) the next term was held we had taxes to pay. I was president of the board 4 years, being re-elected for a second term when I resigned after the first year. . . . . *May 25.* . . . . . the newly elected officers of the city came

to my office to be sworn in. They stood in a row and were sworn in together. I said to them, "Gentlemen, I have but a word or two to say to you. Medford is turned over to you without a dollar of indebtedness. There will be no bills presented to you for payment at your first meeting. Please return it to the people as you receive it, that there may be one town in the state out of debt." I donated . . . . printing and labor to the value of $125, when dollars looked to me like cart wheels. *June 20.* We held the first Republican county convention. It was a hard fought one. At the first meeting at Pond Creek they gave Medford 6 delegates and our allies Bluff twp. Hickory, Fairview, and other twps. very small numbers. Our fellows were duped. I told Bluff and others to elect the number to which they were entitled and demanded them at the convention. Which they did. I was not a delegate, as I was a candidate for Representative.[12] But seeing that Pond Creek had our fellows beaten unless something was done I procured a proxy [from] Strandberg and went into the fight.[13] My right to the floor was challenged and I read a proxy from some blank paper upon which I was keeping a report for the paper. The first thing I did was to make a motion to allow Bluff twp. 9 delegates instead of 4. I made a talk on the motion. Other speeches were also made. I was not certain of victory at that time, and wanting to make another speech I moved to amend the motion by taking other townships and spoke again appealing for justice and right, showing the number to which they were entitled. Not feeling sure of victory yet, I offered a substitute for the motion as amended and made another speech, nodding to Chase, one of our delegates, to move the previous question to prevent more speaking. The vote was taken and we won, thereafter having our own way. I received many congratulations over my parliamentary success.

July 4. Was celebrated in a cheap way, as no one had money to spend. I made the principal speech. We had a dance in the evening. . . . . *July 13.* Enid parties cut the supports of a bridge there and wrecked a freight train to make the Rock Island stop trains there, as the road has refused to recognize (p. 78) the south town. A bad fight between the government and railroad towns is on. Trains are being wrecked near South Enid and Round Pond.[14] It continued until Congress enacted a law compelling all passenger trains to stop at county seats.[15] Bridges were burned and other acts committed. I foresaw this and chose Medford instead of Enid, though the one was but a prairie and the other a live town at the

[12] This was the first of Palmer's several political defeats.

[13] This Strandberg may have been George Strandberg who later became Palmer's assistant in the post office. Palmer *MS.*, p. 97.

[14] A point-by-point concurrence of this story may be found in G. E. Lemon's "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in the Cherokee Strip," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City) Vol. XXII, pp. 452-456.

[15] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXVIII, Chap. 236.

time. . . . . As an explanation may be necessary for the stranger to understand I will here state [that] at the opening, South Enid and Round Pond were the names given to the government towns. The depot and express names were held by the railroad towns as they existed on the old trail when the railroad was built to them. . . . . *Aug. 4.* As usual, I acknowledged about 40 vouchers for old soldiers for pensions. As I was then the only Notary and made no charge for my service, I had a large number to attend to. Went to Guthrie with D. S. Dill to attend territorial meeting.[16] Met a number of leading citizens. *Aug. 29.* I went to Pond Creek to attend a convention to nominate candidates for county commissioners. I was president of the convention.

Oct. 6. The Republican convention met to nominate a candidate for Representative to the legislature. I was president of the convention and nominated by a unanimous vote. *Oct. 7.* I went to Alva. . . . . it being a part of my district, and attended the Council convention, reaching there in the evening. . . . . J. P. Gandy was nominated on the 8th.[17] I made a speech in the hall that evening. *Oct. 11.* I went to Topeka, arriving morning of the 12th. I went to the . . . . Santa Fe office to get a pass to Alva. Afterwards I went to the Rock Island office where I met M. A. Low, who gave me $50 to help defray campaign expenses. . . . . (p. 79) *Oct. 18.* Dennis T. Flynn came here to make a campaign speech.[18] I met him at the depot and he came to dinner with us. Ex-Governor See [Seay] also took

---

[16] Judge D. S. Dill, banker and attorney of Southwestern Oklahoma, was born in Ohio in 1858. Migrating to Kansas at the age of 16, Dill lived in Kansas City, Missouri, for a short time. At the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, he moved to Medford. In 1903, he moved to Hobart where he became very influential in civic and political affairs. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 1894.

[17] J. P. Gandy is listed as a Council Member from the 10th District in 1895, and as a Representative from the 19th District in 1905. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 917, 927. Gandy's 1895 election was contested, although he eventually was awarded the decision. In the Council, he served on the Committees on Education, Federal Relations, Printing, and Elections. *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Territory of Oklahoma*, 3d Legislative Assembly. (Guthrie: Daily Leader Press, 1895,) p. 455.

[18] Dennis T. Flynn, one of Oklahoma's most popular political figures, was born in Pennsylvania in 1861; was educated in Buffalo, New York; and lived for a time in Iowa and Kansas. He published the *Kiowa Herald* in Kiowa, Kansas. In 1889, he settled in Guthrie where he became the first postmaster. A Republican, he was nominated and elected as a Territorial Delegate to Congress in 1892. He was re-elected in 1894, but defeated in 1896. However, 1898 and 1900 found him again in Washington. His greatest political success was in securing the passage of the "free homes" bill. He retired to his private law practice in Oklahoma City in 1903. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 694. For a more detailed study of Flynn's political influence in Washington, and, more particularly, with Theodore Roosevelt, see Victor Murdock's "Dennis T. Flynn," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 107-113.

supper with us.[19] *Oct. 24.* I started on my county campaign. . . . . My district is a long one east and west. Governor Renfro [Renfrow] told me it was laid out for a populist district, the intention. . . . to put the Pops [Populists] coming . . . . from Kansas in one district.[20] At the election Nov. 6, I was beaten [by] 14 votes. There were enough Rep. [Republican] whiskey votes to beat me in town.[21] Our population outgrew the frame school building and in Nov. 1894, we erected a 2 room brick building, laying the corner stone Nov. 14. . . . .[22] *January 4, 1895.* I went to Guthrie to take depositions in a land office case. *Jan. 7.* I attended the inauguration ball of Gov. C. M. Barnes. . . . .[23] I was at Guthrie most of the week, having filed a contest for the seat of Dr. Walling in the legislature.[24] The committee

[19] Abraham Jefferson Seay was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1832. He attended Missouri schools and was admitted to the bar in April, 1861. In the Civil War he was commissioned a Lieutenant and mustered out as a Major. He took up the Republican cudgel and was active thereafter in politics. President Harrison appointed him an Associate Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court and Governor of the Territory. Upon retirement he lived in Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People.* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Ind., 1929,) Vol. II, p. 573.

[20] For Seay's account of the gerrymandering of Oklahoma counties see Dan W. Perry, ed., "Autobiography of Governor A. J. Seay," *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Vol. XVII, pp. 35-46. William Cary Renfrow was born in Smithfield, North Carolina, in 1845. He served in the Confederate army. A resident of Arkansas from 1865 until the Oklahoma opening, he first settled in Norman, Oklahoma, where he engaged in banking. Renfrow was Governor of Oklahoma from 1893-1897. After retirement, he speculated in lead and zinc mining in Southwestern Missouri and made his home in Kansas City, Missouri. Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 574.

[21] Chagrined by his defeat, Palmer took exception to the *Pond Creek News* statement that "The people of Grant County did not want Palmer to represent them." He pointed to his nomination by acclamation, and to the fact that he had received a majority of the 52 votes cast in Medford and his local township. *Medford Patriot,* March 21, 1895.

[22] Palmer bravely called this building the "best in the strip." H. D. Adams of Medford was the principal and Miss Retta Baldwin, the primary teacher. *Medford Patriot,* April 11, 1895.

[23] Palmer is evidently mistaken in saying that he attended Governor Barnes inaugural ball on Jan. 7, 1895, since Barnes did not take office until May 24, 1897. This is one of the few serious errors found in the text, however. Cassius McDonald Barnes was born in New York State in 1845. In 1849, his family migrated to Michigan. He attended Albion Wesleyan Seminary. He was a telegrapher in Kansas before the Civil War, and later served in that conflict. He settled in Little Rock, Arkansas, after the war and became one of that community's political and business leaders. In April, 1889, Barnes was appointed by Harrison as Receiver of the Guthrie land office. He was elected to the territorial legislature from the Guthrie district in 1894, and was chosen Speaker of the House. He was re-elected in 1896. On April 21, 1897, McKinley appointed him Governor of the Territory. After his retirement from public office, Barnes was president of the Logan county bank and twice Mayor of Guthrie.—*Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

[24] One R. H. Walling is listed as a member of the House from the 19th district, Grant county, in 1895. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 917. Frank G. Walling of Medford was a member of the board of directors of the Oklahoma State Historical Society from 1895-1896, according to Thomas H. Doyle, "History of the Oklahoma Historical Society," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City) Vol. X, p. 167.

on elections reported 2 for Walling and 1 for me. The report was fought by my friends but finally carried. Miller Smith fought me bitterly, being jealous of my standing.[25] When the decision was announced I went across the house and congratulated Dr. Walling amid cheering of my friends. *Jan. 14.* I went down to Pond Creek to contract for the county printing, the *Patriot* being made the official paper. *Jan. 15.* Got the job of printing the county bonds. Clyde did the work, and the job was a good one, getting us other similar work. . . . .

Feb. 9. A meeting was held to provide food and clothing for the settlers in need. I suggested that an effort be made to secure help from the legislature then in session. I was elected to go to Guthrie and see what could be done. $10 was raised to pay my expenses. Petitions had been sent to Smith and Walling, members from this county, but they had done nothing with them. I prepared a bill providing for an appropriation of $25,000. The 12th [January] I left for Guthrie to secure the passage of the bill I had drawn. Arrived that afternoon and went direct to the legislature. Saw Smith and Walling who said they could pass a bill through the house, but it could not be gotten through the Council. I told them I would attend to the Council; and having 3 copies of my bill, I gave them one and went to the (p. 80) Council chamber, where I got President Pitzer to announce a meeting that evening in the Council chamber, to which Senators and Representatives were invited.[26] At the evening meeting I stated the conditions existing and the necessity for action to avoid public demand for aid. The meeting elected 2 Senators to confer with me and prepare a bill and present the same to the Council at the morning session. . . . . After consultation, the bill I had drawn was adopted and Senator Gandy of our district was instructed to present it in the morning, when all other business was to be suspended pending its passage. After adjournment, I polled the Council and found only one opposed, Capt. Prouty, of Kingfisher.[27] I went to the hotel with him. . . . . He said to me, "Palmer, how long are you going to stay and keep me awake?" I replied, "Until you agree to support the bill." He said, "Go on to your bed. I will support your bill; though I do

---

[25] W. Miller Smith was Representative from district 22 of Grant county in 1895. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vo.l II, p. 917.

[26] J. H. Pitzer was a member and President of the Council from the 4th district of El Reno. *Ibid.*, p. 917.

[27] C. T. Prouty was born in Ohio in 1840. Orphaned at the age of 12, he moved to Illinois in 1858. He served in an Illinois Infantry regiment during the Civil War and rose to the rank of Brevetted Lieutenant Colonel. In 1868, Prouty was a member of the Illinois State Legislature. A merchant in Carlinville, Illinois, he was a Grant postmaster appointee from 1874-1886. In 1890, he moved to Kingfisher, Oklahoma, where he engaged in real estate speculation. As a Republican, Prouty was elected to the Council from Kingfisher and Blaine counties. In 1899, he was appointed Chief Grain Inspector of the Territory. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, p. 210 f.

not approve it." I shook his hand and departed for my bed. I was up early and working on House members, as I feared the action of Smith in the House. He was jealous of me. I went to the Council chamber and took a seat in the lobby. The Council convened and proceeded with regular business. As soon as I could get Gandy's eye, I beckoned him back and asked him why the bill was not introduced? He said that Smith, Walling and Todd had been to see the Governor, who said he would veto the bill if passed.[28] I said, "It is a d—d lie." Governor Renfrow, a Democrat, [was] not going to dictate to a Republican legislature. With this I hastened to see the Governor. Passing his private . . . . secretary I entered the Governor's office and asked 10 minutes of his time. He replied, "Have all you want, Mr. Palmer." I then presented the case to him and told him of the report brought to the legislature by Smith et al. He said, "That is not true. I am in favor of the measure." I said, "Will you so state to Mr. Gandy over the phone?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Thank you. Good morning." And I hastened to the Senate chamber. It was now after 10 o'clock. I entered hurriedly and made my way to Senator Gandy. I told him of my visit to the Governor, who wanted to talk to him over the phone. Gandy went at once, and in a few minutes returned to his seat. He then arose and addressed the President, telling him of Governor's conversation, closing his remarks by asking unanimous consent to introduce the bill. It was granted, and as fast as it could be put through it was done, and with unanimous vote it was passed.[29] I hastened to the House and told my friends, also Smith and Wal[l]ing, of its passage, and that the Sergeant at Arms would soon come to the Hous[e] with the bill. Smith immediately left his seat and hurried around the House interviewing members. He was working against (p. 81) the bill. The bill was soon brought in. According to the rules of legislation, all business of the House was suspended and the bill from the Senate introduced. Dr. Elliot[t], of Kay county, took charge of the bill and put it through to a final vote, when Smith arose against it. . . . .[30] Dr. Elliott asked for a recess of 5 minutes to hear me. When a motion was made to refer it to some committee to report the next morning. This was barely carried. It was the

---

[28] In the 3d Legislative Assembly, H. A. Todd was a member of the House from the 8th district. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 917.

[29] An Act for the Relief of Needy Persons, Bill # 132, was introduced by Gandy on February 13, 1895. Rules were suspended, the bill read three times, engrossed, and passed unanimously by a Council vote of 13-0. *Journal of the Council Proceedings of Oklahoma Territory, op. cit.*, p. 497 f.

[30] Dr. C. G. Elliott was born near Emporia, Kansas, and attended the Kansas State Agricultural College in Manhattan, Kansas. He published the *Dexter Eye* in Dexter, Kansas, in 1888. In 1891, he received his M.D. from the St. Louis Medical College. He made the run into the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893, and established the first medical office in Blackwell, Oklahoma. He was elected as Representative to the Territorial Legislature in 1894, and was a frequent delegate to local Republican conventions. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, pp. 954 ff.

death of the bill, as it was not then nor thereafter reported. The legislature was invited to an editorial banquet at Perry that afternoon. What a theme this would have been! I would have challenged their interest in behalf of the starving people in the new country, and dared them to adjourn without first passing the bill. Had Smith not let his personal jealousy of me dominate, I would have secured an appropriation of $25,000 for our people in less than 24 hours after arriving in Guthrie, had the Governor's signature to it, and returned home with this honor and a feather in my cap. As it was, the bill was never passed and the famishing people advertised for something to eat and wear. To aid them in this, I went to Topeka and secured free shipment of food and clothing over the Rock Island. I pledged them my efforts to see that the company would not be imposed upon. I made my report to the people assembled at the hall Saturday, the 16th [February], and received a vote of thanks for my effort. I returned to the committee $2.60 left of the $10 furnished me for expenses. In succeeding as far as I did, I did not spend a nickel for a cigar or use my financial influence on any member. Smith was remembered in the next issue of the *Patriot*.

April 18. A meeting was held to take steps to secure the removal of the county seat to Medford. I was elected one of the committee of three to take charge of it. *April 19.* I received the county warrants for $228.38 for county printing. These warrants were not paid for want of funds, but I never sold them at a discount. . . . . *May 15.* I went to Meade, Kans. to meet with the board of directors of the bank and to collect some old bills. *May 20.* I went down to Enid as a delegate to the territorial league. On the way down our delegation arranged committee assignments. I was to be on resolutions. When the convention met some changes were made and Johns [Johnson], Renshaw tried to beat me out of my place.[31] He put up a job by agreeing to favor Tom England for delegate to the national convention, and threatened to defeat him unless (p. 82) he supported Johns. I told him he need have no fear, as I would see that he was elected. When that order of business came I got recognition from the chair and moved that T. England of Grant county, be one of the delegates from Oklahoma. The motion was seconded by several, with whom I had arranged, and he was elected. The convention then proceeded in another way to elect the others. Being first elected England became chairman of the delegation. While I was at Meade trouble arose in regard to the holding of the county Normal. Mrs. Boyer, whom I elected by working for her instead of the Republican candidate, sold out to Pond Creek for $200.[32] To cover up her sale, she alleged I had gone back on her, hence she

[31] Johnson P. Renshaw of Enid, Oklahoma, was also Clerk of the 5th district Territorial Court. "Annual Report of the Attorney General," *House Executive Documents*, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1899. Vol. XXXVI, p. 371.

[32] *Supra.*, footnote 9.

would hold it [the county Normal school] at Pond Creek. I exposed her deal, which created quite a commotion.

June 9. Sarah, Cora and I went over to take dinner with T. T. Godfrey and wife. While there a heavy rain came up and the Cottonwood, a branch of the Osage, overflowed the bottoms. Going home I got out of the phaeton to lead the mare over the fill, which was over a foot under water. As I was walking backward I stepped into a washed out place and went down, pulling the mare after me. As she stepped off, the phaeton cramped and was thus held on the grade with the women in [it]. I was sucked down by the water running through a large pipe in the bottom. I looked up and through the water could see the mare's feet pawing to keep up. I placed my feet against the end of the pipe and with a strong effort was able to overcome the suction and came up by the mare's neck. I called to Sarah to get out of the Phaeton before they, too, were drawn into the water. Sarah said, "YOU get out." They got out into a foot or more of water. I loosened the mare from the phaeton and took her out, then the phaeton. The shafts were broken, so we waded out and walked . . . . home. Sarah and Cora rode the mare part of the way. Having at one time swam the Mississippi river at Muscatine, Iowa, and Lake Scugog, nearly a mile wide, I would never have forgiven myself had I been drowned in a hole I could almost jump across.

July 29. M. E. Richardson called in answer to an add in the *Patriot,* "A Bank Wanted." He met some parties on the street before I saw him and about concluded not to come. I saw a bunch upon the street and went to it, when he was introduced to me. . . . . I took him over to the *Patriot* office and sent Clyde for a livery team with which I took him out in the county east. After dinner with me, I took him out west. He decided to come here. I helped him procure a room for the bank and a room adjoining it to live in. He came August 8, with his family of 4, lived with us . . . . until he got his bank open and household goods ready to keep house. . . . . As an appreciation of my kindness (p. 83) Mr. Richardson honored me . . . . [by letting me] name the bank . . . . The Grant County Bank. It has continued to do business since it opened, though it has changed hands several times.

Aug. 16-17. Sarah and I attended a session of the press association at El Reno.[33] Morning of the 17th we were taken to Fort Reno for a drive. In the evening we were entertained with lunch at the hotel, and trimmings which so disgusted us that we left the room and went to the depot, boarding the first train home. Some of the editors were too drunk to attend to business. . . . . *March 13, 1896.* Clyde was made an equal partner in the printing office, he being

[33] *Medford Patriot,* August 15, 1895.

21 years of age. *Mar. 21.* . . . . I went to Wichita to see [if I] could buy some good residence property. . . . . On the 31st, went up and bought . . . . one . . . . . Wichita had been enjoying a boom, now it was having a bust. *April 4.* [This] was the 25th anniversary of our wedding. . . . . I was now putting in considerable time digging a cellar and otherwise getting ready to build on some lots I bought on the east side. . . . . I continued to buy lots there until I had the whole block. *April 14.* We unloaded the car of the building lumber we bought in Wichita and in a few days commenced to build. . . . . *April 18.* We had horse racing, dog fights and other cowboy amusements. We put down a 6 inch bored well and got very good water. People used out of it for some distance [a]round, as most of the wells more or less brackish. . . . . *April 29.* The wind blew so heavily that I stopped work on the house. My diary for April and May note[s] high dry winds prevailing to the extent that the wheat is nearly all dried and killed. . . . . (p. 84) *May 15.* Attended meeting of the press association and encampment at Kingfisher.[34] *June 16.* We moved to our new house and will hence live more comfortable. Quite a heavy wind prevailed at night, thus giving us an introduction [to our new home].

June 2[0?] The Republican county Senatorial convention met here today. I carried every measure I undertook. *July 4.* . . . . As usual I was on the committee on speakers. Judge Pitzer, of El Reno, was orator and dined with us. Entertaining prominent persons gave me an influence which proved very beneficial. *July 7.* A meeting was held with the Hutchinson Southern officials. We are after the extension of their road to Medford. They demanded $4,000 township and $3,000 city warrants as a bonus to get the road. *July 18.* There was a meeting of township citizens to settle Railroad matters. I was principal speaker for the occasion. *July 25.* There was a meeting of those who took stock in a creamery. Little was done. *Aug. 1.* Old soldiers had a meeting at which I delivered an address. *Aug. 3.* The township officers were arrested for issuing $4,000 in warrants to the railway co. I went with them as bondsman to Pond Creek. I was appointed deputy sheriff to take charge of them. They were bound over [for] appearance Sept. 3. I went on their bond.

Aug. 8. Had a fight at the Republican county convention, at which I won the battle. The county convention brought a lot of people to town. I only took part in the temporary organization in the forenoon. *Aug. 15.* The Republicans held their primary today to elect delegates to Representative and Senatorial conventions. Being a candidate I did not go as a delegate, but saw that they were

[34] According to Palmer's newspaper story, the press association meeting for May 15, 1896, was held in Enid. It may have been that the encampment at Kingfisher was a religious gathering and was held after the Enid meeting. *Medford Patriot*, May 14, 1896.

favorable to me. *Aug. 22.* I was nominated by a vote of 39 to 2 as candidate for Representative. The vote was made unanimous.

Aug. 25. I called a meeting of the school patrons at the school house to settle the employment of our principal teacher. The board had chosen H. D. Reed with the promise that he would not be a candidate.[35] He afterwards decided to be one and we refused to employ him, Dill being for him. I decided to leave it to the patrons. By a majority vote of 3 they decided for Reed, so Strandberg and I resigned. I served 4 years on the board. After the meeting I was told by several that they would have voted differently had they known I would resign. I said nothing about it (p. 85) . . . . as I wanted to leave them free to vote as they pleased. During my service on the board there was not a warrant presented and signed not paid for want of funds. [Ours was] the only school district in the county paying cash. *Sept. 22.* I went to Woods county to canvas. Held meetings at various places. One night I slept in a bed with R [4?] children in a sod house. Arrived home 25th. *Oct. 7.* I went to Hawley to attend D. T. Flynn's meeting. He came home with me and stayed all night. *Oct. 21.* . . . . Took supper last night with G. B. Gills [Gill], who was Secretary of the Treasury under John Brown. Was with him at Harper's Ferry, [but] had gone away temporarily when Brown was arrested. I had a good long talk with him, and met him several times afterwards. He was the last one living of those who constituted Brown's cabinet.[36]

Nov. 3. [This] was election day. I was again defeated for Representative by a small majority. The district is naturally a Demo-Pop one. . . . .[37] *Dec. 12.* The court house at Pond Creek was burned last night. [It is] believed to be incendiary to protect some crooked work of officials. I went down this forenoon to view the remains. Most of the records were saved, being in safes. The building was a frame structure. *Dec. 19.* Attended a free homes meeting. This was the beginning of an effort to secure free homes. The settlers wanted the payment cancelled. . . . . *January 1, 1897.* We went to the Masonic ball, which was a pleasant affair. *Jan. 11.* Cora and I went to Guthrie to attend the inaugural banquet given the press and legislature. Afterwards we went to the ball. The only bed we could get . . . . was in a private house. . . . .

April 3. [This] was political moving day. To vote the voter [had to] be in the ward not less than 30 days before election. (p. 86)

---

[35] Palmer could have intended to write H. D. Adams instead of H. D. Reed. Adams, at least, was the principal in 1895. *Medford Patriot,* April 11, 1895.

[36] George B. Gill was a member of the original John Brown party, and served as Secretary of the Treasury under Brown's provisional government formed in Chatham, Canada. He missed being caught at Harper's Ferry only because of illness. Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men.* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1894,) pp. 117, 155, 728.

[37] Perry, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

In expectation of my opponents doing this, after I went home [for] supper, I went the back way to my office and watched [their] movements. In a short time I saw several with cots going to a certain building. I soon got busy. . . . . I had only one vote against me in my ward, and he was on his way to the rendezvous. I moved a number [of cots] from it [opposition headquarters] to a room over my office. . . . . [38] The next morning they awoke to find that while they had moved 7 [cots], I had moved 9, thus holding 2 wards. It was a great surprise to them. *April 14.* Had our city caucus and nominated candidates.

April 17. I had a tilt with Johns Renshaw. He kept the city books in a safe so I could not see them and learn what they were doing. I saw the safe open and made a rush for it. He drew a chair to strike me and I took it from him. Then he pulled a dirk knife. At this stage of the game several persons entered the store. When we got the books out of the office I found a lot of warrants had been drawn in [their] favor. A sample of their work was seen in one warrant in favor of J. A. Blair, president of the board, for $200 for improvements on the public square, which consisted of setting out some Osage sprouts in the sod on the public square. Of course not one lived. Another [voucher] was to J. P. Renshaw for $20 to pay for a justice docket costing only $2.50. Maybe I did not lambast them in my paper when I got the books to examine. I fought them to a finish. *May 26.* I attended a reception and banquet given by the Governor at Guthrie. While there we visited Shawnee and other towns in that section, ... a meeting of the press association. . . [being] held at Shawnee. We were given a banquet and ball the evening of the 28th. We arrived home the 29th. *June 4.* Paid last half of my taxes, $34.51, about 1/3 of what they have been since statehood. . . . .

June 11. Left this morning for Guthrie with J. A. DuBois [DeBois], arriving about midnight,[39] He went after an endorsement for the post office at Wakita. . . . . When Dennis Flynn was defeated for Congress the appointment for office in Oklahoma was turned over to Gov. Barnes, Secretary Jenkins and another party.[40] My application for the post office was referred to them. I secured Gov. Barnes endorsement my first visit, as I had already received

---

[38] Evidently a voter's residence was then established by the location of his bed.

[39] J. A. DeBois was a Council member from the 9th district in 1897. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 918.

[40] William Miller Jenkins was born in Ohio in 1856. He attended Mount Union College, and taught school while preparing for the law. He began his practice in Arkansas City, Kansas. After making the Cherokee Outlet run in '93, Jenkins settled in Kay county. Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 581. Jenkins was Secretary of the Territory from 1897 to 1901, when he was appointed Governor. He was removed by Theodore Roosevelt. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 912. Also see John Bartlett Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. XX, No. 3 (September, 1942), p. 224.

an assurance from Mr. Bristown [Bristow], 4th Asst. P.M.[41] John A. Blair also entered the race, being supported by the secretary. . . . . Through Barnes I received the support of the 3d man, and eventually the entire committee. During the contention Tom Adams, learning that Blair was down and out, made an effort to (p. 87) secure the office, but with scarcely a recognition. When he went to see the Governor he was asked regarding my qualifications, honor, etc. and could not say but . . . . they were all right. . . . . *Sept. 7.* Went to Guthrie to look up post office status. Called upon Sec. Jenkins. He talked more favorabl[y]. . . . . *Oct. 6.* We were aroused at 5 A. M. by a cry of fire. It was Dean's store and the Arcade saloon. We fought fire for about an hour. Medford had no city water or fire protection then. The loss was estimated at $13,000. . . . .

Dec. 19. I received notice of my appointment as postmaster at Medford from Judge J. F. Lacey, member of Congress from Iowa.[42] *Dec. 21.* Received papers this morning from Washington of my appointment with blank bond . . . . . *January 5, 1898.* I was elected a delegate to the county convention, which was held the 8th at Pond Creek, where I was elected a delegate to the territorial convention. *Jan. 6.* I bought a lot for the post office [from] Harry Thompson for $250. (p. 88) *Jan. 10.* I commenced work on the post office building. It was 25X20 feet, being 20 feet deep. . . . . *Feb. 14.* I took charge of the post office this evening. Alvin Meyers was my assistant.[43] As Mr. Cline, my predecessor, would not let us go into the office to learn, we had to study the duties out. I took the clerical and he the mail and soon had it all in hand. I took the office a 4th class one and immediately set my stakes to push it to a 3d class or presidential office, though I would have to run another change of an appointment. Many letters were mailed at the depot. To cancel the stamps thereon I put a shelf in a corner at the depot. . . . . It was near the stopping of trains, which helped me considerabl[y], as the revenue of the office had to be $250 a quarter for 4 successive quarters. I made a small box at first. Afterwards got a street collection box from the department. In it I kept a cancellation stamp and pad. Many laughed, though they commended my industry. The baggage men on the trains helped me by taking

---

[41] Joseph L. Bristow, the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, was a native Kentuckian. He held his appointment from the Second Congressional District, Franklin county, Kansas, and worked directly out of Washington, D. C., *Official Register of the United States,* July 1, 1899. Vol. II, p. 4.

[42] John F. Lacey from Oskaloosa, Iowa, was an influential member of the House of Representatives. He was chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, and served on the Committees on Indian Affairs, and Reform in the Civil Service. "Congressional Directory," *Senate Documents,* 56th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, pp. 166, 176.

[43] Alvin K. Meyers was born in Michigan. Although other data on Meyers has not been uncovered, he was listed as being Palmer's assistant with an annual compensation of $70.00. *Official Register of the United States, op. cit.,* p. 602.

letters on the trains and bringing them up the road when the mail door was closed. . . . .

May 29. Memorial day. I made the post a present of 37 memorial badges, one for each member. *Aug. 24.* I attended the territorial convention to nominate a candidate for Congress. D. T. Flynn was nominated by acclamation. . . . . *Nov. 9.* was election day. Flynn was elected by a large majority. He had been out 2 years . . . . [having been] beaten by Callahan, a Democratic candidate.[44] Flynn now goes back for free homes, a bill which slept while he was out of Congress. . . . . (p. 89) *Dec. 19.* We organized a Commercial Club. I was chosen to draft a constitution and by-laws. *January 20, 1899.* I went to Enid and took dinner with Judge J. B. Cullison, then Register of the land office, with whom I did considerable business as U. S. Court Commissioner. . . . . [45] *Feb. 21.* We held a county seat meeting. I was placed on the county seat committee with W. J. McLean and Tom Kearse, the latter being the editor of the *Star* at that time.[46] While at Guthrie I procured the appointment of U. S. Court Commissioner from Judge Burford for the purpose of making final proof on public lands, and doing other land office business as an auxiliary of the Enid land office.[47] The officers there at first objected to my taking proofs at Medford. But having an appointment they could

---

[44] James Y. Callahan was born in Missouri, in 1852. He was a farmer. From 1885 to 1892, he lived in Stanton county, Kansas, where he was twice Register of Deeds. He moved to Kingfisher county, Oklahoma, in 1892. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 700 f.

[45] James B. Cullison was born in Iowa in 1858. He was a pioneer figure in education there and later in Kansas. He was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1885. From that time onward, he became increasingly active in politics. He was active in the organization of Stevens county, Kansas, and was elected clerk of that District Court. In 1893, he moved to Kingfisher, and, from there, made the race into Garfield county. He successfully claimed 160 acres six miles east of Enid, Oklahoma. Real estate and law claimed most of his attention. In November, 1897, McKinley appointed him Register of the U. S. Land Office at Enid. He was a Republican and Territorial Committeeman from Garfield county. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, p. 615 f. Land districts had been established at Perry, Enid, and Alva, Oklahoma, by President Cleveland's proclamation of August 1893. *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 1236.

[46] The *Medford Star* was first published in 1893. Appearing on Wednesdays, it had a circulation of 500. H. I. Frayne was its early editor and publisher. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

[47] John H. Burford was born in Indiana in 1852. He received his law degree from the University of Indiana, and removed to Oklahoma in 1890. He located in Oklahoma City where he assumed the duties of the Register of the U. S. Land Office there. In 1892, he was chosen by Harrison as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court for the 2nd district and moved to El Reno. McKinley appointed him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory in 1898. He held this position until statehood in 1907. During his tenure of office, he lived in Guthrie. He was a leader of the Territorial Republican party, and was its nominee for United States Senator in 1914. He served as Representative from the 12th district in the State Senate in the 4th and 5th Legislative Assemblies. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1446. Details on the organization of the Oklahoma Courts may be found in Thomas H. Doyle's "The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* (Oklahoma City) Vol. XIII, pp. 214-218.

not prevent me.[48] I assured them that my work would be satisfactory or I would discontinue it. *Feb. 25.* I took my first final proof, that of Parker Rhyason. I collected the money in payment and went to Enid with it . . . . to present it in person for corrections and suggestions. All O.K. *March 3.* I took 2 proofs more and got out my monthly post office reports and did my usual *Patriot* office work. With the proofs taken I saw that I could save much time and labor by having several blank affidavits printed. So I prepared some and took them to the land office for their correction and approval. They were all approved as drawn. Next I made a copy of their tract book of Grant county. Prices on land varied and the payment had to accompany the proof.

An item which may be of interest to the readers of this biography . . . . is how I came to procure (p. 90) this appointment [U. S. Court Commissioner]. I observed a number of residents of Grant county going to Enid to make final proof on their homesteads. They . . . . each [had to] have 2 witnesses and often stay overnight when the land office was crowded. They . . . . also [had to] pay railroad fare and other expenses which would [have been] saved to them if they could [have] the work done nearer home. I also believed it would be considerable benefit to Medford. So when Dennis Flynn came again to Medford, as he always stopped with me, I took the matter up with him. He told me to prepare a bill containing what I wanted in it and send to him when he returned to Washington. As he was a member of the Committee on Public Lands, and my old Iowa friend, Judge Lacey, was chairman of the Committee, there would be no trouble in getting it through. I did as he suggested. When the bill became a law Flynn sent me a copy of the bill as

[48] No record of Palmer's Commission as U. S. Court Commissioner has been uncovered. An inquiry to the Justice Department Archives in Washington, D. C., produced no proof in Palmer's favor. However, the chaotic conditions of land settlement make it easy to believe that one or more Court Commissioners could go unnoticed and unrecorded. The evidence appearing in the *Medford Patriot* for these years supports Palmer's claims. That records were not carefully preserved by the Department of Justice in this period can be seen by the fact that in 1900, no copy of a list of Court Commissioners in Oklahoma Territory was furnished to the Official Register. See the *Official Register of the United States,* 1899, Vol. I, p. 1301.

passed.[49] As it provided for the appointment to be made by the Chief Justice of the [Territorial] Supreme Court, I went to him for it. When I announced I would make final proofs my opponents began to shout . . . . that Palmer had another office. Who was any more entitled to it than I? It was my child. Though I did not think of taking the office at first, I afterwards concluded to do so. I got $4 cash each proof and published the notice in my paper, which was $4 more. As Clyde was now getting 75 percent of the net profits of the *Patriot* office it made a nice thing for him, for I made about 1,000 final proofs.

April 1. This is the first day of the post office as a presidential office or 3d class. I will now discontinue canceling stamps at the depot. While doing that some of my opponents brought letters down to the train and mailed them to beat me getting the cancellation. I wrote the post office department about it, and the mail clerks on the trains were directed to keep a record of them and report them to me. They would rather keep Medford a 4th class office than . . . . let me have the credit of advancing it. . . . . *April 10.* I went to Guthrie to see Gov. Barnes in regard to county seat affairs. To learn whether the county seat election should be called by him or the county commissioners; if by him to have it done as soon as possible. Reached Guthrie late and learned that Barnes was [in] Oklahoma City. So went to Oklahoma City the next day to see him. Returned with him to Guthrie and . . . . got home the 12th and went at once into committee consideration of county seat matters. As 3d class [postmaster] I now have to make weekly reports of money order business. If I do not get them off Saturday evening I finish them Sundays. . . . . (p. 91) *April 18.* In post office in the forenoon. Afternoon with Attorney General Cunningham, who was looking for a location for

---

[49] Because this bill is one of the strongest bits of evidence in support of Palmer's claim to have been a Court Commissioner, it is reproduced here in its entirety. It should be cautioned, however, that we have only Palmer's word that he wrote the first draft of the measure.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of Amercia in Congress assembled, That the chief justice of the court exercising Federal jurisdiction in the Territories shall have power to appoint commissioners in the several judicial districts, to be known when appointed as United States court commissioners.

"Sec. 2. That said commissioners shall have power, and it shall be their duty on application by proper person, to administer the oaths in preliminary affidavits and final proofs required under the homestead, pre-emption, timber culture, and desert-land laws in their respective districts, in like manner as provided for in reference to United States circuit court commissioners, in the Act of May twenty-sixth, eighteen hundred and ninety. Twenty-sixth Statutes at Large, page one hundred and twenty-one.

"Sec. 3. That no commissioner shall be appointed who resides within thirty miles of any local land office, nor shall any commissioner be appointed who resides within thirty miles of any other commissioner."

U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. XXVIII, Chap. 174, p. 744.

a building investment.[50] Many such engagements as this are added to those I already have. . . . .

May 16. County seat election day. Reports indicate that Medford has won. Returns show that Medford won by 468 votes on a fair count. Pond Creek stuffed the ballot box in each of its 5 wards so that 1000 votes were added to the vote cast. This was done to throw the election into the courts and delay removal. . . . . *Aug. 11.* School meeting and election to vote bonds to build a brick school house [were held]. Of course, it carried, there being only one vote against it. That was cast by me, as I wanted to vote warrants and pay them as we had the money to take them up. *Aug. 23.* Was a hot day. The thermometer showing 108 degrees in the shade. Dennis Flynn was here and stayed all night with us. *Oct. 23.* I went to Guthrie, arriving in the evening. The 24th I took in the Fair, had dinner with Mr. and Mrs. D. T. Flynn. . . . . *Oct. 28.* I took 7 final proofs today and did much other work in the post office. . . . . (p. 92) *Dec. 1.* Clyde took charge of the *Patriot* office today as business manager. I remain editor and help him all I can. I give him 75 percent of the net receipts. The office had no incumbrance whatever. I pay the taxes. It was a golden opportunity, as the *Patriot* publishes all of my final proof notices. . . . . *Dec. 9.* [I spent] most of the time at the Teachers' association. We had a flag raising at which I delivered the address.

February 5, 1900. I went down to Enid today to call upon Judge McAtee by his request in regard to the appointing me Commissioner here of his court.[51] After I had secured the appointment of the U. S. Court Commissioner it was learned that the Commissioners appointed by the local judge had authority to do land office business. My friends in Guthrie requested McAtee to give me his appointment, thus giving me all the work in Grant county. He offered to make my appointment if I would . . . . support his clerk, J. P. Renshaw, for member of the territorial central committee for Grant county. I flatly refused to do so, though it meant from $4000 to $5000 to me. Upon my refusal, he appointed Commissioners at Medford, Wakita, Lamont and Oak Grove, who must have made as many if not more proofs than I did. As I made about $4000 at $4

---

[50] Harper S. Cunningham was born in Ohio in 1841. A Civil War veteran, he studied law and held local political offices in Kansas. Admitted to the bar in 1876, he became county attorney in 1881. He was defeated for that Kansas office in the next election, but survived politically when he was appointed Receiver of his Kansas district U. S. Land Office. Cunningham held this office for four years. In 1889, he settled in Guthrie, and was elected to represent that district in the Territorial Legislature in 1892. He was appointed attorney general of Oklahoma in 1897, a job he filled until 1900. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, p. 52.

[51] John L. McAtee was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court from 1894 to 1902. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 913.

each it is easily seen what they did and what I might have had by selling out. . . . .

March 17. Mr. Meyers, my assistant, called me early as he went to the office to open up to inform me that the post office had been burglarized. I told him . . . . not [to] open up or transact any business, as I would be down immediately. I proceeded to take an invoice before doing any business. I found that $170 were taken, $120 of postal funds and $50 of my money. By disregarding instructions and putting $100 in an old envelope labeled "Old Notes" and putting it in an open hole with some old envelopes, it was saved. I could have put it in my pocket, as I picked it up from the floor among a lot of waste papers while Meyers was gone to breakfast and none else knew of it. I paid $80 for a new safe to keep government money in and paid for it myself. Some would, no doubt, (p. 94) have deemed the conditions a justification to keep the $100, I did not. The government offers no premium on honesty, but punishes dishonesty with a severe hand. On the 19th, Inspector Beebee [Beebe] came to adjust the losses and report. . . . .[52] He was surprised to learn that I had taken an invoice, which saved much time and guessing at the loss. Beebee checked up the office and found all as I made it. The department directed me to take credit for all fund[s] lost, except $16.80 key deposit fund, which I was directed to notify box-holders was stolen and could not be returned, and commence a new account from the date of the robbery. I wrote the department that if they could not reimburse the fund I would do it myself, rather than have the misplaced confidence in the postmaster. I was directed to do so and I did. . . . .

May 18. I received a telegram that the free homes bill had passed and was signed by the President. Following this news I was kept busy with proofs and filings. As I was confidentially informed by Speaker Reed that a day would be given Flynn before Congress adjourned to bring up the free homes bill,[53] and by Flynn, Lacey and Long that the bill would pass in a few days I held up 32 final proofs [so] that the parties could save the payment on their

---

[52] Frank A. Beebe of St. Louis, Missouri, the 12th Congressional District, was employed as a Postal Inspector in St. Louis. *Official Register of the United States*, Vol. II, 1899, p. 1203.

[53] Thomas Brackett Reed (1839-1902) was Maine-born of old colonial stock. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1860. He taught school in California after 1861, and was admitted to the bar in that state in 1863. He was admitted to the Maine bar in 1865. In 1867, he was a Representative in the Maine legislature, and in 1869, was a State Senator. He was attorney general of Maine 1870-1873. In 1876, he was elected to the National House of Representatives where he remained until 1898. He was elected Speaker of that body in 1889. Boomed by many for President, he received only 84½ votes in the National Republican convention of 1896. William A. Robinson, "Thomas Brackett Reed," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Ed. by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1935,) Vol. XV, pp. 456-8. One Oklahoma historian establishes a close relationship between Reed and Representative Flynn. See Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 698.

land or final proofs, which was about $300 each.[54] When it passed, I notified them to come in and make the final affidavit necessary to complete their proof and marked their papers "continued" for it. Several called and wrote to know why I did not send them their final receipts. I could not tell them without exposing my confidential information. While others were shouting and holding free homes meetings, I was writing to members of Congress urging the passage of the measure. In his final great speech on the measure Dennis Flynn used the letter I wrote to him in which I said not to pass the measure was to transfer the debt from the U.S. to private corporations, as of 89 final proofs made by me at that time only four had paid for the land without borrowing the money.[55] Flynn told me that that letter did more to help him than any received. . . . . Yet because I did not forfeit my confidential information, they accused me of not favoring free homes personally, though the *Patriot* strongly supported the passage of the bill. A happy lot were those whose final proofs were held up by me. *June 2.* At a free homes celebration at Jefferson Miller Smith accused me of not being in favor of free homes. Friends present called him down and wired me to come. . . . . I went and denounced him as a wilful liar, and proved it. . . . . *June 26.* I made 10 final proofs and a number of applications to prove up. (p. 95) They were coming thick and fast. . . . . *Aug. 8.* Cora went with me to Guthrie where I went to attend the Republican State convention. Served on the committee on resolutions, which highly commended our delegate to Congress, Dennis T. Flynn, who delivered an address in the evening. The 9th Cora and I took dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Flynn. . . . . (p. 96)

Sept. 27. I have so far used a center table to do my work on. A good desk and chair were shipped to the Santa Fe depot by mistake. It was a duplicate of one sent to another house. The desk and chair were offered me for $32.50, the regular price was $52. I bought them. . . . . *Oct. 8.* The first frost this fall. It did no damage. *Nov. 23.* This is Cora's 18th birthday. In her younger days I

---

[54] Chester I. Long, Representative from the 5th District of Kansas, resided in Medicine Lodge, Kansas. He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee. "Official Congressional Directory," *Senate Documents,* 56th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. III, pp. 34, 153.

[55] In this final impassioned speech, Flynn said:

". . . . . Many who could have proved up. Some had money enough; others, fearing to be without title, with a dread of what might happen in the event of death or contest, have paid the Government by mortgaging the land. One person before whom final proofs are taken wrote me a short time ago and said that of 107 proofs taken by him the past year, 87 mortgaged their land to obtain sufficient money with which to prove up. . . . ."

Although the discrepancy in the figures given by Palmer in his biography and Flynn in his speech is apparent, this reference by Flynn may have been to the Palmer letter. If this view is taken, one could be almost certain that Palmer was a Court Commissioner. *Congressional Record,* 56th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. XXXIII, Pt. 6, p. 5057. The "free homes" bill may be found in *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXXI, Ch. 479, p. 179.

promised to give her a gold watch, as I did Mae, if she would not wear corsets before she was 18 years old. So I bought her one costing $23. It with a basket of cakes, were sent to her today. Cora is making such progress in her music that it looks to me I have run up against a strong and expensive proposition. . . . . Vocal music appeared to be her fort[e]. All who heard her, capable of judging, said she would make a high mark if her voice was developed. *Nov. 25.* Sarah is 48 years old today, there being only 2 days difference in her and Cora's birthdays. I got her a beautiful piano scarf for a present. . . . .

January 28, 1901. I went to Guthrie, called on Gov. Barnes, and looked in on the legislature. Some of the members went for me because I rounded them up in the *Patriot* for their extravagance and useless expenditures. But they admitted the truthfulness of what I had published. They did not like to have a Republican paper roast them. *Jan. 29.* Called on Secretary Jenkins and others. Left for home in the evening. These runs are a rest from business. *Feb. 6.* I am 54 years old today, in my prime and able to do much work. *Feb. 14.* Doc. Wilkins came to work awhile in the printing office and make me a visit. It is 15 years since he worked for me. He was one of my earliest and best hands. *Feb. 25.* Mr. Meyers, my assistant, desired to quit and return to his musical business. So I hired George Strandberg, who commenced this date. . . . .[56] (p. 97) *April 7.* Doc Wilkins and I went to the cowlot to teach me to ride his bicycle. We had a time. I broke it in all right. It scared the stock to see me going. *April 8.* Went to temperance meeting, lecture by Miss Nina Jackson.[57]

July 9. There was a great rush to El Reno to register for a home in the new opening. . . . .[58] *.July 19.* I went down to El Reno with Cora and Maggie Du Bois [De Bois], who registered for a claim. *July 27.* There were 167,000 persons registered for 3,000 claims of 160 acres each. The first rain of any value fell today for this month. . . . . *Sept. 26.* President McKinley was shot this afternoon about 4:10 P.M. . . . . while delivering an address at Buffalo, N. Y. He died Sept. 14. . . . . The post office was draped. Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as President. . . . .

Sept. 23. I bought lots . . . . upon which to build an opera house. The price of the lots was $800. The deed was placed in escrow until

---

56 Although extensive data on George Strandberg is not available, he was listed officially as Palmer's assistant. *Official Register of the United States,* 1901, Vol. II, p. 647. Palmer's report on his postmaster tenure, compensation, assistants, and successor, checks in every detail with the listings found in the appropriate *Official Registers,* 1899-1909.

57 *Medford Patriot,* May 23, 1901.

58 A fine account of the El Reno land opening may be found in Thoburn, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 728-733. An article on the general conditions of homesteading in Woodward and Grant counties, and one that adds some detail to Palmer's somewhat sketchy picture is Roscoe E. Harper's "Homesteading in Northwestern Oklahoma Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVI, pp. 326-336.

I put up a brick building. I went to Enid and Wellington to look at opera houses in those places. When I concluded to build, John Korndorfer and Bob Brown, the 2 saloonkeepers here, (p. 98) offered to donate $200 each, which I declined as I did not want to be under any obligations to them or their business. *Oct. 14.* I commenced laying rock in the foundation of the opera house. Though busy looking after the building, which is 50X100 feet, ceiling to be 21 feet center and 20 feet walls, my diary related that I was "Forenoon at post office and afternoon at printing office helping get out the *Patriot.*" And frequently making 1 or more final proofs. When a younger man I often wished I had enough to do to keep me busy without hunting for work. Surely I have it now. Fortunately I had a good deputy in the post office, though he was away occasionally, as he played in the town band, when I had all the post office business to attend to. This with from 3 to 10 final proofs a day kept me busy. Commenced canvassing for cards on the opera house curtain, which amounted to over $200. I got the curtain made, painted and with roller, rope and pulleys at Kansas City for $32. I was bored with offers to paint the curtain free with the advertising privilege, and architects who wanted to . . . . furnish plans and specifications for the house. Grafters! Clyde relieved me of looking after the management of the *Patriot* office, though I made out and settled accounts with merchants around town. . . . .

Nov. 28. We got out an enlarged issue of the *Patriot.* I have been at the office evenings all the week helping with the press work. *Dec. 17.* Though the opera house was not completed I desired that the citizens of Medford should have the first entertainment therein, so invited all to come free and inspect it. The house was well filled. Addresses were made by several. Frank G. Walling made the principal one eulogizing my efforts in behalf of Medford and commending my efforts. *Dec. 19.* Though not completed, as we were delayed in getting pressed brick for the front, the opera house was opened by C. W. Stater, with Staters Madison Square Theater Co. Receipts first night were $125.20; second night, $115.90; third night, $130.75. I received 20 percent. My share for the 3 nights was $73. . . . . *Dec. 21.* The last day of the show Marshal Ryan came to me with an order to collect a license bill of $10.50. I went to see Mayor Allen, who said that the (p. 99) city ordinance called for it. I told him that the board of trustees assured me that in erecting such a building there would be no license charged for anything therein. He was sore because he and his family and other families of the board of trustees had not been given passes. This had been the custom of a little hall. . . . . Monday next, when the carpenter . . . . came in to inquire about some work, I told him not to do any more work, but to bring in his bill, as I had concluded to convert the building into a business house. Soon after . . . . the painter called at the post office to make some inquiry, and I told him not to put

any more paint on lumber, as I could use it otherwise if not painted, and to bring in his bill. It being in the post office and many coming in it soon spread over town. The people were indignant and went to Allen protesting against his action. A special meeting of the board was held in the evening and I was invited to attend. I did so. Allen stated the object of the meeting was to arrange for the use of the building as an opera house, asking what I wanted. I told him it was rather late, as I had concluded otherwise, but supposed I could go ahead and fit the house for an opera house. If I did so, I wanted an ordinance drawn repealing the one now existing and enacting one in which everything entering the opera house should be free while it was used as an opera house. A motion was made and carried to have one drawn and submitted to me for my approval. Then I was asked if that was all. I said, "No," as I wanted the money refunded which I had paid. This was done. The building was therefore continued as an opera house. *Dec. 24.* . . . . The opera house was donated free for the use of the Sunday Schools for a union entertainment. *Dec. 28.* [The] Bethany College quartet, of whom Cora was one, gave a concert.[59] After which a dance was put on. The quartet stopped with us, as they were all college friends of Cora's. No charge was made for the house. They gave some concerts in neighboring towns, making our house their headquarters. *January 6, 1902.* . . . . So many entertainments were given at the opera house that I will only mention . . . . [the] most important. Almost every night there was something doing, especially if the house was free.

Jan. 20. I called a meeting of business men to take counsel regarding the complaints made by the people on prices paid for wheat, and charged for flour. At the meeting this was denied by some, but admitted by others. I proved that the complaints were well founded, which, of course, made them very angry, but they came through, as the plan was to put a buyer on the streets to buy if they did not. (p. 100) My action brought me some enemies who are such to this day. But it made a lot of friends among the farmers. . . . . *April 1.* I went down to Kingfisher, to which the land office for this county was changed and the . . . . office at Enid [abandoned]. I will now report to Kingfisher. A difference of opinions at once arose, which was referred to the general land office. . . . . *April 26.* The Odd Fellows celebrated [the] 83d anniversary of the order in Medford. The "Odd Fellow" was played in the opera house to over $200 receipts, making me over $50. *May 17.* [The] anniversary of the signing of the free homes bill was celebrated in Medford. I was called and made a short talk. *May 25.* Cora came home from college for the holidays. May 30. Decoration day. Services were held in the opera house, which was packed full. Cora sang a solo, which was encored. . . . . *May 31.* I bought a piano for the opera house

[59] Bethany College was located in Lindsborg, Kansas.

Palmer Home, Medford, Oklahoma

Palmer Opera House, Medford, Oklahoma

for which I paid $295. It was a good one. . . . .[60] *July 4.* Medford celebrated. We had as guests Mrs. and Miss Beauchamp, wife and daughter of our District Judge.[61] *July 16.* We entertained at supper the faculty of the county Normal, then being held here. . . . . *Aug. 9.* I was elected a delegate to the Republican Representative convention. . . . . (p. 101) *Sept. 24.* I went to the Rock Island depot to meet Gov. and Mrs. Ferguson, who came in on train 36.[62] They were our guests for dinner. He spoke in the opera house in the afternoon. I presided over the meeting.

Nov. 4. Election day. I did not work on the streets much of the time, as I was busy in the office. The returns show that McGuire is *elected.*[63] Dec. 3. I was called by phone about 3 o'clock this morning and told that there were parties in the post office. I called Clyde and we went down to find that the office had been entered and an attempt made to blow open the safe with nitro-glycerine. One of the bolts of the safe had been broken but not opened. I got a blacksmith to cut in the side so we could push the bolt in and get the safe open. . . . . Nothing was taken. I had to get a new safe. . . . . *Dec. 26.* The Corbet building and some others near it burned that morning. Loss estimated at $10,000. *January 5, 1903.* Commenced soliciting cards for a new curtain for the opera house. *Jan. 16.* Wm. Jennings Bryan spoke in the opera house to a large crowd. The house was packed. It was to have been a lecture, but was a political address. . . . .

---

[60] This piano was still in use when Palmer wrote his manuscript in March, 1916.

[61] J. K. Beauchamp, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court 1902-1907, was from Enid, Oklahoma. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 914.

[62] Thompson Benton Ferguson was born in Iowa in 1857. Educated in the public schools of Kansas and in the Kansas State Normal at Emporia, he taught for several years. He settled in Watonga, Oklahoma, in 1892, and established the *Watonga Republican.* He became Watonga's postmaster in 1897, and was appointed Governor of the Territory by Roosevelt in 1901, upon the removal from office of Governor Jenkins. His career, though more successful, offers an interesting parallel to Palmer's. It was only Ferguson's position as Chairman of the Republican State Committee that earned him the Governorship over Palmer. In 1907, Ferguson was the Republican nominee for Representative to Congress. Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 583. Interestingly enough, Ferguson was accused of being one of M. A. Low's friends. On December 12, 1901, the *Daily Oklahoman* charged him with being subservient to the interests of the Rock Island railroad and its attorney, Low. Cited in Dora Ann Stewart, *The Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory,* (Harlow Publishing Co., 1933,) p. 309.

[63] Bird S. McGuire was born in Illinois in 1866. He attended the public schools of Missouri and the State Normal School of Kansas. He completed his academic work in the University of Kansas. In 1889, he was admitted to the Kansas bar, thereafter serving as county attorney for Chautauqua county, Kansas, for four years. In 1893, he settled in Pawnee, Oklahoma. He was appointed Assistant U. S. District Attorney in 1897, a position he held until 1902. He was prominent in the move for statehood, and was elected as a Republican Delegate to Congress. He was re-elected in 1904 and 1906. Following Oklahoma's admission in 1907, he was one of the first Oklahoma Congressmen, representing the 1st Congressional District. He was re-elected to that office in 1908, 1910, and 1912. After 1915, he retired to his Tulsa law practice. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1259.

March 3. Judge Beauchamp gave his decision on the county seat case against Medford. It was generally believed he had sold out, as he assured me he was with us. Quite a number went down from Medford expecting it otherwise. His opinion was that nothing could be done until we got statehood. *March 13.* We had at the opera house the play "Two Jolly Rovers". . . . . (p. 102) The weather had been very bad, waters were high, trains were late or did not run at all, making it hard on the show business. . . . . *April 22.* I went to Oklahoma City to attend a Republican banquet. I remained until 3. A.M. of the 23d, when I went to the depot and caught the first train for home. . . . .

May 14. Sarah went to Lindsborg to help Cora get ready for graduation. . . . . She [Cora] did well and was highly commended by the faculty and students. After the recital we went down to a restaurant and afterward to the dormitory to sleep. *May 17.* After an early lunch and walk down to the river we left for home, where we arrived in the evening. Our youngest daughter has taken her first step toward a musical career. She was a favorite in the college, loved and admired by all who knew her. . . . . *May 31.* We had the greatest flood ever known in Oklahoma and Kansas. Stream[s] were out of their banks and flooding the country. 200 persons were said to have drowned at Topeka. Great damage was done to crops. . . . . (p. 103)

June 15. A Commercial Club was organized in the evening. I was put on the committee on constitution and bylaws, in fact I had them already written. *June 22.* I went to Guthrie to attend a Republican meeting. . . . . [In the] evening the editors had a meeting, which adjourned . . . . in time to catch a train for Enid. Arrived home the next morning. *July 7.* We had the pleasure of entertaining Gov. and Mrs. Ferguson for dinner and supper. They were here to attend the convention. It was a big day in town. . . . . *July 16.* [I went] down to Kingfisher on land office [business]. Afterwards went on to Guthrie the next day and called on Governor Ferguson, remained over the 21st. Took dinner, rather lunch, with Gov. and Mrs. Ferguson. When he told her over the phone I was coming she said she would send the carriage. I proposed to walk, as it was only a few blocks. We walked. At lunch my peculiar eating embarrassed her as well as myself. There were raw tomatoes, ham and celery, which I did not eat so I made my meal mostly on white bread and butter and water to drink, as I do not drink tea or coffee. Such is life. . . . .

Oct. 25. The churches united in a temperance meeting and I donated the use of the opera house, as usual, for the union services. . . . . (p. 104) *Nov. 26.* A post office inspector called to investigate some charges [against me]. . . . . Nothing came of [it]. . . . . Today my whole family took dinner with me and went to a show at the

opera house this evening. *Dec. 9.* Father died today, as I was informed by telegram. . . . . He died, as did Mother, believing in a literal resurrection of the body at the second coming of Christ. He went to sleep for a short time, expecting the coming soon. . . . .

Dec. 21. I received notice of my re-appointment as postmaster for another term of 4 years. . . . . *January 7, 1904.* I received a New Year's gift in the form of a commission as postmaster for 4 years more. *Jan. 10.* Cora started for Guthrie in response to an invitation from Mrs. Governor Ferguson to be her personal guest and sing at her reception Tuesday, Jan. 12. The *Capital* and *Leader* of Jan. 13, gave Cora very high praise for her singing at the reception. . . . .[64] *Feb. 5.* While doing some work in the loft of the opera house I fell to the stage, breaking my left wrist. I was on the top of the ladder [when it] slipped on the floor. Dr. Roberts dressed my wrist, but did not get it perfect. . . . . *Feb. 6.* I was 57 years old. With my arm in a sling I continued doing most of my work. . . . . (p. 105) *March 2.* About 7:30 P.M. a wind came down from the north at a rate of 60 miles an hour and blew until midnight. One of the worst we ever had. *March 5.* I attended the school lands lessees meeting. *March 17.* I went to Wellington to meet Sarah, who is returning from Kansas City. . . . . *March 21.* A primary election was held to elect delegates to the county convention. I was one chosen. . . . . *March 25.* Attended the county convention and was elected a delegate to the state convention at Guthrie. *April 4.* George Strandberg, my assistant, went to Oklahoma City to take the examination for railway mail clerk. [This] evening the Commercial Club had a social at the opera house. This is the 31st anniversary of our wedding. *April 5.* Cora came home from Kansas City last night. *April 6.* I went to Guthrie to attend the Republican State convention. 7th, attended the convention. As usual, I was placed on the committee on resolutions. Left for home in the evening, getting as far as Enid. Got home the next morning. Expenses 75 cents. Nothing paid out for cigars and drinks. *April 13.* Had a lively caucus to nominate candidates for city offices. . . . . *July 8.* There was high water. The Rock Island bridge at Jefferson went out, taking an engine and some cars with it, but none was reported hurt. Many went down to see it. *July 9.* We have not had any mails on the Rock Island since Tuesday. It was the greatest flood we have had. *July 16.* My diary quotes the weather today as dry and hot. A great change in a few days. . . . .

---

[64] The *Guthrie Daily Leader* was founded by Frank Dale, R. V. Hoffman, and William Blincoe in 1893. Leslie G. Niblack was the editor and manager, becoming the sole owner in 1902. This journal was the official organ of the Guthrie Constitutional Convention of 1906, and was, from its inception, the voice of the Democratic party. The *Daily State Capital* was owned by Frank Hilton Greer, and was established in 1889. A Republican mouthpiece, it appeared daily except Mondays. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-3, 328-9.

Aug. 28. I was called to the post office this morning about 6:30, as someone had attempted to burglarize the office. They got about 50 cents, which had been left in the stamp drawer. Nothing else damaged. *Sept. 1.* All day at the Demo-Pop convention at the opera house. I was a target as usual on such occasions. . . . . I gave them many shots through the editorial columns of the *Patriot.* . . . . *Oct. 20.* George Strandberg finished today. He has been with me over 3 years. . . . . *Nov. 8.* Election day. Theodore Roosevelt was elected by one of the largest majorities ever given a candidate for President of the United States. It was a peoples' election. The monied interest was not in it. . . . . (p. 107) *January 2, 1905.* Elmer L. Wilson commenced working in the post office as my assistant. . . . . At the present time (1916) he is Assistant State Bank Examiner. . . . . He had been with me but a short time when I advised him to set his stake for that of a banker, recognizing his natural abilities therefor. . . . . *Jan. 13.* Was our coldest day this year, the thermometer being 9 degrees below zero. *Jan. 25.* Went down to Guthrie to look in on the legislature. Went to the Royal hotel, Republican headquarters. The next day, called upon the Governor and Secretary of State. . . . . *Feb. 13.* The thermometer registered this morning 24 degrees below zero. It was an Iowa freeze, still and deep, the heavy fall of snow aided the cold wave. . . . . (p. 108) *March 10.* We had in the opera house one of the most interesting plays that ever appeared there: Dr. Jenkin [Jeckyll] and Mr. Hyde. The rapid changes and opposite personalities of two characters and personation of them was well done. . . . . *June 9.* I went to Oklahoma City to attend a banquet given by Hon. Dennis T. Flynn to Senator Chester I. Long. It was a grand spread. . . . . *June 11.* Sarah, Mae and the children and I went to the 101 ranch to a great Wild West Doings. Leaving for home on the car while I held Cecyle in my arms and was in a jam, my pockets were picked of R. R. pass and pocket book containing $16. (p. 109) The purse and pass were afterwards returned to me, as a lot of them were left in a pile where the thieves examined their loot. . . . .

Aug. 8. Had a meeting at the opera house to talk up an ice plant and creamery. *Aug. 10.* I went to Caldwell to meet McGuire and advise him as to the situation, and went to Renfrow in the evening with him. And the next day we went to Jefferson to an old soldiers reunion. . . . . (p. 110) *Nov. 24.* . . . . We installed a press represented to us to be a practically new one. The company sent a man here to make it work. . . . . *January 4, 1606.* This being press day I was at the printing office much of the time helping to make the "new press" run. . . . . *Jan. 15.* Got up early this morning to get work done and take the first train (p. 111) for Guthrie to attend the inauguration

of Frank Frantz [as] Governor of Oklahoma.[65] He was one of President Roosevelt's Spanish War boys, but a rather poor Governor. Arrived at Guthrie at 10:30 A.M. and went to the Governor's office and met Frank and his wife, whom I knew in the early days of Medford. [That] afternoon attended the inauguration and soon after started for Medford, arriving at 12 o'clock. . . . .

March 15. We received another cylinder press in place of the one the company tried to load upon us, and put the new one up, although they wrote us that they would send a man to put it up. It is a good one. It came from New York by water via Galveston and up the river. The cost of the press was $1200. It was a Cotterall. (p. 112) *March 20.* I wrote some resolutions for the Commercial Club on statehood. . . . . *April 7.* Had a telephone meeting in the evening to consider putting in a plant. . . . . *April 20.* Attended Republican primary, of which I was president. . . . . *May 30.* My oldest brother and his 5th wife, Mary, came to town last evening and went to a rooming house. I saw them on the street in the morning and they went home with me for dinner. They were on their way to the Pacific Coast. He has recently discovered what he calls Chiropractic, a system of removing disease by adjusting vertebra in the spinal column, which, becoming displaced by falls or strain impinge the nerves and prevent their distribution of the life-giving vitality. He has so far developed it into a science, which will make his name immortal.[66]

June 3. D. D. and wife and Sarah and I went to Oklahoma City on an excursion. We called upon D. T. Flynn. I introduced D. D. as Dr. Palmer, which caused Flynn to inquire into his school of practice, as his wife has poor health. He went with her to Europe for treatment after having the highest in New York treat her and operate on her without any benefit. *June 4.* Mrs. Flynn came for treatment by D. D. and went to a hotel, as her 2 boys were with her, and Sarah did not feel able to care for them. . . . . In 3 days she was able to sleep well and in a week she could walk 6 blocks and return for exercise without becoming (p. 113) dizzy. She and Sarah drove out in the country several times and went back and forth. . . . . Mr. Flynn told me afterwards that she had not since had a dizzy spell and could sleep well without an opiate. . . . . *June 10.* Sarah and I took dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Flynn at the Commercial

[65] Frank Frantz (1872-1941) was the seventh and last Territorial Governor. He settled in Medford quite early where he engaged briefly in the lumber and hardware business. Moving on to California, he joined the "Rough Riders" in the Spanish American War. Appointed postmaster of Enid in 1901, he moved up the political ladder with the assistance of Theodore Roosevelt. Meserve, *op. cit.*, p. 226 f.

[66] Daniel David Palmer (1845-1913) was the founder of Chiropractic. This manuscript by Thomas J. Palmer fills in several unknown details of Daniel's life. James M. Phalen, "Daniel David Palmer," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Edited by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), Vol. XIV, p. 177.

hotel. He returned immediately thereafter to Washington. *June 14.* The statehood bill passed the Senate today and the House on the 15th. *June 16.* A jubilation meeting was held at the opera house over the passage of the statehood bill. I was chairman and D. T. Flynn made an address, which was heartily cheered. . . . . (p. 114)

Oct. 13. At a meeting of the stockholders of the ice plant I was chosen a director and by the board made president. As the saloons and some others declared they would not take ice if I remained on the board, I had a good reason to resign a job I did not want. . . . . *Oct. 21.* I went to Wichita to meet Vice-President Fairbanks and accompanied him through Oklahoma to Medford.[67] He is a pleasant gentleman and was well received. . . . . *Oct. 22.* A number of prominent Republicans met in the opera house in the afternoon and made speeches. It was a congratulating meeting. . . . . *Oct. 30.* As my term of postmaster was about to expire and an inspector was in town there was a gang after him fighting me. It did them no good. . . . . *February 6, 1907.* I am 60 years old, but do not feel so. *March 11.* Leroy I. Black commenced work in the post office, as Elmer wants to try farming awhile. Roy was the greenest clerk I had in the post office during my service. But he was thoroughly honest, diligent and had the pluck to stay with anything he undertook. . . . . (p. 116)

"I have one of the best and most beautiful orchards in this vicinity. Many stop to admire it as they pass by. Fruit of all kinds and 2 rows of beautiful maples and elms around it. . . . ." This is a quotation from my diary the 14th of March, 1907. How sad are the comparisons now, March 17, 1916. But trees are growing again and we may live to see it as it was again. If not, someone else may. . . . . *May 6.* The green bugs have almost destroyed the wheat, and had entered the oats. . . . . (p. 117) *Sept. 4.* I went over to Nardin to meet B. S. McGuire and to advise him of the political situation here. A trap had been set for him on . . . . post office affairs. The old soldiers were going to force him to recommend one of their number for postmaster here, or get up a racket against him here. . . . . *Sept. 7.* Had a Republican rally. Victor Murdock, principal speaker, took dinner with us. . . . .[68] *Nov. 7.* The bank crisis continues. Depositors can only get $10 on one day. This was a bank agreement to protect them from runs. It worked all

[67] Charles Warren Fairbanks (1852-1918) was Ohio born. He ran on the Roosevelt ticket of 1901. In 1912, however, he was chairman of the platform committee that nominated Taft over Roosevelt. John Donald Hicks, "Charles Warren Fairbanks," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931.) Vol. VI, p. 218 f.

[68] Victor Murdock was a Kansas newspaperman. Born in Kansas in 1871, he lived in Wichita, where he succeeded his father in the ownership of the *Wichita Eagle*. He was a Congressman from Kansas in 1902, and served in that position until 1914. He followed Roosevelt out of the party in 1912. Charles Evans, "Victor Murdock," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, p. 406 f.

right. . . . . *January 7, 1908.* I went down to Enid this evening on my way to Guthrie. . . . . *March 3.* I loaned D. D. $300 to go to Oklahoma City. He sold his grocery and went to Oklahoma City to resume Chiropractic practice and open a school. He gave purchasers of his grocery time on part payment. . . . . *April 20.* Arrived home this forenoon and went direct to the post office for the day. *April 21.* Wrote a letter to the post office department in reply to a letter from the department citing a letter from I. R. Heasty charging me with threatening to . . . . [break] the First National Bank, of which he was the cashier. He had started a boycot[t] on the *Patriot* because I would not submit to a censorship of my editorials on the county seat campaign on demand of the county seat committee, a majority of whom had threatened to resign unless I did. I wrote an editorial urging "Greater Medford." . . . . Nothing grew out of the Heasty letter. . . . .

May 27. Grant county voted on the removal of the county seat. Medford won by 251 majority over both Pond Creek and Jefferson. . . . . (p. 119) *June 29.* We had a jubilee over news from Guthrie, sustaining our election as county seat. . . . . *Oct. 26.* District court convened in the opera house, Medford, Okla., for the first time, as a recognition of county seat settlement. *Nov. 11.* We entertained Judge Bowles, our district judge, who is a Democrat this evening for supper. . . . . *Nov. 14.* I have put in considerable time this week soliciting adds for my opera house curtain. After paying for the curtain I cleared about [$]150. . . . . *Nov. 26.* I went down to Enid and over to Pawnee to see B. S. McGuire about post office matters. As I was urged to accept the office again for so many did not want J. P. Becker. . . . . [69] (p. 120) January *18, 1909.* Received a telegram from McGuire that he had endorsed Becker. He afterwards told me that when he received a telegram from Tom Adams saying that he had received a plurality vote here for postmaster that he sent the endorsement for Becker to the department, as he would not endorse Adams and knew that I did not care for it. . . . . McGuire said the department would soon have appointed me on my service record according to my application. .*Feb. 8.* It being evident that I would not long hold the post office, and Clyde wanted to try some other business, I offered the *Patriot* for sale. . . . . (p. 121) *Feb. 20.* [W. W.] Welter called to buy [my newspaper] at price named [$2500] and the papers were made out and placed in escrow in the Grant County Bank, Welter putting up a forfeit of $500.

Feb. 25. Becker received his commission as postmaster. He called with it Friday and we agreed to make the transfer Sunday, to take effect Monday, March 1, 1909. *Feb. 28.* Invoiced the post

[69] Jacob P. Becker was the Representative from the 11th District in the Territorial House of Representatives in 1905. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 927. His compensation as Medford's postmaster following 1909, was $100 more than Palmer's had been. *Official Register of the United States*, 1909, Vol. II, p. 406.

office and turned it over to Becker this evening having held it 11 years and 14 days, a year and 2 months after my commission expired. . . . . Inspectors invariably reported all correct on their inspections. When I learned a better way to do anything I did it so and was reported, but was never reproved for it. . . . . While the post office paid me well it was not the most pleasant business, but I got through and held my own very well. The income from it enabled me to send Cora to Berlin 2 years and give Clyde a good start, also helping Mae several times after her first marriage. . . . . Mostly through it Cora was sent to Bethany. . . . . *March 1.* I made out all my reports and closed my connection with the postal department, and moved my desk and office to the opera house. The room was rented to Becker until he could provide other quarters. I also sold him my boxes and other outfit. *March 8.* Welter arrived to take possession of the *Patriot* office. So the deal was closed and transfer made. . . . . (p. 122)

July 13. Work began today on the new court house, which will be built on an issue of county warrants instead of bonds, it being a measure promoted and won by the *Patriot* against all other county papers. As advocated by me, the debt was paid by a levy of 1 mill per annum for 3 years and ½ mill for each (p. 123) of 2 years, because of the increased value of property in the county. There was no hesitancy in parties bidding for the contract and accepting warrants instead of bonds. . . . . (p. 124) *Oct. 5.* Election held to vote on the issue of $30,000 of bonds to put in electric lights and extend water mains. Of course, they carried. . . . . *Nov. 23.* I made a purchase of 4 lots in the promising city of Gratis, Texas with gas and oil prospects, boating rights, etc., lying between Orange and Beaumont, where there are numerous wells. Paid $40 for same. . . . . *January 15, 1910.* I permitted a boxing match in the opera house in the evening, the first of the kind I have allowed in it. It was not very bad. None hurt sparing for points. . . . . (p. 125) *Feb. 1.* [This was the] first evening of a moving picture show in the opera house. I rented it to Burner & Heminger at $50 a month to be used all times when there was not a show to occupy it. . . . . (p. 127)

June 1. Received word from Dennis Flynn to meet him at the depot about noon. I did and he went home with me for the day. *June 7.* I went down to the reunion at Jefferson to hear Gov. Ferguson speak. When we came up to the depot, sitting on the platform he told me that I came within one of being Governor of Oklahoma instead of him. When President Roosevelt decided to remove Gov. Jenkins, he sent for Flynn to recommend 3 men from whom to select a man for Governor. Flynn recommended Tom Ferguson, Harry Gilstrap, and T. J. Palmer.[70] Having told the

[70] Harry Gilstrap of Chandler, Oklahoma, was editor and publisher of the *Chandler News* following 1892. His was a Republican newspaper. If Palmer is to be believed, Roosevelt's choice for Governor lay between three Republican newspapermen. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 281 f.

President all about each of us he dropped Gilstrap. Then canvassing more closely the other two, he said, "I like what you say about the honesty and independence of Palmer, you may wire him to come to Washington." As Flynn arose and started for the door, [Roosevelt] recalled that Ferguson was chairman of the Republican state committee and stopped Flynn and told him to wire Ferguson. So near and yet so far from great honors! It was well. Ferguson said that he came out of office $2000 in debt and his newspaper run down, while I made about $12,000, had a good business and was not a dollar in debt. Of course, I would [have] chanced the Governor business had it been tendered to (p. 128) me. Had it been me there would have been one Governor of Oklahoma without affectation and display. . . . .

June 13. I left for a trip to my boyhood home and the east this morning. . . . . *June 15.* Reached Washington at noon and put in a busy afternoon, visited both Houses of Congress, met our Representatives, went to the White House and other prominent places, leaving on a boat late in the evening on the Potomac river for Norfolk. . . . . *June 18.* . . . . I went down to the wharf to witness the reception given Theodore Roosevelt on his return from Europe. We had a good view of the wharf and the vessel that brought him in amid the ringing of bells, blowing of whistles and shouts of an immense multitude, the largest by many thousands I ever saw. It was to see this that I hurried from Washington, as I left home about 3 days too late to stop long in the great city. After seeing the parade form and start out with the Spanish War veterans as consort, we crossed the city to where we found a seat on the foundation of a new building where the procession passed us within a few feet. From the time that he left Castle Garden to the close of the parade, lasting about 4 hours, it was one constant cheer. No knight of old ever met with a greater welcome home. . . . .[71]

[71] The rest of Palmer's biography is primarily concerned with matters concerning his immediate family.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Oklahoma Historical Markers Completed, 1950

Markers for commemorating fifty important historic sites in Oklahoma have been completed and are being placed at designated points on the highways, nearest the respective sites, in the state, under the direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Committee for Marking Historic Sites, of which Maj. Gen. Wm. S. Key is Chairman, in co-operation with the State Highway Department, Hon. H. E. Bailey, Director. Members of the Society's Committee are Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Col. George H. Shirk, Dr. Charles Evans, Muriel H. Wright. Mr. F. W. Arnold, Assistant Maintenance Engineer, State Highway, has had direct supervision of the Highway Department's work in this project. Special acknowledgment is due Dr. Morris L. Wardell, Department of History of The University of Oklahoma, for his interest and assistance in submitting a list of some 90 historic sites, with their locations and brief data, that should be commemorated and marked in the state.

The Twenty-second State Legislature appropriated the sum of $10,000 for the biennium ($5,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1950, and June 30, 1951) for the erection of 100 historical markers over the state. Fifty sites were selected and the markers provided and placed in 1949;[1] the second fifty sites now being marked will complete this project provided for by the State Legislature.

Making up the final list, under the direction of the Society's Committee, as well as furnishing the historical data, writing the inscriptions for the markers and determining the locations for the plaques on the highways nearest the historic sites has been done in the Society's Editorial Department. The State Highway Department has had charge of all matters in letting the contract for manufacture of the metal plaques and the proper erection of these at the places designated on the highways, and will have the general care and oversight of the plaques in the future. The contract in both 1949 and 1950 for the manufacture of the plaques was let by the State Highway through competitive bidding to the Sewah Studios, Marietta, Ohio, which company offered the best prices and is well known for the manufacture of historical markers erected in many states.

Dedication programs for some of the 1950 markers are already being planned for early spring in different parts of the state. Very interesting programs were held recently for the dedication of the

[1] A report on the 50 markers completed in 1949, under the auspices of the Historical Society and the State Highway Commission, was given in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 420-24.

following 1949 markers:[2] "Choctaw Capitols," near Tuskahoma, August 26, program under the direction of Dr. Anna Lewis, head of the History Department, Oklahoma College for Women; "Atoka," at Atoka, October 28, under the auspices of the Pioneer Club, and on the same day in the afternoon for "Old Boggy Depot" on the grounds of the home of the late Rev. and Mrs. Allen Wright at the site of Old Boggy Depot, about 4½ miles southeast of the location of this marker on the Wapanucka Road, 9 miles west of Atoka. The dedication of the "Wheelock Mission" marker was held on November 19, at the Wheelock Mission Church (oldest church building in Oklahoma, 1846) about 2 miles northeast of Millerton, McCurtain County, under the direction of Mrs. Leila Black, Principal of Wheelock Academy.

In addition to the fifty markers provided in 1950 for the State project, two other markers have been provided by local subscription, approved by the Historical Society's Committee, as follows: "Original No Man's Land" erected on the Oklahoma-Texas line, at Texhoma, in Texas County; "First Hospital in Indian Territory" at the site in Tulsa.

Captions with directional lines and place of erection of the fifty historical markers in the 1950 list, now being erected, are as follows, given in the order of their recorded numbers:

No.	Caption	Date in History	Location of Marker
1.	WICHITA AGENCY "Site 5 mi. N.E."	— (1859)	—In Caddo Co., on State Highway #9 at junction with U. S. #62, s.e. of Ft. Cobb.
2.	CHILOCCO INDIAN SCHOOL	— (1882)	—In Kay Co., on U.S. #77, 3 mi. south of state line.
3.	ROCK MARY "3.5 mi. Southwest"	— (1849)	—In Caddo Co., south side of U.S. #66, west of Bridgeport.
4.	CAMP RADZIMINSKI "Site 2 mi. West."	— (1858)	—In Kiowa Co., west side of U.S. #183, north of Mountain Park 2 or 3 miles.
5.	SACRED HEART MISSION	— (1876)	—In Pottawatomie Co., north side of State #39, due south of village of Sacred Heart.
6.	101 RANCH "Old Boundary line here."	— (1893)	—In Noble Co., on west side of U.S. #77, north of Marland.
7.	GUTHRIE "First Capital of Oklahoma"	— (1889)	—In Logan Co., on U.S. #77, at park south of downtown Guthrie.
8.	OSAGE AGENCY	— (1872)	—In Osage Co., on U.S. #60, north edge of Pawhuska.

[2] For other dedication programs for 1949 markers, see report in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), pp. 208-09.

9. PAWNEE AGENCY "About 2 mi. East" — (1874) —In Pawnee Co., at junction of U.S. #64 and State #18, east side of Pawnee.

10. SEGER COLONY "4 mi. North" — (1886) —In Washita Co., on State #41, east side of road going north to Colony.

11. CAMP COMANCHE "Site near here" — (1834) —In Comanche Co., on U.S. #62, 2 miles south of Comanche Co. line.

12. CAMP SUPPLY — (1868) —In Woodward Co., on side of U.S. #70, near entrance of Western State Hospital, Supply.

13. CANTONMENT "Site about 2 mi. N." — (1879) —In Blaine Co., north side of State #51, about 1.5 mi. west of Canton.

14. FORT RENO —(1874-1875)—In Canadian Co., north side of U.S. #66, at entrance to Fort Reno.

15. FORT SILL INDIAN SCHOOL— (1871) —In Comanche Co., on east side of U.S. #277, between Ft. Sill and Lawton.

16. KINGFISHER — (1889) —In Kingfisher Co., on U.S. #81, corner of Post Office grounds, Kingfisher.

17. RUN OF '89 WEST BOUNDARY — (1889) —In Canadian Co., on U.S. #66, about one mile west of El Reno.

18. RUN OF '89 EAST BOUNDARY — (1889) —In Oklahoma Co., on U.S. #66, east of Arcadia, on Indian Meridian.

19. "OKLAHOMA WAR CHIEF" — (1884) —In Kay Co., on west side of U.S. 177, north of Braman, near Santa Fe R.R.

20. THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA — (1890) —In Cleveland Co., west side of U.S. #77, three blocks south of Boyd St., Norman.

21. KEOKUK FALLS "Ghost Town. Site 2 mi. E." — (1891) —In Pottawatomie Co., on State #99, about ½ mile north of Canadian R. bridge

22. MEKASUKEY ACADEMY — (1891) —In Seminole Co., north side of State #59, about 4 miles s.e. of Seminole.

23. OKLAHOMA A. AND M. COLLEGE — (1890) —In Payne Co., on State #51, on college ground near Union Bldg., Stillwater.

24. BLACK BEAVER "Grave Near Anadarko" — (1834) —In Caddo Co., on U.S. #62, on Museum grounds east side of Anadarko.

No.	Caption	Date in History	Location of Marker
25.	CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE—	(1890)	—In Oklahoma Co., on U.S. #66, in parkway on Eastern Ave. at Edmond.
26.	TAHLEQUAH — "Capital of Cherokee Nation"	(1839)	—In Cherokee Co., on State #62, entering Tahlequah, east side.
27.	NEW SPRINGPLACE — "Site about 3 mi. S."	(1842)	—In Delaware Co., on State #33, about 3 mi. north of Oaks.
28.	WATIE AND RIDGE — "Graves about 8 mi. East"	(1839)	—In Delaware Co., on east side of State #10, about 3 mi. south of bridge over Lake of the Cherokees.
29.	PARK HILL PRESS — "Site about 1 mi. E."	(1837)	—In Cherokee Co., on U.S. #62, south of Tahlequah 3 miles.
30.	CABIN CREEK — "Battlefield 8 mi. E."	(1864)	—In Mayes Co., on east side of U.S. #69, north of Patton, about ½ mi.
31.	BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS — "Site of Battle, 2 mi. E."	(1863)	—In Muskogee Co., east side of U.S. #69, south of Oktaha, near Dirty Creek.
32.	WEBBERS FALLS — "Settled in 1829"	(1829)	—In Muskogee Co., on U.S. #64, west end of bridge at Webbers Falls.
33.	HILLSIDE MISSION — "Near Here East"	(1882)	—In Tulsa Co., east side of State #11, 4 miles north of Skiatook.
34.	CHOUTEAU'S POST — "In this Vicinity"	(1802)	—In Mayes Co., on State Highway at Salina.
35.	PLEASANT PORTER — "Home and Grave Near Here"	(1840-1907)	—In Tulsa Co., on U.S.#64, near Leonard.
36.	ALEXANDER POSEY — "Birthplace 4 mi. S., 1873"	(1873-1908)	—In McIntosh Co., on State #9, about 4 mi. west of Eufaula.
37.	NUYAKA MISSION — "1.5 miles N.W."	(1882)	—In Okmulgee Co., on U.S. #56, about 9 miles west of Okmulgee.
38.	UNION AGENCY — "Established 1874"	(1874)	—In Muskogee Co., on U.S. #64, near entrance VA facility, Okmulgee Ave., Muskogee.
39.	WHIPPLE SURVEY — "Crossed Here"	(1853)	—In Hughes Co., on U.S. #75, about 3 miles south of Calvin.
40.	OSAGE VILLAGE — "Site in this Vicinity"	(1834)	—In Pontotoc Co., on State #12, about 3½ miles S.W. of Allen.

41. EMAHAKA MISSION — (1894) —In Seminole Co., at intersection of U.S. #270 and State #56, south of Wewoka 5 miles.
"Near here N.E.

42. ARDMORE — (1887) —In Carter Co., on U.S. #77, north of Ardmore city limits.

43. FORT McCULLOCH — (1862) —In Bryan Co., on State #48, west of Kenefick.
"Earthworks 1.5 mi. S.E."

44. WAPANUCKA ACADEMY — (1852) —In Johnston Co., on State #7, at triangle west of Wapanucka.
"Site 2 mi. N.E."

45. BURNEY INSTITUTE — (1854) —In Marshall Co., on State #199, about 1½ east of Lebanon.
"Site in Vicinity South"

46. SPENCER ACADEMY — (1841) —In Choctaw Co., on U.S. #70, east side of Sawyer.
"Site 8 mi. North"

47. GOODLAND MISSION — (1848) —In Choctaw Co., at junction of State #2 and #2A, south of Hugo.
"2 miles West"

48. GOODWATER CHOCTAW MISSION — (1837) —In Choctaw Co., on U. S. #70, about 1 mile west of Kiamichi R. bridge.
"Site about 6 mi. S."

49. ROSE HILL — (1843) —In Choctaw Co., on U.S. #70, east of Hugo about 2½miles.
"Site 1 mi. South"

50. CAMP ARBUCKLE — (1850) —In McClain Co., north side of State #59, 1 mile west of Byars.
"One Mile North"

—M.H.W.

Ad Interim Report on Site of the Battle of Round Mountain

The compilation of photostats of original documents and manuscript and printed materials arranged as an exhibit under the direction of Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Professor of History in Oklahoma A. and M. College, to establish the site of the Battle of Round Mountain (1861) is now being read by State historians and those interested in this controversial point in Oklahoma history. This exhibit contains material secured in field research by Mr. John Melton, of Stillwater, who first became interested in the possible Twin Mound site in Payne County, and also includes the article, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," by Angie Debo, published in *The Chronicles* for summer, 1949 (Vol. XXVII, No. 2).

Notes on the life of John T. Cox, Indian Agent, who left documentary evidence in the form of a map drawn by him about 1864, showing this Civil War battle to have occurred in the region of Key-

stone, in Pawnee County, have been received from Dean Trickett, of Tulsa. Mr. Trickett has made a special study of the Civil War period in the Indian Territory, and has in preparation an extended biography of John T. Cox, to be published in *The Chronicles.* The brief notes from Mr. Trickett are as follows:

JOHN T. COX

A map of the "Retreat of the Loyal Indians from the Indian Country under A-poth-yo-ho-lo in the Winter of 1861," which John T. Cox, Special Indian Agent, enclosed in a letter to W. G. Coffin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on March 18, 1864, is the only contemporary document so far discovered that definitely locates the site of the so-called "Battle of Round Mountain."

The maker of this remarkable map was himself a remarkable man. Born in Ohio and educated in the schools and seminaries of Ohio and Indiana, Mr. Cox was one of those restless and versatile men (no longer developed in our present age of specialization) who apparently could turn his hand to anything. In Indiana, for instance, he was at one time superintendent of schools, editor and publisher of a newspaper, secretary of a railroad company, and proprietor of a drug store.

In 1857 he removed to Kansas, where he surveyed and laid out the town of Ottumwa, in Coffey County, and engaged in the mercantile business. During his spare time he served a term as county surveyor, laid out the townsites of five additional towns, acted as committee clerk during two sessions of the Kansas Territorial Legislature, and did the penwork for the engraver of the Great Seal of the State of Kansas.

In the summer of 1861 Mr. Cox enlisted in the Union Army at Fort Lincoln, in Bourbon County, Kansas. He was taken sick, however, after a month's service and sent home, supposedly to die, but eventually recovered. During the spring of 1862 he assisted in the organization of the First and Second Regiments, Indian Home Guards, and was again mustered into service. Afterward he was engaged in mapping the country through which the army passed and was present at the Battle of Prairie Grove, where he mapped the battlefield for *Harper's Weekly.* In December 1862 he was commissioned First Lieutenant, Company A, Second Indian Home Guards, and in March 1863 was made Quartermaster of the First Regiment.

The First was a Creek and Seminole (with the exception of line officers), recruited from among Opothleyoholo's follows. The Second Regiment was originally composed of Osages, Quapaws, and refugees from other tribes, but most of them deserted (went "buffalo hunting") in the summer of 1862, and the regiment was filled up largely with Cherokees, many of whom had been with Opothleyoholo in his last two battles. Among them was Capt. James McDaniel, at whose invitation Opothleyoholo moved into the Cherokee country after the engagement at Round Mountain.

After a service of some six months as Quartermaster of the First Regiment, Mr. Cox was appointed Special Agent in the Indian Service. He remained, however, in close contact with his old comrades, as he was stationed at Fort Gibson, where the Indian regiments were quartered, until late in the spring of 1864, when he was transferred to Kansas. Shortly afterward he resigned from the Indian Service to become President of the Republican State Convention.

In his letter to Superintendent Coffin about the retreat of the Loyal Indians, Mr. Cox spoke of "the facilities within my reach for obtaining facts

connected with that remarkable exodus." It should be evident that this was no idle boast.

The following letter which is self explanatory has also been received from Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, who is President of the Payne County Historical Society:

Stillwater, Oklahoma
November 19, 1950

Miss Muriel H. Wright
Associate Editor
Chronicles of Oklahoma
Dear Miss Wright:

At its regular meeting on Sunday, November 19, 1950, the Payne County Historical Society voted unanimously to request that a State marker be placed near the Twin Mounds in eastern Payne County showing the site of the Battle of Round Mountains, the first battle of the Civil War in present Oklahoma; and the society drew up the following summary of its case, with the request that it be published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

THE CASE FOR THE TWIN MOUNDS AS THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF ROUND MOUNTAINS

This battle occurred when a body of Union Creeks moving north out of their country were intercepted by Confederates at some point north of the Red Fork (Cimarron). It was designated in contemporary accounts as the Battle of Red Fork or the Battle of Round Mountains. (Twenty-two years later the "s" was lost in publishing *War of the Rebellion*: . . . *Official Records.*)

The question is: At what place north of the Cimarron? Let us sum up the evidence for the Twin Mounds.

1. They formed a recognized landmark. They appear as two conspicuous round elevations on maps at least as early as 1849.

2. All contemporary accounts show that the Union Indians withdrew to the extreme western edge of Creek settlement before they began their exodus. It is undisputed that the Confederate-dominated Creek government was in control of the eastern part of their country.

3. The official reports of Col. Douglas H. Cooper and other Confederate officers give no indication of the locality except that it was north of the Cimarron; but their description of the terrain exactly fits the Twin Mounds site.

4. A sworn statement made in 1868 by Confederate Creek leaders who were present at the battle, traces with circumstantial detail a route that leads unmistakably to the Twin Mounds.

5. The reminiscences of Captain June Peak, a white man present at the battle, published in the *Dallas Morning News* in 1923 show great confusion as to events, but fix the place at the approximate Twin Mounds location.

6. There is an unbroken neighborhood tradition dating from the coming of the Pawnees to that vicinity in 1876, only fifteen years after the battle, and continuing through cowboy occupation and white settlement that the Twin Mounds marked the battle site.

7. The debris of the battlefield and the abandoned camp was once very impressive: "many pieces of broken wagons, metal tires used on wagons, metal harness buckles, pieces of broken dishes. . . . bones apparently of human beings. . . . ." Even now after more than half a century of cultivation, smaller fragments of such articles are constantly exposed by the plow.

The sole piece of evidence against the Twin Mounds location is found in a report by Special Indian Agent John T. Cox dated March 18, 1864, at Fort Gibson. He enclosed a sketch map of the campaign, giving an erroneous date for the battle and locating it just north of the mouth of the Cimarron. So far as is known, he had had no connection with any military movements, and almost certainly had not even been in the Indian Territory at the time. One cannot accept this unsupported bit of evidence in view of the following facts:

1. There are numerous hills north of the mouth of the Cimarron but early-day maps as well as modern topographic maps show no conspicuous "Round Mountains" serving as a recognized landmark.

2. A journey through the heart of the Creek country to the mouth of the Cimarron cannot be characterized as "a far western route" or "out west," as contemporary accounts characterize the Creek exodus.

3. Cox's map incorrectly dated and drawn at second hand does not balance the sworn statement drawn up by the Southern Creek leaders who fought in the battle.

4. There is no battlefield tradition connected with the site at the mouth of the Cimarron, though it was near an important Creek settlement, and Creeks continued to live there throughout the tribal period.

5. One may search in vain for any debris of battlefield or camp in the area of the mouth of the Cimarron.

6. Finally one cannot reconcile the movements of the Northern Creeks after the battle with this location. They proceded to the Arkansas, crossed it, and "moved down" to a well-known Cherokee settlement in the Big Bend of that river. There was certainly a Cherokee settlement at the bend of the Arkansas near the present Cleveland, which was "up" not "down" the river from the mouth of the Cimarron. And the Indians living near the mouth of the Cimarron were not Cherokees, but Creeks.

The importance of the Battle of Round Mountains has long been known; only the location was uncertain. In a letter of October 26, 1948, to Mr. John H. Melton, Member of the Board of Directors of the Payne County Historical Society, Dr. Grant Foreman said: "I am satisfied, from my own investigation, from yours, and the evidence assembled by you, that you have correctly located the site of this battle."

Attention is called to the article by Dr. Angie Debo, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Summer 1949), pp. 187-206. This article summarizes the best sources available and lists them in the footnotes.

On December 27, 1949, the Payne County Historical Society submitted to the Oklahoma Historical Society a manuscript volume of 67 pages of evidence concerning the site of the battle and urged it to secure supplementary evidence for the volume wherever possible. The case for the Twin Mounds as the site of the battle remains as stated in this letter.[1] The volume eventually will be bound and placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Respectfully submitted by the Payne County Historical Society.
By B. B. Chapman, President

[1] On Dec. 13, 1950, an editorial in the *Tulsa Daliy World* said: "Identification of the site of the first battle of the Civil War in Oklahoma has been made. It was between the Union Creeks and Confederate forces; the date was late in 1861. The battle was at Round Mountain, in the eastern part of Payne county, just north of the Cimarron river." See also, "This Makes It Official," *ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1950, Magazine Section, p. 2.

Records of the War of 1812, Gift to the Historical Society Library

A recent gift to the Library, *Messages from the President of the United States. . . . Thirteenth Congress, 1813,* includes records of the War of 1812 found in no other published source. This rare volume was accompanied by the following interesting notes from the donor, Nina Nicol, Oklahoma City writer and member of National League of American Pen Women:

Historians interested in the War of 1812 will find much of interest in this volume, with its compilation of official data and official letters which include President Madison's address to both Houses of Congress at the commencement of the 13th Congress, and ends with interchange of letters between the Commander of the British Squadron off New London to Commander Stephen Decatur, commanding the United States squadron. Many letters and documents concerning impounding American ships and men, and the retaliatory measures taken by both sides in case of the prisoners of war make this collection excellent research material.

Two lists are included: one, a list of a hundred American Prisoners of War discharged at Halifax, Novia Scotia, including the names of the prize ships on which they were taken. The other, a Navy Department list of the Naval Forces of the United States on March 4, 1814. This list includes names, types, location and Commander of each vessel.

To those particularly interested in the history of the Brig "Enterprise" and Captain Perry's victory on Lake Erie, various letters and documents are included, together with the report of her Senior Officer, Edward McCall, to the Chairman of the Committee of the Senate on Naval Affairs, giving details of the famous battle.

President Madison's message also relates the story of the Creek war under Major General Jackson's command, and the relations of other tribes during that period are scattered throughout the collection.

The famous printer Roger Weightmen printed these documents at Washington City, by order of the Senate.

The 100th Meridian Survey Problem and Old Greer County

The story of Old Greer County and the establishment of the 100th Meridian are classic in their impact and importance in Oklahoma history through a period of 100 years. The Editorial Department has received a most interesting reprint: Berlin B. Chapman's "The Claim of Texas to Greer County" that appeared in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. LIII, Numbers 1, 2, 4 (July, 1949—April, 1950). This study is a real contribution to southwestern history, with its review of the Greer County case and the several surveys made in establishing the 100th Meridian or western boundary of Oklahoma from the time of the miscalculation in Captain George B. McClellan's astronomical observation for the survey by the Marcy Red River Expedition in 1852.

In the preparation of his study, Doctor Chapman makes acknowledgment to Arthur D. Kidder, of the U. S. General Land Office, who is serving as Commissioner of the Colorado and New Mexico Boundary pending in the U. S. Supreme Court. In a letter to Doctor Chapman, dated November 7, 1950, Mr. Kidder complimented him for his Greer County article: "You performed a fine piece of research, and its presentation is a model of excellence."

Mr. Kidder's letter to Doctor Chapman, now placed on file for permanent preservation in the Oklahoma Historical Society, gives an explanation of the problems of "time observation" in determining longitude that is particularly enlightening in reviewing the history from the first survey of the 100th Meridian by Captain McClellan in 1852. Excerpts from Mr. Kidder's letter follow:

"The layman scarcely appreciates the precision that is required in the 'time observation' for an accurate determination of longitude. For instance, the difference, expressed in the time interval, between the determination by Dr. Pritchett and that of my own is only 0.07 of a second; that of the old initial monument, only 3.5 seconds, the latter based upon the moon's transit, calculated in terms of Greenwich time.

"Another point—very few, excepting those well versed in geodesy, understand the difference between the astronomical position and the geodetic. The astronomical observation depends upon the element of gravity just as it is at the observing station. This element involves a variable, sometimes quite large, but more frequently quite small in the prairie states. The variable can be eliminated by the geodetic methods. At the 100th Meridian on Red River, expressed in time interval, it is about 0.18 of a second. When reduced to angular measure, that is about 0°00′02.7″, a pretty small angle, which can be measured only with instruments of greatest refinement.

"With many years devoted to important boundary surveys I conclude that three elements are most essential: competent jurisdiction; due qualification of the engineer; substantial monumentation. The unusual case of Greer County grew out of the failure to exercise the jurisdiction of a duly constituted joint survey, and ultimate approval of the survey. The monumentation was poor, but the line could be identified. Its direction was grossly in error, but it straightened out to a fair meridian customary in the surveys of that period."

—M.H.W.

Payne County Historical Society

At the November meeting of the Payne County Historical Society in Stillwater, the activities of William Jennings Bryan in Oklahoma history were discussed by Doctor Norbert R. Mahnken, of the History Department, Oklahoma A. and M. College. Doctor Mahnken's interesting study will appear in an early issue of the *Nebraska Magazine of History.*

The Payne County Historical Society through the inspiration and leadership of its President, Berlin B. Chapman, Professor of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College, is most co-operative with the Oklahoma Historical Society in arousing interest and pride in State history. Doctor Chapman's activity, and that of John Melton, member of the Payne County organization, in his researches to establish the site of the "Battle of Round Mountain" (1861), were presented for their outstanding accomplishment, in a discussion of "The College and the History of the Local Area," by Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor of *The Chronicles,* who appeared on the program of the Oklahoma Association of College Professors in its annual meeting held at Stillwater, December 9. Doctor Anna Lewis, of the History Department, Oklahoma College for Women, had led on the program with presentation of her paper "The Vitalization of History Teaching" which was followed by interesting comments from those in attendance during the panel discussion. The Association's program, with Doctor Thomas A. Houston, of the History Department in Southeastern State College presiding, had for its subject "Stimulating an Interest in the Field of History." The Payne County Historical Society's activity and membership—almost 100% membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society, contribution of articles for publication in *The Chronicles,* and fine interest of County pioneers, young people and Boy Scouts—offered an inspiration for vitalizing local history in the work of teachers and civic leaders, as the foundation of a deep appreciation of the American way of life among all citizens of this country.

ANABEL FLEMING THOMASON

NECROLOGY

ANABEL FLEMING THOMASON

1874—1949

Anabel Fleming Thomason was born January 5, 1874, at Clarksville, Texas, and died September 15, 1949, in Pauls Valley, Oklahoma, where she was interred. She was the daughter of James Titus Fleming and Martha Amanda Childers Fleming. Anabel Fleming was the fourth of nine children. Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Fleming moved from Texas to Ardmore, Indian Territory, about 1886, where Mrs. Fleming was active in the organization of the Methodist Church. She also arranged for the first subscription school for white children in Ardmore (the only other schools being the scattered mission schools). Mr. Fleming was the first, or one of the first U. S. Commissioners at Ardmore. In 1895, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Fleming and their children moved to Pauls Valley, I. T. where Mr. Fleming was Clerk of the Federal Court.

Anabel Fleming had gone to school in Clarksville, Jones Institute, in Paris, Texas, and in Austin, Texas. She came to Pauls Valley with her family and worked in her father's office of Clerk of the Court. On November 14, 1899, Miss Fleming was admitted to the bar, the first woman west of the Mississippi to be licensed to practice law, and as a result received notice in some of the leading magazines of that period.

On November 4, 1901, Anabel Fleming married Charles Harold Thomason, who had come to Indian Territory to practice law.[1] To this union were born four children: Harold Fleming Thomason, now a vice-president of the Retail Credit Company of Atlanta, Georgia; Donald Bryan Thomason, who died March 13, 1948; Charles McCampbell Thomason, who died in infancy; and Sara Thomason, teacher in the Pauls Valley Schools. Mrs. Thomason was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution; charter member of the Saturday Club; Parliamentary Law Club, and an honorary Life Member of the Pauls Valley Art Club. She was a teacher of parliamentary law, and a writer of poetry, some of which has been published. Her church affiliation was Presbyterian.

The fact that Mrs. Thomason was the first woman lawyer licensed west of the Mississippi, and further that she had made a high rating on her Bar examination had led to notice of her in national magazines of the period. *Munsey's Magazine* (New York) carried an article about her admission to the Bar. *Harpers Bazaar* for January 13, 1900 (Vol. XXXIII, Number 2), p. 26, carried the following:

"A NEW LAWYER IN THE WEST"

"The Indian Territory is no longer a reservation. Its latest stride towards full development and probable Statehood is marked by the admission of Miss Anabel Fleming to practise law in the United States court that has jurisdiction over the Chickasaw Nation.

"She is a resident of the town of Pauls Valley, and acquired her law knowledge while assisting her father in the court in which she was recently enrolled as a counsellor. The town of Pauls Valley, where Miss Fleming

[1] R. L. Williams, "Charles Harold Thomason, 1870-1941," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (March, 1942), p. 103-04.

resides, is a place of several thousand inhabitants, and there are a score of murder cases pending upon the dockets. Upon the day of her admission to the bar Miss Fleming, as her father's assistant, attested the death warrant of a negro whom Judge Townsend had sentenced to be hanged on January 13, 1900.

"Miss Fleming, however, despite her association with the bloody justice of the frontier, is a young lady of highly cultivated manner, and though her legal attainments were only known to her intimate friends, her pre-eminent social and intellectual qualities have been recognized by all who know her. She is distinctly the leader of society in her community, and is thoroughly conventional. She is Southern born and Southern bred, of Scotch ancestry, and her family is among the best known and best connected in the State of Texas. Her father, Hon. J. T. Fleming, was one of the seventeen pioneers who organized the Republican party in Texas in 1868. Her grandfather, Hon. W. H. Fleming, commanded a regiment in the Confederate service, and was a member of the convention that reconstructed the Constitution of Texas after the civil war. Titus County, Texas, was named for Miss Fleming's maternal grandfather.

"Miss Fleming's lineage is from the family stock that settled in Wilmington, Delaware, in the seventeenth century, and held its reunion at Fairmont, West Virginia, in 1891, with thousands of representatives, including the governors of West Virginia and Florida."

Pauls Valley, Oklahoma —Sara Thomason.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 26, 1950.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 26, 1950 with General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: General William S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mr. George L. Bowman, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. W. J. Peterson, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

The President said he had received a letter from Mr. Thomas A. Cook, saying that it would be impossible for him to come because of the death of a long time friend. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle sent a message of regret saying that essential business kept him from attendance. Mr. H. L. Muldrow of Norman, sent profound regrets that his health would not permit him to be present. It was the universal desire of the Board for the Secretary to express to Mr. Muldrow the deep regret that ill health kept him from attendance and that he would be soon restored to strength for his support and council were always helpful to the deliberations and actions of the Board. Mr. N. G. Henthorne of Tulsa sent a message that he regretted that crucial business affairs would not permit him to come. Judge Thomas A. Edwards of Cordell said that his plans for reaching Oklahoma City by automobile had failed and therefore he could not attend.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge Redmond S. Cole seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Gordon Bleuler, Dallas, Texas; Urban de Hasque, Enid; Stanley C. Draper, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Letha Lynn Hamre, Arnett; Mrs. Edwin R. McNeill, Pawnee; Mrs. J. R. Weldon, Enid.

ANNUAL: Mrs. G. Chase Beidler, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida; Mrs. W. A. Chapman, Olustee; Alberta Wilson Constant, Independence, Missouri; Mrs. Marion Madsen Derr, Guthrie; Mrs| Isabel France, Mountainsburg, Arkansas; Norma Elmo Ferguson, Ft. Smith, Arkansas; Elizabeth Findlay, Oklahoma City; Rowena Galloway, Fayetteville, Arkansas; Mrs. O. R. Hail, Oklahoma City; Louis Hancock, Shattuck; Charles Jackson Harriss, Enid; Pearl Harwood, Oklahoma City; J. W. Hinkel, Stillwater; L. Dale Hoover, Chickasha; Dorothy Ruth Hurt, Muskogee; Millie Ingle, Tulsa; O. M. Irelan, Sapulpa; Mrs. C. G. Keiger, Oklahoma City; Lyman Knapp, Blackwell; Mrs. Hale Landes, Medicine Park; H. W. Lapham, Glendale, California; Lewis Leverett, Rush Springs; Carl Mathews, Los Angeles, Calif.; Jack W. Page, Oklahoma City; Fern Leone Parsley, Oklahoma City; Pearl E. Pemberton, Oklahoma City; A. Pepis, Tulsa; Lula K. Pratt, Muskogee; Fred Robertson, Oklahoma City; Bud Roe, Hollywood, California; Janne Carter Smith, Hot Springs, Arkansas; William H. Smith, Seward, Nebraska; Len Sowards, Hollywood, California; Mrs. Scott Squyres, Norman; Lloyd Story, Valliant; Ruby Grace Terry, Amarillo, Texas; Mabelle A. White, Tulsa; Mrs. C. E. Williams, Woodward; Mrs. Harriette B. Woodward, McLoud; Mrs. Martha Young, Denver, Colorado.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received:

Osage wedding blanket, presented by Mrs. R. A. Baylor, Oklahoma City; six land grants dated from 1799 to 1849, stone cut in shape of a bible, double key, leather wallet, metal trunk, corn husker and a surveyor's instrument presented by Ben Van Bibber; a geography published in 1827, day book and wallet used by John E. Simpson in 1873; "A Century of Service 1847-1947", a history of the Eufaula Methodist Church, newspaper clippings regarding Indian treaties, presented by Mrs. John Simpson, Eufaula; copy of a letter written by Ho po eth Yar ho lar in 1849, copy of a letter written by Chitto Harjo, sketch of life of Chitto Harjo, photostat of letter written by Albert Pike, original letter written by Albert Pike, dated October 6, 1861, offering a pardon to Yahola and other Creek warriors on condition that they lay down their arms against the Confederate Government, presented by Dr. W. W. Groom, Secretary Scottish Rite Bodies, McAlester, Oklahoma.

The following pictures have been received:

Gen. Alva Niles and Rifle Team, Patrick and Gen. Niles, Chief Fred Lookout, John Abbott, E. R. Burlingame, Pawnee Bill, Pawnee Bill and nurse, J. W. McNeal, Gen. Niles and Walter Ferguson, J. W. McNeal, photograph and proem, two group pictures, Pawnee Bill's Home, three photographs of Gen. Niles, three group pictures of Oklahoma Rifle Team, Camp Perry 1910, Consistory Class taken at Guthrie in 1904, Bankers Association, presented by Mrs. Alva J. Niles, Tulsa; photograph of Dr. Albert H. Van Fleet, presented by Miss Louise Mears; General Custer, presented by Letha Barde; Mary McClure, David McClure, seven colored postal cards, Mrs. Geary and 89'er Rough Reunion, Veta McClure, Veta McClure in Venice, three post cards of Camp Roosevelt, presented by William McClure, Edmond; group picture and old cottage at Mize Hotel, presented by Louis Mize, McAlester; Home of Joe McGinty, first automobile in McAlester, Masonic Temple, McAlester, Old Elk's Club, McAlester, Busby Hotel, McAlester, Cotton Compress, McAlester, five group pictures, Jail Brake at McAlester, M. K. & T. Depot at Caddo, Oklahoma, presented by Mrs. Lee Roberts, McAlester; two photographs of Virginia Cox Sutton, presented by Mrs. C. G. Girvin, Oklahoma City, David Campbell Robinson Van Bibber, Davis Van Bibber, presented by Ben Van Bibber, Edmond; Chitto Harjo, presented by Dr. W. W. Groom, McAlester.

Through Mr. Gene Aldrich, the daughters of Mr. Peter Hanraty, a member of the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma, and first Mine Inspector of Oklahoma, presented to the Archives Department of this Society a large and valuable collection of his papers relating to the Constitutional Convention and the early mines of Oklahoma.

Mr. George L. Bowman moved that the gifts be accepted and that a vote of thanks be extended to the donors. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Anna B. Korn and passed unanimously.

The President, General Key, stated that the Society's distinguished guests, the heirs of General A. W. Whipple, whose fine historical documents have already been received by the Society, would arrive at eleven o'clock when the collection would be formally presented, after which the honored guests, Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard, Mrs. Arthur M. Collens, Prof. William Whipple, Col. Sherburne Whipple and Mr. Dudley W. Stoddard would be honored at a luncheon to be held at the Oklahoma Club at one o'clock.

General Key called attention to the Robert M. Jones farm in Choctaw County, the title to which had been acquired through tax sale by the efforts of Judge Williams; that the matter was discussed at a former meeting resulting in Col. George H. Shirk being designated to clear up the title; that a gentleman from that part of the country is here today to offer a purchase price for that land. He then appointed a committee of three, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Chairman, Colonel Shirk and Judge Baxter Taylor to meet this

gentleman, relative to his desire to purchase this land and bring back a recommendation to this Board at this time. Judge Hefner made the motion that the above named committee be appointed. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell seconded the same which was passed.

The President reported the vacancy in the position of Librarian of this Society, Mrs. Ruth Craig, who served in that position for the greater part of 1950 having resigned. He stated that Mrs. Mary Jean Hansen, a graduate of William & Mary College in Virginia was appointed by the Executive Board to fill that vacancy. Mrs. Anna B. Korn made a motion that Mrs. Mary Jean Hansen be employed as Librarian of this Society. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary stated that Mr. E. H. Kelley, Chief Bank Examiner of this State, has long been interested in and engaged in securing records of historical value for this Society. It was the view of the Secretary that due to the great devotion of Mr. Kelley to this Society and his most valuable work in securing splendid records on his journeys throughout the State and placing them in our Archives, he believed that Mr. Kelley should be given a most honored place among those who serve this institution. Mr. George L. Bowman made a motion that Mr. E. H. Kelley be extended the special exalted tribute for his service and that he be given a letter by the Secretary which would reveal a passport to any and all who have valuable historical material, Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

A Call to the Board of Directors

The President at this point called attention to the outstanding ladies and gentlemen on the Board of Directors and stressed the far reaching power of each to directly and pointedly serve the Society by securing historical collections. He stated that we have in our archives such collections that make them among the largest in number and most extensive and valuable to be found in the largest and most noted historical archives of America. Still there was tremendous need for more important historical documents which could be obtained by reaching out near us. Each director could obtain valuable historical papers, letters, books, documents, etc., by writing or visiting old Indian families, the 89'ers, the descendants of old missionaries, and to many of the early pioneers still living, in the very vicinity often of the directors. He begged that each member of the Board, each member of the staff, all get busy in this essential work.

Dr. I. N. McCash presented two pictures to the Society, the gift of Frank L. Hamilton, 206 N. Adams, Enid, Oklahoma; one being a photo copy of a page from the *Oklahoma Review*, placed in the cornerstone of the Garfield County Court House, June 18, 1906, and taken out after the Court House was burned, January 29, 1931; and second, a picture of a specimen of serpent, life of great length first seen by Mr. Hamilton in 1888 and afterwards found in 1921.

General Key presented on behalf of Mr. Charles E. Creager of Muskogee, a framed picture of the Masonic Class of McAlester Consistory in 1908, showing the late beloved Will Rogers as a member of this class, and many other Oklahomans of future eminence, one being Hon. H. L. Muldrow who has served as Director of this Society for many years. Mr. Creager is an eminent lawyer and historian of Muskogee.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore presented a Dictionary of Intertribal Indian language, commonly called Chinook, by Laura B. Downey Bartlett, published in 1924, the gift of Jane Erickson, member of the Oregon Historical Society; also four snapshots, showing Indian writings in Picture Gorge of John Day Danyon in eastern Oregon, said to be eight thousand years old. Mrs. Moore also presented the book entitled, "Senryu", Japanese satirical verses, translated and explained by R. H. Blyth, the gift of Mrs. Moore's nephew, Lt. Bruce S. Hamm, who is now located in Japan.

Dr. Evans at this point presented the gift of Mr. Charles H. Lamb, 412 North Rosedale, Tulsa, Oklahoma, consisting of valuable records, scrap books, letters, etc., of the "PAY YOUR WAY WITH KINDNESS CLUB" which has been an outstanding child character building organization, founded and directed by Mr. Lamb more than thirty years ago.

The President stated he had a letter coming from Mr. Hewitt Campbell, son of Judge Harry S. Campbell, deceased, our beloved director for many years, offering his father's books. Judge Redmond S. Cole made a motion that they would be accepted with sincere thanks. The motion was seconded by George L. Bowman and passed.

Dr. Harbour made a motion that all of the gifts above presented be accepted and that the donors be written letters of appreciation of the Board by the Secretary. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion which passed.

Colonel Shirk reported as to the action taken by the Committee in the matter of the sale of the Robert M. Jones farm, stating that Ruth E. Story of Broken Bow, Oklahoma, offered to pay the Society $4500.00 for the three hundred acre farm, less forty acres on which are located the cemetery and home site in the exact center, and that the buyer would build a road to the forty acres the Society will retain and in addition will transport the salt kettle now on the farm to the Society building; that the Society will give a quit claim deed to this property, making no warranties whatever.

Dr. I. N. McCash made the motion that the bid of $4500.00 for the three hundred acre Robert M. Jones farm in Choctaw Nation, less the forty acres on which are now located the cemetery and home place of Robert M. Jones, be accepted, and that the officers of the Society be authorized to execute the proper quit claim deed to this land. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed.

Dr. Harbour made a motion that a vote of thanks be extended to Colonel Shirk and all members of the committees attending to the development of the sale of the Robert M. Jones farm. Judge Redmond S. Cole seconded the motion which passed.

Colonel George H. Shirk offered the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Historical Society is the owner and in possession of Three Hundred (300) acres of land in Choctaw County, Oklahoma, known as the Rose Hill Farm; and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Historical Society is without means to conserve, maintain and keep up the entire three hundred acre tract and in its present condition it is subject to timber loss and other form of depredation through such inability to properly care for the same; and

WHEREAS, the said tract is of historical interest because of the location thereon of the private cemetery of the family of the late Robert M. Jones, together with the site of the mansion, Rose Hill; and

WHEREAS, it is believed that a tract forty (40) acres in size surrounding said historical locations would be ample to properly care for and conserve the said historical interests and make the same available to all of the people of Oklahoma; and that the said acreage in excess thereof is not needed for said purpose.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society that the offer of Ruth E. Story of Broken Bow, Oklahoma, to pay the sum of Forty-Five Hundred Dollars ($4500.00) cash for the said Two Hundred Sixty (260) acre tract remaining be accepted and that the Board hereby determines that it is for the best interest of the Society and for the care and maintenance of the said historical site that such excess land be sold.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the right-of-way easement permitting access to the forty acre tract so retained be excepted and reserved.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the offer of the said Ruth E. Story to transport to the Oklahoma Historical Society building the large iron kettle presently located on the said tract be accepted and that such service and act be considered partial consideration for said sale and condition thereto.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the officers of the Oklahoma Historical Society be and hereby are instructed and directed to make, execute and deliver such deeds of conveyance, without warranty, express or implied, as may be necessary and appropriate.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that the above resolutions be approved. This was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and was passed.

In accordance with these resolutions the President, together with the Secretary of the Society, executed a Quit Claim Deed whereby the Oklahoma Historical Society, an Agency of the State of Oklahoma, conveyed to Ruth E. Story for such considerations as may be found in the Resolution above, the following described property, situated in Choctaw County, State of Oklahoma:

Lots three (3) and Four (4) and the South Half (S½) of the Northwest Quarter (NW¼) and Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of the Southwest Quarter (SW¼) of Section Five (5); and the East Half (E½) of the Northeast Quarter (NE¼) and the East Half (E½) of the Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of the Northeast Quarter (NE¼) of Section Six (6) all in Township Seven (7) South Range Eighteen (18) East, Choctaw County, Oklahoma.

EXCEPT

One Forty (40) acre tract therein described.
Commencing at a point Six Hundred Sixty Feet (660) West and Six Hundred Sixty Feet (660) North of the grave of Robert M. Jones; thence East Thirteen Hundred Twenty Feet (1320); thence South Thirteen Hundred Twenty Feet (1320); thence West Thirteen Hundred Twenty Feet (1320); thence North Thirteen Hundred Twenty Feet (1320) to the point of beginning, title to which is hereby expressly retained and reserved by First Party, together with necessary easement and access thereto.

The Secretary reported that due to the increased membership sales the special fund of the Society revealed a sum of $5225.81 and that it is increasing every month. The President suggested that part of the money be invested in Government Bonds. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made a motion that $5000.00 of the private funds be invested in suitable Government bonds. Mr. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which passed.

Mrs. J. Garfield Buell suggested that a list of the present Life Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society be listed as they come in the O.H.S. Newsletter and that additional Life Members be listed as they come in. The President authorized the Secretary to carry out this suggestion.

In line with this suggestion the Secretary stated that on November 1, 1950, with the pledged support of the Board of Directors and a large number of Life Members, he was launching a campaign for the increase of Life Memberships in the Society. He would call the movement "A CAMPAIGN OF EACH LIFE MEMBER GET A LIFE MEMBER". In a few days each Director will receive a letter suggesting his or her part in this campaign.

The President introduced at this point a statement from Dr. Grant Foreman:

"I have in Washington, D. C. in the Archives there, certain historical documents that have cost me in work and money several thousand dollars. I believe they are worth a great deal for the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. I can have them photostated if the Society will give me the privilege of securing a man whom I shall choose with the greatest

care, at not too great a cost. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle is near me here and I would like to have the Board appoint him to cooperate with me in this matter."

Judge George L. Bowman made the motion that Dr. Foreman be assured that his advice in this matter is more than appreciated and that such aims and purposes as he sets forth shall be carried out by him with the assistance of Mr. R. M. Mountcastle of Muskogee, a member of the Board of Directors, acting for the Board. The motion was seconded by Judge Redmond S. Cole, and was unanimously passed.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught read a letter written by John D. Mayo of Tulsa, offering to the Oklahoma Historical Society the bust of General Patrick J. Hurley, made by the distinguished sculpture artist, Bryant Baker.

He said that Mr. Mayo believed that this remarkable piece of sculpture presenting one of the leading great men of the State should be placed in the Oklahoma Historical building. Therefore, he, Judge Vaught, made the motion that a request be made by the Society that General Patrick J. Hurley, through his friend, John D. Mayo, present to this Oklahoma Historical Society this valuable gift. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

Mr. George L. Bowman made a motion that the Secretary be authorized to pay for the luncheon, chair rental and such other expense as may have been incurred relating to the reception of the Whipple Papers; this expense to be paid out of the Special Fund. Judge Hefner seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary said that purchases had been made by the Society for some art work done by Carl Sweezy and he asked that payment for this in the sum of $50.00, more or less, be met out of the Petty Cash or Special Fund. The purchase from Mr. Sweezy consisted in some frontier Indian scenes done in color. Judge Hefner seconded the motion which passed, that this expense be met and paid as had been suggested.

At this point the President said the hour had been reached when the program relating to the reception of the Whipple Papers should begin. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell made the motion that the fourth quarterly session of the Board adjourn. The motion was seconded by Mr. George L. Bowman and passed unanimously.

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary.*

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $2.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

976.6
C557
v. 28

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
3 1262 09586 9110